Daughters of the Sun

Small Human Images in Megalithic Iberia, 4th-3rd Millennium BC

Primitiva Bueno Ramírez
and
Jorge A. Soler Díaz

ARCHAEOPRESS

Daughters of the Sun

Small Human Images in Megalithic Iberia, 4th-3rd Millennium BC

Primitiva Bueno Ramírez and Jorge A. Soler Díaz

Archaeopress Archaeology

Archaeopress Publishing Ltd
13-14 Market Square
Bicester
Oxfordshire OX26 6AD
United Kingdom

www.archaeopress.com

ISBN 978-1-80583-137-2
ISBN 978-1-80583-138-9 (e-Pdf)

© Primitiva Bueno Ramírez, Jorge A. Soler Díaz and Archaeopress 2025

Cover figurines, from left to right:
1. Sculptural plaque with hands. Stone. Dolmen of Garrovillas, Cáceres. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid
2. Cruciform ("anchor-shaped"). Bone. Blanquizares de Lébor, Totana, Murcia. Museo de Almería
3. Bitriangular Cruciform. Stone. Loma de la Torre, Cantoria, Almeria. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.
4. Oculated on long bones, Cova de Bolumini, Alfafara, Alicante. Museo Arqueológico Municipal Camilo Visedo Moltó, Alcoy.
5. Oculate cylinder. Stone. Moncarapacho, Olhão, Faro. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon,
6. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine, cylindrical bipartite with flared ends, with face. Clay. Marroquíes Bajos, Jaén. Museo de Jaén.
7. Trapezoidal oculate plaque with incised tritriangulars. Stone. Mértola, Beja, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon.

Photographs: 1. Archivo MAN-Susana Vicente Galende, 2. Museo de Almería, 3. Archivo MAN-Ángel Martínez Levas, 4. José Manuel Sala; 5: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas, 6: Juan Pedro Bellón; 7: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas.

English translation: Jacqueline Mackie Cutts
In collaboration with Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante

This work is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License. To view a copy of this license, visit http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/ or send a letter to Creative Commons, PO Box 1866, Mountain View, CA 94042, USA.

This book is available direct from Archaeopress or from our website www.archaeopress.com

For Rodrigo And Eva

Contents

List of Figures and Tables vi

Acknowledgements xvi

Margarita Sánchez Romero

Foreword xix

António Carvalho

Preface xxi

Primitiva Bueno Ramírez and Jorge A. Soler Díaz

Presentation xxiv

Chapter 1 The Figurines of Late Iberian Prehistory 1

1.1. What we call figurines. 1
1.2. Schematic art and other graphic expressions contemporary to the figurines 4
1.3. Should the figurines be called Idols? 6
1.4. Daughters of the sun. 7

Chapter 2 Thought and Practice for a State of Art of Human Figurines in Iberia 11

2.1. Hypotheses and objectives. 12
2.2. Fragmentary Archaeologies in the Construction of Symbols of Late Prehistory. 16

Chapter 3 Women's Bodies in Portable Art from the Palaeolithic to Late Prehistory in Europe 21

3.1. The first female images 21
3.2 Figurines in post-glacial Europe 26
a. Centre and North. 26
b. Atlantic 31
c. Mediterranean 32
3.3. Early Neolithic figurines in the Iberian Peninsula. Between bones and clay. 35

Chapter 4 Typologies as a Product of Iberian Historiography in the 19th and First Half of the 20th Century 38

4.1. Some guidelines for understanding the typologies of Iberian figurines. 38
4.2. Louis Siret, compiler of the typologies of figurines between the late 19th and early 20th century. 39
4.3. "Idols" in the 1920s and 1930s. The role of Henri Breuil. 48
4.4. The expanded register: The mid-20th century and the work of Georg and Vera Leisner. 55
4.5. Pilar Acosta´s typology of the "idols" of schematic art. 63
4.6. The "Hispanic Bronze I idols". María José Almagro Gorbea´s typology. 66

Chapter 5 Human Shapes for Social Research 75

5.1. Building societies. Iberian Historiography between the 20th and the 21st century 75
5.2. Territorial identities. Gender identities. Social identities. 79
5.3. The "impact" of the Malagón "idol" and La Pijotilla series. V. Hurtado´s typology 81

Chapter 6 Progress in the Knowledge of Geometric Shapes In the Iberian Figurines 87

6.1. Northeast Iberia. 87
6.2. The characteristic figuration of the East of the Iberian Peninsula: Southeast and East. 89
6.3. Plaques and "tritriangulars" in Western Iberia 100
6.4. Cylinders, betyls and other related figurines in Western Iberia 110
6.5. Phalanges, long bones, ivory and gold pieces in Western Iberia. 115
6.6. Northwest Iberia. 119

Chapter 7 Anthropomorphic Expression in Clay 122

Chapter 8 Anthropomorphic Figurines from Southwest Iberia 129

Chapter 9 Summary of Human Geometry and Ideomorphus Portable Objects 132

9.1. List of symbolic artefacts since Siret. The Bibliographic Register of Denominations (RBD). 132
9.2. Geometries of human bodies. 139
9.3. General bases for the geometrical systematisation of Iberian figurines. Portable anthropomorphic figuration. 139
9.4. The Human Figurines (FH). 141
9.5. Geometric Anthropomorphic Figurines (FAG) 144
9.5.1. Composite Geometric Anthropomorphic Figurines (FAG/C). 146
9.5.2. Simple Geometric Anthropomorphic Figurines (FAG/S). 154
9.6. Portable ideomorphic objects (FX) 160

Chapter 10 Crafts, Workshops and Functionalities 167

10.1. The manufacture of clay. 167
10.2. Bonework. 173
10.3. Stonework. 180
10.4. Colour selections and artificial applications. 187

Chapter 11 Geographies and Contexts of Figurines in Late Iberian Prehistory 190

11.1. Portable images in Western Iberia. 191
11.2. Portable images in Eastern and Southeastern Iberia 199
11.3. Deposits in population and aggregation facilities. 205
11.4. Funerary deposits. 211

Chapter 12 People and Small Human Bodies 217

12.1 Positions and sizes of human bodies. 217
12.2. Geometries of human bodies. 224
12.3. Garments, hairstyles, adornments 227
12.4. Interacting with figurines: reusing, transferring, recycling, fragmenting 231

Chapter 13 Combining Human Images. Figurines in the Iberian Post-Glacial Art 234

13.1. Dates and contexts for figurines in parietal schematic art 235
13.2. Dates and contexts for figurines in Megalithic art 240
13.3. Territories of Neolithic and Chalcolithic groups. Exhibitions of the past and language of ancestors. 243

Chapter 14 The Daughters of the Sun, Testimony of the Social Relations and Connectivities in Late Iberian Prehistory 250

14.1. Figurines in Iberia. 250
14.2. Historiographical trajectories and women in Iberian Prehistory. 253
14.3. Portability, workshops and circuits of women's bodies. Agency and fluidity between everyday and funerary aspects. 257
14.4. A broadened interpretation of portable figurines in Iberia. 264

Chapter 15. An Exceptional Legacy 269

15.1. The preservation of the legacy and compilation of a transnational catalogue 269
15.2. Portable figurines as a less protected ensemble than parietal representations. 273
15.3. Intangible objects and stories. Proposals for a per se valorisation of the anthropomorphic figurative ensemble. 277

Bibliography 280

Figure 0. Geometric anthropomorphic figure. Oculated cylinder. Limestone. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Photograph: Verónica Schulmeister Guillén. MAN Archive.

List of Figures and Tables

Figure 0. Geometric anthropomorphic figure. Oculated cylinder. Limestone. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Photograph: Verónica Schulmeister Guillén. MAN Archive. v

Chapter 1 The Figurines of Late Iberian Prehistory

Figure 1.1.1. Human figurines, geometric anthropomorphs and objects supporting anthropomorphic symbolic expressions in Southern Iberia from the 4th to the 2nd millennium cal BC (Bueno and Soler, 2021a.). Images referenced in other figures in this volume. 2

Figure 1.2.1. Anthropomorphic rock art representations. Schematic Art. - 1. Cueva de los Letreros, Vélez Blanco (Almería). Main panel, photo and tracing (Martínez and Blanco, 2014, 160); - 2. Abrigo de El Gabar, Vélez Blanco (Almería). Tracing by H. Breuil, 1935 (Barciela, 2020, Figure 2); - 3. Abrigo de la Penya del Vicari, Altea (Alicante). Panel 2, tracing and photo (Barciela -Coor. - 2015-, 68 and 69); - 4. Abrigo de Justo, Yéchar (Murcia), tracing and photo (Lucas and Fernández, 2021, 32). Composition in Bueno and Soler, 2021a. 5

Figure 1.2.2. Scatter map of decorated ceramics, shelters and megaliths with paintings and engravings of oculates and suns. Cartographic base from SRTM, Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (NASA, Jet Propulsion Laboratory, California Institute of Technology) and GEBCO, General Bathymetric chart of the Oceans (Lancharro and Bueno, 2020, Figure 2). 6

Figure 1.4.1. Female representations in the Iberian figurine record. Human figurines -FH- (1 and 6), geometric anthropomorphic figurines -FAG- (2-5, 7- 10 and 11) and decorative expression on ceramic vase (12). Material not to scale referenced in Bueno and Soler, 2021e. Images referenced in other figures in this book. 9

Chapter 2 Thought and Practice for a State of Art of Human Figurines in Iberia

Figure 2.1.1. Anta Grande de Zambujeiro, Évora. A large stone construction from Western Iberia that housed hundreds of decorated plaques. Photograph: Bartolomé Ruiz. 13

Figure 2.1.2. Geometric references of flattened and volumetric geometric anthropomorphic figuration (FAG). Images referenced in other figures in this volume. 14

Figure 2.1.3. - 1. "Spatula idols" from the dolmen of San Martín, Laguardia. Those dated by radiocarbon dating are numbers 1b, (Fernández Eraso et al. 2015); - 2. Elements of the grave goods belonging to individual 7 -adult male- from El Miradero, Villanueva de los Caballeros (Villalobos et al. 2020, Figure 11) 15

Figure 2.2.1. - 1. Fragment of a human figure (FH) in stone. La Pijotilla, Badajoz; - 2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG), cylindrical bipartite with flared ends, with face. Marroquíes Bajos, Jaén. Museo Arqueólogico de Badajoz (1) and Museo de Jaén (2). Photographs: Eva Rocamora (1) and Juan Pedro Bellón (2). 17

Figure 2.2.2. Male human figures (FH) in ivory: - 1. La Pijotilla, Badajoz; - 2. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (1) and ERA Arqueologia, Lisbon (2). Photographs: Eva Rocamora (1) and A.C. Valera (2). 18

Chapter 3 Women's Bodies in Portable Art from the Palaeolithic to Late Prehistory in Europe

Figure 3.1.1. Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines from the Upper Palaeolithic in Europe. - 1. Venus from Hohle Fels, Schelklingen, Germany. Ivory; - 2. Mammoth from Vogelherd, Württemberg, Germany. Ivory; - 3. Venus of Willendorf, Moravia, Czech Republic. Limestone; - 4. Lion man, Hohlenstein-Stadel, Germany. Limestone. Urgeschichtliches Museum Blaubeuren (1); Institut für Urgeschichte der Universität, Tübingen (2); Natural History Museum, Vienna (3). Images: L. Lammerhuber (3), Creative commons. Wikipedia (1 and 4); Thilo Parg. Wikipedia Commons. CC BY-SA 3.0 (2). 22

Figure 3.1.2. - 1. Sunghir double burial, Vladimir, Russia. Coloured reconstruction; - 2. Ivory horse and bone elements from the grave goods of the same burial; - 3. Anthropomorphic ivory sculpture from Brno, Moravia, Czech Republic. Moravian Museum, Brno (3). Images: Illustration © Libor Balák (1), Vladislav Zhitenev (2), Wikipedia Creative Commons (3). 23

Figure 3.1.3. - 1 and 2 Mask and Venus XV. Doní Věstonice, Brno, Czech Republic; - 3. Phalanx decorated with female sex and geometric dress. Epigravetian levels. Cuina-Turcului, Romania; - 4. Plaque with female figures. Gönnersdorf, Germany. Images: 1-2 (Rau et al. 2009); 3 (Margarit, 2010) and 4 (Gaudzinski-Windheuser, 2012). 24

Figure 3.1.4. - 1. Wooden sculpture of Shigir, reconstructed by D. Lobanov (1890-1891). Yekaterinburg Museum (Zihlin et al. 2018, Figure 2); - 2. Neolithic and Palaeolithic female figurines from North-Central Europe in the same style. Above: LBK site of Gaukönigshofen, Germany (Wamser 1980); in the centre: detail of the textile head cap of the Venus from Willendorf, Moravia, (Soffer et al. 2000, fig. 4). Bottom left: Venus of Willendorf. Moravia. Bottom right: clay head and body with belt from the Palaeolithic site of Pavlov, Czech Republic, (Svoboda, 2007, fig. 5.5, 5.6; 3); - 3. Venus from La Marmotta, Rome, Italy. Museo Luigi Pigorini, Rome. 25

Figure 3.2.1. - 1. The "Abu Ghassan" and "Ghassan" stelae from the JKSH P52 site, Jibal al-Khashabiyeh © Mission Archéologique du Sud-Est, Jordan; - 2. Profiles of women painted on the walls of a hut at Tell-Halula, Syria, (Molist et al. 2004). ... 27

Figure 3.2.2. - 1. Anthropomorphic stone sculpture. Lepenski Vir, Boljetín, Serbia. Photo A. Mc Pherron (Boric, 2020), Figure 4; - 2. Bone "idol", Tomb 13, Ensisheim, Alsace, France (Gallay and Mathieu, 1988); - 3. Mural from Ludwigshafen am Rhein, Germany, (Hofmann, 2020, Figure 7) 28

Figure 3.2.3. Anthropomorphic clay figurines from different traditions: - "Lady of Vinča", Vinča, Serbia, Vinča Culture, (Vasić, 1932-36); - 2. Figurine with a mask in the hand, Lubkova, Romania, Vinča Culture (Draşovean, Popovici, 2008); - 3. Head of an anthropomorphic figurine, Karanovo, Bulgaria, Gumelnitsa-Karanovo VI Culture (Радунчева, 1971); - 4. Figure of a bearded man, Krutukha-Zholob, Ukraine, Cucuteni-Tripolye Culture (Videjko -ed-. 2004); - 5-6.

Female and male figures, Bilcze Złote, Ukraine, Cucuteni-Tripolye Culture (Kadrow, 2013); - 7. "Madonna" from Nemirov settlement, Ukraine, Tripolye CI - Cucuteni B period. Excavations by S.S. Gamchenko, 1909 (Starkova, 2018); - 8. "Thinker" from Tîrpeşti, Romania, Precucuteni-Ripolye A Culture, (Monah -ed.-, 1997). Compiled by I. Palaguta 2020, Figure 2. 29
Figure 3.2.4. Ensembles of anthropomorphic clay figurines: - 1-2. Male and female figures from Dumeşti, Romania, Cucuteni-Tripolye culture (Monah -ed-, 1997); - 3. Figures in a model house, Platia Magoula Zarko (Greece), Tsangli-Larissa Tsang from the Neolithic, (Gallis, 1985) - 4. "Altar" - a model of the vertical loom from Pieterle, Romania, Gumelniţsa-Karanovo VI, (Hansen et al., 2011) - 5. Ensemble of figurines and objects. Gumelnitsa-Karanovo VI from Ovcharovo, Bulgaria, (Todorova, 1983). Collection published by I. Palaguta 2020, Figure 5. 30
Figure 3.2.5. - 1. Folkton drums, found in a burial mound in Yorkshire (England) in 1889. (British Museum). Photograph: Marta Díaz-Guardamino. Image taken from Scarre, 2020, Figure 4; - 2. Menhir statue, Bouisset. Photo R. de Balbín. Calvet Museum - 3. Menhir statue, Cazarils. Photo R. de Balbín. Calvet Museum; - 4-5. Slate plaque with checkerboard decorations, Antrim (Ireland) and Slate amulet, Crätgask, Vásterbotteen (Sweden), (H. Breuil 1935). 32
Figure 3.2.6. – "Venus" from S'Adde-Macomer, Sardinia, (Paglietti, 2020, Figure 1); - 2-3. Maltese stone figures from Ħaġar Qim and the circle of Xagħra. National Museum of Archaeology, Malta (Vella Gregory 2020 , Figure 7); - 4. Marble figurines from tomb 26 at Louros, Naxos. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Sotirakoupoulou, 2020, Figure 6). 33
Figure 3.2.7. Painted figures from the Luzzanas shelter (Ozieri), Sardinia (Spanedda 2020, Figure 14). 34
Figure 3.3.1. Vessels with anthropomorphic or symbolic decoration: - 1 and 3. Cova de l'Or, Beniarrés, Alicante (Martí and Hernández, 1988, Figure 1 and 27: 1); - 2. Cueva de la Murcielaguina, Córdoba (Carrasco et al. 2006, Figure 3; 13); - 4 and 5. Sima del Conejo and Sima del Carburero, Alhama de Granada, Granada (Carrasco et al. 2015, Figure 6: 1 and 3); - 6-8. Cueva del Muerto, Carcabuey, Córdoba (6) and Cueva de los Murciélagos, Zuheros, Córdoba (7-8) (Gavilán and Vera, 1993, Figures 5 and 8); - 9. Torre la Sal or Costamar, Ribera de Cabanes, Castellón (San Feliu and Flors, 2009, Figure 10). Compiled by P. Bueno and J.A. Soler 2021a. 36

Chapter 4 Typologies as a Product of Iberian Historiography in the 19th and First Half of the 20th Century

Figure 4.2.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -1 and 3- and human figure (FH) -2- in stone: - 1. Oculate cylinder, Southwestern Iberia; - 2. Human Figurine, Almizaraque, Almería,- 3. Truncated biconical vase with breasts. Grave 57 from Los Millares, Almería. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Drawings (Siret, 1908), not to scale. Photographs: MAN Archive - Verónica Schulmeister Guillén. 39
Figure 4.2.2. "The sexual triangles and the double-bladed axe" (Siret, 1907, Illustration IV). It depicts the Almizaraque human figurine (1 and 2), bitriangular motifs (3), Cretan double-bladed axes (8-11) and the decorative friezes of vases 15 (12) and 17 (13) from Los Millares, Almería. Motifs 4 and 5 are the triangle of human figure 1 and one of those represented on vase 15 (12), which, due to its orientation, would be male for the author. 40
Figure 4.2.3. "Symbolic figures". Siret, 1907, llustration III. Comparison of the octopus (1) from Pitane, Aeolis, with the painted oculate motifs of the vase from tomb 21 at Los Millares (2 and 3). Incised motifs and breast expression on Los Millares vases (4-6). "Los Millares funerary cup with the bottom inside covered with engravings: pairs of arms, eyes and eyelashes", found in grave 37 (7). "Column or betyl from Folha das Barradas, Portugal (13). Head of a menhir statue from Saint Sernin, France (8) and from the plaques from Idanha a Nova (9) and Alcobaça (10), Portugal. Engraved lithic plaque (12) and vessels with astral symbolic decoration from graves 15 (14) and 57 (15), Los Millares, Almería. 41
Figure 4.2.4. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Phalanges: - 1. Oculate. Los Castellones, Gorafe, Granada; - 2. With geometric decoration. São Martinho, Sintra. Drawing, not to scale, with the position proposed by M. Apollinario (1896, Figure 6), who interprets it as a fish. (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (1) and Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (2). Photographs: MAN Archive - Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (1) and ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. 43
Figure 4.2.5. "Engraved bones from the Neolithic station of Almizaraque" (Siret, 1908, Illustration V). Long bones and a rib (9). 44
Figure 4.2.6. "Funerary plaques, engraved or sculpted schist", (Siret, 1908, 99, Illustration VIII). 45
Figure 4.2.7. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone. Cylindrical (1), trapezoidal (2) and truncated cone-shaped (3). - 1. Oculate cylinder. Moncarapacho, Olhão, Faro; - 2. 'Betyl', Folha das Barradas, Sintra, Lisbon. In the drawing it is represented as a column; - 3. Sculptural plaque with hands, dolmen of Garrovillas, Cáceres. Drawings not to scale by Siret, 1908, Illustration VIII, 11 and Figure 2; and Åberg, 1921, Figure 31. (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (1), Museu Geológico, Lisbon (2) and Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (3).)Photographs: Archivo MAN-Susana Vicente Galende (1) and ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (1 and 3). 46
Figure 4.2.8. "Engraved schist and antler staffs". Siret, 1908, Illustration IX. 47
Figure 4.3.1. Stelae with anthropomorphic portrayals. Granite. - 1. Crato, Portalegre, - 2. Esperança, Arronches, Portalegre. Drawings not to sacle by Leite de Vasconcellos (1910) -1- and H. Breuil (1917) -2-. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs ADF/DGPC - José Paulo Ruas. 49
Figure 4.3.2. "Malay savage", cylinder from Moncaparacho and small head from São Martinho, Sintra, (Correia, 1915, Figs: 4-6). Photo of the head and of the same with the body fragment. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs ADF/DGPC-José Rubio. 50
Figure 4.3.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in ivory (2) and stone (3-5). Ceramic vessel with anthropomorphic decoration (1). - 1. Composite profile vessel, Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja, Montemor-o-Novo, Évora; - 2. Cylindrical composite 'ídolo de gola'; - 3.- Truncated biconical Pêra, Silves, Faro "idolo tipo Pêra"; - 4. Cylindrical with simple decoration, Castro da Rotura, Setúbal; 5. Bipartite composite trapezoidal plaque, with prominent head and suggestion of hands in the engraved decoration. Schist. Anta de Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. 51

Figure 4.3.4. Some pieces referenced by H. Breuil as "Almerian idols" in stone. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): composite, flat with limbs in a cross. - 1. Dolmen of Tijola, Almería; - 2. Llano de la Lámpara I, Purchena, Almería. Drawings not to scale (Breuil, 1935, Figures 67 and 68). Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Photographs: MAN Archive - Susana Vicente Galende (1) and Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (2). 53
Figure 4.3.5. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). "Almerian idols" in stone, located in Almería: - 1-2. Las Churuletas 3 and Llano del Jautón 3, (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 4. 1: 40 y 6.1: 7); - 3. Llano de Rueda I, (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 2.4: 4); - 4. Barranco de Jocalla 4 (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 5. 1: 11); - 5. Loma de la Torre 3 (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 3. 3: 5); - 6. Las Churuletas 3 (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 4. 1: 39) and - 7. Loma de la Torre 4 (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 3. 2). - 6. "Almerian idols" in bone found in Alicante: - 8. "Anchor- shaped" figurine and - 9-13: tritriangular bone figurines, all (8-13) from the Cova de la Barcella, Torremanzanas (Breuil 1935, Figure 67). 53
Figure 4.3.6. - 1. Development of the decoration of a vase from Cerro de las Canteras, Los Vélez (F. Motos, 1918). Referenced by H. Breuil, 1935, Figure 63. Taken from Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 96: 11; - 2. H. Breuil's Typology of plaques from his graphic references (except 2nd): - a Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco (Breuil, 1935, Pl. XLV, 3 and Esprit, Cat. no. 173); - b. Garrovillas de Alconetar, Cáceres (Breuil, 1935, Pl. XLV, 1) and Idanha a Nova (Breuil, 1935, Pl, XLV, 4); - c. Alcobaça (Breuil, 1935, Figure 79, 9) and Herdade dos Cavaleiros, Ponte de Sôr (Breuil, 1935, Pl. XLV, 6); - d. Mértola (Breuil, 1935, Pl. XLV, 8) and Portimãos (Breuil, 1935, Pl. XLV, 9). Drawings taken from the catalogue on the Internet Esprit by K. Lillios (numbers 172, 173, 398, 171, 497, 319, 540 and 333). 55
Figure 4.4.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Antler (1) and long bones (2-6) with oculate decoration: - 1- 5. Ereta del Pedregal, Navarrés, Valencia; - 6. Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy. Museo de Prehistoria of Valencia. Photographs Archivo Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia (Pascual Benito, 2021 and Soler, 2017). 57
Figure 4.4.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -2 and 4- and human figures (FH) -1, 3 and 5 in clay. Vilanova de São Pedro, Azambuja (Martins et al, 2021, Figure 6). 58
Figure 4.4.3. Flattened geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone. Simple (3) and composite bipartite (1) and tripartite (2 and 4). - 1. Plaque "with cut-out head". Slate. Anta 1 de Cavaleiros, Ponte de Sor, Portalegre; - 2. Tritriangular" figurine. Slate. Anta Grande do Olival da Pega, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 3. Plaque with depiction of a tri-triangular figurine. Drawing not to scale (Monteiro, Zbyszewski and Ferreira, 196). Slate. Necropolis of Lapa do Bugio, Sesimbra, Setúbal; - 4. Tritriangular" figurines. Dolmen of Pozuelo, Zalamea la Real, Huelva; - 5. Oculate plaque with triangular and bitriangular motifs. La Mora Cave, Jabugo, Huelva. Drawing Pérez, Cruz and Ribero, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (1 and 2), Museu de Arqueologia e Etnografia do Distrito de Setúbal (3), Museo de Huelva (4). Museo de Sevilla (5). Photographs: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (1-3) and J.A. Linares 2021 (4) and museum (5). 59
Figure 4.4.4. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG), bipartite. Plaque "with cut-out head". Slate. Granja de Céspedes, Badajoz. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Photograph. MAN-Susana Vicente Galende Archive. 60
Figure 4.4.5. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG). Cylinder in limestone with complex oculate decoration. Cabezo de El Conquero (Huelva). Museo de Huelva. Photograph: Salvador Delgado Aguilar. 61
Figure 4.4.6. Truncated cone-shaped geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) ("decorated betiyls"). Limestone. - 1. Casaínhos, Loures, Lisbon; - 2. Gruta de Palmela, Setúbal; - 3. Necropolis of Carenque, Amadora, Lisbon. 1 and 2 Museu Geológico, Lisbon; 3. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Drawings in Leisner, 1965, Taf 23:78; Taf. 94: 7; Taf. 60: 29. Photographs: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. 61
Figure 4.4.7. Trapezoidal geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) ("flattened section betyls"). Greywacke. - 1. Lajes; - 2. Cerro do Moinho. Drawings not to-scale by Viana, Formosinho and Ferreia, 1953, Figures 10 and 11. Museum of Lagos Photographs: R. Soares. In Parreira and Morán, 2021. 62
Figure 4.4.8. Symbolic pottery from Western Iberia. - 1. Vase with tattooed face and female sex. Monte do Outeiro, Aljustrel, Beja; - Pottery fragment with incised decoration. Anta Grande do Olival da Pega, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Museu Geologico, Lisbon (1) and Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (2). Photographs: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. Remounting of the Olival de Pega piece by Ana Margarida Gata Simão -MNA-. 63
Figure 4.5.1. "Idols" in rock art "idols" (Acosta, 1967, Figures 1, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 11). 64
Figure 4.5.2. Oculate cave paintings. - 1. Cueva de la Diosa Madre (Cave of the Mother Goddess) and - 2. Abrigo Grande del Collado Guijarral, Segura de la Sierra, Jaén. Tracings not to scale of Navarrete, 1967. Retouched photograph by Javier López Payer. 65
Table 4.6.1. Correspondence of the standard list of "Hispanic Bronze I Idols" (Almagro, 1973) with those listed in the classification of L. Siret (1908) *, and others of the RBD indicated between [], present in the bibliography prior to the publication of M.J. Almagro. 67
Figure 4.6.1. Typology of the "Hispanic Bronze I Idols". Assembled from the drawings in M. J. Almagro Gorbea´s book 1973. 68
Figure 4.6.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone 1-2, lithic ideomorphic object (FX) -3- and human figure (FH) in bone -4-. - 1-2 phallic-shaped "Betyls" from Cabezo de Arruda (1), Torres Vedras and Palmela (2), Setúbal (Leisner, 1965, Taf. 7: 7 and Taf. 97: 94); - 3. "betyl with point" or handle from Cova da Moura, Torres Vedras collected in Valera, 2020, Fig 5: 4; - 4. Male human figure with object. Bone. Marroquíes Altos, Jaén. - 5. Detail of a human figure from Perdigões (Figure 8.1: 7), carrying an object, (Valera, 2020, Figure 5). 1. Museum of Jaén. Photo (1) Teresa Ximénez de Embún. 71
Table 4.6.2. Table of numbers (pieces and fragments) by type of "Bronze I idols" and their distribution in the Mediterranean and Atlantic seaboards of the Iberian Peninsula. Total numbers obtained from the compilation of data elaborated by M.J. Almagro (1973). Compiled by the authors. 72
Figure 4.6.3. Ideomorphic Object (FX) -1- and Geometric Anthropomorphic Figurine (FAG) -2-, both in stone. - 1. Lunula, Necropolis of Bautas, Amadora. Drawing not to scale (Leisner, 1965, Taf. 59: 17); - 2. Plaque from Anta do Couto do Vale do Magro, Crato (Ferreira, 1973, Figure I: 5). Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (1); Museu de História Natural, Universidade do Porto, Porto (2). Photographs: ADF/DGPC- José Paulo Ruas (1) and Esprit Catalogue 840 (2). 73

Chapter 5 Human Shapes for Social Research

Figure 5.1.1. Location, detail of the excavated area and contents of the pits UE 3027 (left) UE 3370 (right) from the settlement of Orden Seminario, Huelva. The limestone ideomorphic elements of cylindrical and truncated cone shape stand out. Photos Airgermá and J.A. Linares (Linares and Vera, 2021).....77
Figure 5.1.2. Lithic ideomorphic artefacts (FX) - 1 and 2. Crooks, Schist. Anta 4 da Herdade das Antas, Montemor-o-Novo, Évora and Anta 1 da Herdade do Passo, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 3 – 5. Acorns. Limestone. Necropolis of Carenque, Amadora, Lisbon (3); Necropolis of São Martinho, Sintra, Lisbon (4 and 5); - 6. Adze. Limestone, Necrópole das Baútas, Amadora, Lisbon. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs: MNA- Antonio Ventura (1) and ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (2-6). 78
Figure 5.2.1. Excavations in the Ciudad de la Justicia. Part of the enormous complex of the urban site of Marroquíes Bajos, in the sub soil of the city of Jaén. - 1-2. Aerial and ground level view, - 3. Female human figure with smiling expression (Barba Colmenero, 2010). Whole in Figure 8.1. Photographs: Narciso Zafra de la Torre and Vicente Barba Colmenero. 80
Figure 5.3.1. Male Human Figure (FH) from El Malagón, Cúllar Baza, Granada ivory. Museo Arqueológico de Granada. Photograph: Wikipedia commons. Drawings of the piece and reconstruction alternatives (Arribas, 1977). 82
Figure 5.3.2. Human figures (FH) in stone: female in stone (1) and head (2); Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG) bipartite composition (pendant) in shell in the form of a 'cut-out plaque' (3). - 1. El Malagón, Granada; - 2. Los Millares, Bastion IX, Fortín I, Almería; - 3. Cueva del Cortijo Canal, Granada. Inset: Late Neolithic flat statuette from Sardinia from Porto Ferro-Sassari, taken from Paglietti, 2020, Figure 10.2. Museo de Almería (2); Museo de Granada (1 and 3). Photographs Martínez and López, 2020, Figures 2: 8; 6:6 and 6:10. 83
Figure 5.3.3. V. Hurtado's typology for the "idols" of La Pijotilla, Badajoz. Highlighted, types VII and VIII. Drawings not to scale, Hurtado 1980 and 2010. Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz. Photographs of materials to scale: Eva Rocamora. .85

Chapter 6 Progress in the Knowledge of Geometric Shapes In the Iberian Figurines

Figure 6.1.1. Bitriangular, Timba d'En Barenys, Riudoms, Tarragona; - 2. "Idol" from Montmeló, Cal Metge, Barcelona (Bosch, 2010, Illustration III); - 3. Decorated plaque. Cova del Bosquet, Mont-ral, Tarragona. Museu d'Història de Riudoms (1), Museu Municipal de Montmeló (2) and Museu d'Arqueologia Salvador Vilaseca, Reus. (3). Photographs: 1 and 2. J. Bosch (2010). 3. Museu d'Arqueologia Salvador Vilaseca. 88
Figure 6.2.1. - 1. 'Hanging idol' from Ciavieja. Stone. El Ejido (Carrillero and Suárez, 1989-90, Figure 9; - 3-4). Anthropomorphic pendants in bone: El Trasvase and El Capitán, Lorca, (Ayala, 1985, Figure 4); - 5. "conical or horned idol" or andiron, Las Angosturas, Gor, (Escoriza, 1991-92, Figure 2). In photo, - 6. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG), flattened tripartite ("tritriangular"), Carada Cave, Granada. Museo de Granada. Photographs. Martínez y López, 2020 and 6. Graphic collection of the IAPH, Photo M.A. Blanco de la Rubia in García et al. 2020.....90
Figure 6.2.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Oculates on bone (1-4 and 7) or ivory (5 and 6) plaques. Flattened rectangular figurines (5-6), trapezoidal (2-4 and 7) and curved (1). - 1-4. Los Millares. Forts 1 and 5; - 5-6. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 7. Fonte Quente, Tomar, Santarem (Salvador and Ferreira, 2008, Figures 2 and 3). Museo de Almería (1-4), Era- Archaeology, Lisbon (5-6). Photographs: Manuel Ramos Lizana, Museo de Almería (1- 4) and 5-6, A.C. Valera 2020.....91
Figure 6.2.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Oculates on long bones located in Almizaraque, Almería. Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Photographs -a- Siret (1948) and -b- R. Maicas 2020, Figure 8.....93
Figure 6.2.4. Lithic pieces from Almeria: possible lithic ideomorphic object (FX) -1-, geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone -2-4 and 6- and human figure (FH). -5-. - 1. Unworked oval stone with narrowing in the middle ("El Garcel idol"); - 2- 3. Truncated conical with transversal groove, Almizaraque; - 4. Volumetric tripartite. Cerro de la Chinchilla; - 6. Flattened tripartite ("tritriangular"), oculate and with suggestion of sex, El Tarajal; - 5. Upright human figure, partial, Almizaraque. Museo Arqueológico Nacional (1-3 and 5). Photographs Archivo MAN - Ángel Martínez Levas (1-3 and 5); 4 and 6 Martínez y López, 2020. 95
Figure 6.2.5. Above: - 2. Tracing not to scale of the panel from Las Viñas, Alange, Badajoz (Martínez, 2002), with bitriangular and tritriangular anthropomorphic motifs, highlighting in red the pair of central figures. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG), flat, tripartite ("tritriangular") in bone: - 1. Terrera Ventura, Almería; - 3. Ereta del Pedregal, Navarrés, Valencia; - 4. Necropolis of Carenque - Gruta I, Amadora; - 5. Praia da Samarra, Sintra; - 6. Cueva del Castillejo del Bonete, Terrinches, Ciudad Real; - 7. Los Castillejos, Montefrio, Granada; - 8. Abrigo de Cerro Ortega, Villanueva de la Fuente, Ciudad Real; - 9. Abrigo del Tobar, Létur, Albacete; - 10. Les Jovades, Cocentaina, Alicante; 11. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Museo de Almería (1), Museo de Prehistoria Valencia (3), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (4-5); Museo de Ciudad Real (6 and 8); Museo de Albacete (9); MARQ, Alicante (10) and Era-Arqueologia, Lisbon (11). Images: Museums (3), José Manuel Sáiz (1 and 10), ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (4-5), 7: M. Altamirano 2014, Figure 16; 6 and 8: L. Benítez de Lugo, 2019, Figure 10 and 12; G. García Atiénzar (9) and A.C. Valera (11).....97
Figure 6.2.6. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -1-9- and ideomorphic object (FX) -10-. Oculates on long bones from Alicante, Murcia, Madrid and Jaén: - 1. Eras del Alcázar, Úbeda; - 2. Fuente La Mora, Leganés; -3. Cova del Penyó, Xaló; -4. Cova de Bolumini, Alfafara; - 5. El Fontanal, Onil; - 6. Avenc dels dos Forats, Carcaixent; - 7. Los Royos, Caravaca de la Cruz (horn); - 8. Decorative diagrams of two oculates from the Cova de La Pastora, Alcoy (Soler, 2017 and images of two of them); - 9. Wooden oculate, on bipartite flat figure, Cueva Sagrada, Murcia; - 10. Stone with painted anthropomorphic figure, Glorieta de San Vicente. Lorca. 2. Museo Arqueológico Regional, Madrid; 3. Museu Arqueològic i Etnogràfic, Soler Blasco, Xàbia; 4. Museu Arqueològic Camil Visedo, Alcoi; 5. MARQ, Alicante; 6 & 8. Museo Arqueológico de Lorca. Photographs: 1. F. Nocete and R. Lizcano; 2. M.A. Núñez; 4. Museo de Alcoy; 5. MARQ; 6. J. Ll. Pascual; 9. Museo de Lorca and 7 and 10. José Manuel Sáiz. 99
Figure 6.3.1. Above. Typology of decorated plaques from the Alentejo (Bueno, 1992). Below, geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Simple trapezoidal plaques with incised decoration (1) and incised, bas-relief and painted

decoration (2 and 3). In 2 the arms are convergent; in two (2 and 3) the eyes coincide with the perforations, expressing eyebrows and nose. - 1. Lapa da Galinha, Alcanena, Santarém; - 2 and 3. Dolmen of Trincones, Cáceres. Museu Nacional de Arqueología (1) and Museo Arqueológico de Cáceres (2-3). Photographs: ADF/DGPC - José Paulo Ruas (1) and R. de Balbín (2 and 3). 102
Figure 6.3.2. Above. Plaque typology according to decoration, K. Lillios 2020, Figure1; Bottom. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Simple trapezoidal oculate plaques: -2. Anta 2 da Herdade da Comenda, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; -3. Dolmen 2 de los Gabrieles, Valverde del Camino, Huelva. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa (2) and Museo de Huelva (3). Photographs: ADF/DGPC - José Paulo Ruas (2) and María Klauss (3). 105
Figure 6.3.3. Above. Decorative frameworks, (V. Gonçalves): - 1. components of the decoration of a simple plaque (Gonçalves, 2004a, Figure 1); - 2. Plaque with an asymmetrical geometric decoration or "crazy plaque", Ribeira de Odivelas (Gonçalves, 2003, Figure 8) and - 3. Plaque with two decorative syntaxes or 'hybrid plaque', Anta 1 da Herdade do Xarez, Reguengos de Monsaraz (Gonçalves, 2006, Figure 2. Below. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): simple plaque (4) and bipartite composite or with a prominent head (5-7). - 4. Anta de Cabacinhitos, Évora (Gonçalves, Pereira and Andrade, 2005, 45 and Figure 75); - 5 and 6. Anta da Marquesa, Marvão, Portalegre; - 7. Dolmen of Vega del Peso, S. Vicente de Alcántara, Badajoz. Missing piece from the Museum of Évora (4), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (5-6) and Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (7). Photographs: 4. cat. Esprit, 646, V. Gonçalves; Archivo MAN- Ángel Martínez Levas (7) and ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (5-6). 106
Figure 6.3.4. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): simple trapezoidal (1-2 and 4) and rectangular (3) lithic plaques with tritriangular engraved motifs (1-2 and 4) or with plaque silhouette with prominent head (3): -1. Lapa do Bugio, Sesimbra, Setubal (Cardoso, 1992, Est. 46); - 2. Anta 2 da Mitra, Herdade da Mitra, Évora (Gonçalves, 2006 B, Figure 17); 3. Anta 1 do Paço de Aragão, Montemor-o-Novo, Évora (Gonçalves, 2006 B, Figure 14); - 4. Anta de Herdade dos Galvões, Alandroal, Évora (Leisner and Leisner, 1959, Taf. 34, 2: 14 and Gonçalves, 2021, Figure 4). Museu Municipal de Sesimbra, Setubal (1), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (4), Museu de Évora (2-3). Photographs: Esprit, 541 - R.Soares (1), Gonçalves, 2021 (2) and Esprit, 246 and Gonçalves, 2021 (4). 109
Figure 6.4.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): plain oculate stone and bone (6) cylinders. - 1-3. Castro de Vila Nova de São Pedro, Azambuja, Lisbon; - 4. Tholos da serra das Mutelas, Torres Vedras, Lisbon; - 5. Necropolis of Carenque, Gruta I, Amadora, Lisbon; - 6-7. Tholos do Barro, Torres Vedras, Lisbon; - 8. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 9. Sierra de Morón, Morón de la Frontera, Seville; - 10. Valencina de la Concepción, Seville; - 11. Cerro de las Vacas, Lebrija, Seville; - 12. Orden Seminario, Huelva. Museu Arqueológico do Carmo (1-3), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (4-7), Era-Arqueologia, Lisbon (8), Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (9-10), Museo Arqueológico de Jerez (11), Museo de Huelva (12). Photographs: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (1-7); José Manuel Sáiz (9-10); 8. A.C. Valera 2020; 11. Víctor Hurtado, 2013 and Museo de Huelva (12). 111
Figure 6.4.2. Simple (1,2 and 5) and composite (3 and 4) anthropomorphic geometric figurines (FAG) in limestone with cylindrical and truncated cone morphology. - 1. Truncated cone oculate ("betyl"), - 4. Bipartite cylindrical ("garrafa") and - 5. Cylindrical oculate with engraved staff, Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora (Valera, 2020, Figure 9); - 2. Truncated cone with flattened section eyebrows ("betyl") and - 3. Bipartite cylindrical ("scale weight"), Gruta de Correio-Mor, Loures (Cardoso et al. 1996, Figures 6 and 10: 25). Era Arqueologia, Lisbon (1, 4 and 5) and Museo Nacional de Arqueologia (2 and 3). Photographs: A.C. Valera 2020. 113
Figure 6.4.3. Sculpture (1) and geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone. 1. oculate, Almargen, Malaga. Oculate cylinders with indication of sex (2 and 3): Ídolo de Alvega", Abrantes and - 3 Leceia, Oeiras. Museo de Almargen (1), Museu Ibérico de Arqueologia e Arte, Abrantes (2) and Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos do Concelho de Oeiras, Câmara Municipal de Oeiras (3). Photographs: Miguel Ángel Blanco de la Rubia, in García et al. 2020 (1), Fernando Bougard (2) and courtesy of João Luís Cardoso (3). 115
Figure 6.5.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) on natural bone: phalanges (1-5) and long bone (6) decorated with oculate and/or geometric motifs, with some showing arms (1, 5 and 6) and hands (1). -1-2. La Pijotilla, Badajoz, circular tomb (Hurtado, 1986, 2); - 3. Tholos de Huerta Montero, Almendralejo (Badajoz); - 4. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 5. Valencina de la Concepcion, Sector Avenida de Andalucía, Sevilla (Hurtado Pérez, 2013, Figure 15); - 5. Huerta de Dios, Casas de Reina, Badajoz, (Enríquez Navascués, 1983). Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (1-3 and 6), Era Arqueologia, Lisbon (4) and Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (5). Photographs: Rita Martos (4) and Francisco Blasco (3). 117
Figure 6.5.2. Objects and parts of ideomorphic objects (FX) -1-2 and 4 - fragments of geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -3 and 5- in clay (1), gold (2 and 4) and ivory (3 and 5). - 1. Loom weight with symbolic and anthropomorphic decoration. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 2 and 4. Embossed gold sheets with oculate decoration from Seville, Valencina de la Concepción: Tholos de las Canteras, El Gandul, Alcalá de Guadaira (2) and Tholos de Montelirio, Castilleja de Guzmán (4); - 3 and 5. Oculates on ivory sheets : La Pijotilla, Badajoz -3- (Hurtado, 2010, Figure 9) and Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora -5-. Era Arqueología, Lisboa (1 and 5), Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (2 and 4), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (3). Photographs A. Valera (2020, 6) -1 and 6-, J. Sáiz (2-3) and P. Quesada (4) 118
Figure 6.6.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) from the Northwest. 1 y 2. Ellipsoid ("idol form stones"); 3. Tripartite composition. - 1 and 2 - Corridor tomb from Cova da Moura, Noina. 3 - Dolmen of Dombate, Cabana de Bergantiños (Fábregas, et al. 2020, Figures 7, 10 and 17). 119

Chapter 7 Anthropomorphic Expression in Clay

Figure 7.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figures -FAG- 1,2,4,5 and 7 and human figures -FH- 3 and 6 in clay, female (1-3, 5-7). FAG: - 1. Flat bipartite ("bitriangular") known as "Venus de Benaoján", Gruta de La Pileta, Benaoján (Málaga). - 2. Rectangular with breasts, El Chorrillo Bajo, Lorca, Murcia; - 4. Head with fase of a possible bipartite figurine, Valencina de la Concepción, Seville; - 5. Bipartite with perforations for eyes and breasts, Cabezo Juré, Alosno, Huelva; - 7. Truncated biconical with breasts. Dolmen of Casullo, Berrocal (Huelva). FH: - 3 and 6. La Pijotilla, Tomb 3, Badajoz, (Hurtado, 2010, Figure 12). Museo de Málaga (1), Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Lorca (2),

Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (4), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (3 and 6) and Museo de Huelva (5 and 7). Photographs: Museo de Málaga (1), Jose Manuel Sáiz (2 and 4), María Klauss (7) and 5 (Nocete and Nocete, 2015). 123
Figure 7.2. Human figures (FH) -1-2 and 4- and geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG) -3- in clay. FH: -1. Seated. Cuesta de los Almendrillos, Alozaina, Málaga, (Fernández and Márquez, 2001, 77); - 2. Upright with head, waist and legs, Valencina de la Concepción, Sevilla, (Hurtado, 2013, Figure, 4); - 4. Articulated "Torso de Nerja", Málaga, (Simón and Cortés, 2007, Figure 2). FAG: - 3. Flat ellipsoid with groove, «glans». Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora, (Valera, 2015, Figure 3: 5). 125
Figure 7.3. Symbolic pottery from Western Iberia. - 1. Leceia, Oeiras, (Cardoso, 2009, Figure 10); - 2 - 3. Buraco da Pala and settlement of S. Lourenço, Chaves (Sanches, 2021, Figure 4); - 4. La Pijotilla, Badajoz, (Hurtado, 2010, Figure 6); - 5. Anta Grande de Zambujeiro, Évora, (Rocha, 2005, Figure 14). 126
Figure 7.4. Symbolic pottery from Western Iberia: - 1. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora, (Valera, 2015, Figure 6); - 2. Anta Grande de Zambujeiro, Évora. Sketch (Rocha, 2005, Figure 6). 127

Chapter 8 Anthropomorphic Figurines from Southwest Iberia

Figure 8.1. Upright human figurines (FH) in bone -1-3, 6 and 8? -, stone -4- and ivory -7- ("anthropomorphic idols"): - 1-2. Marroquíes Bajos, Jáen; - 3 and 6 Cerro de la Cabeza, Valencina de la Concepción, Seville; - 4. La Pijotilla, Badajoz; - 5. La Habilla, Villar de Rena, Badajoz; - 7. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz; - 8. Llerena, Badajoz. Museo de Jaén (1-2), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (4 and 5), Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (3 and 6), ERA Arqueologia, Lisbon (7) and José Iñesta Mena Collection (8). Photographs: José Iñesta Mena (8), A. Valera (7), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (5), Eva Rocamora (4), T. Ximénez (1), Museo de Jaén (2) and J. M. Sáiz (3 and 6). 131

Chapter 9 Summary of Human Geometry and Ideomorphus Portable Objects

Figure 9.1.1. Figurative expressions covered by the Bibliographic Register of Denominations. RBD Nos. 1 to 19. 134
Figure 9.1.2. Figurative expressions covered by the Bibliographic Register of Denominations. RBD Nos. 20 to 42. 136
Figure 9.1.3. Figurative expressions covered by the Bibliographic Register of Denominations. RBD Nos. 43 to 72. 138
Figure 9.3. General definition of portable figurative expressions. Anthropomorphic figures: Human figurines (FH) and Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG); Ideomorphic objects (FX) and Zoomorphic figures (FZ). Images: - 1-3. Described in other figures in this book; - 4. Reproduction of the vase from burial 15 at Los Millares, Almería; 5. Sows from Leceia, Oeiras. Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid (4) and Câmara Municipal de Oeiras (5). Photographs Archivo MAN - Ángel Martínez Levas (4) and courtesy of João Luís Cardoso (5). 140
Figure 9.4. Development of the Human Figurines (FH) classification system. 142
Figure 9.5.1 Development of the classification system for geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). 145
Figure 9.5.1.1. Development of the classification system for geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) of Composite condition (C) with transversal limbs (I). FAG/C.I. 147
Figure 9.5.1.2. Development of the classification system for geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) of composite condition (C) without transversal limbs (II) flat (pl). FAG/C.II.pl. 149
Figure 9.5.1.3 Development of the classification system for geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) of composite condition (C) without transversal limbs (II) volumetric (v).FAG/C.II.v. 152
Figure 9.5.2. Development of the classification system of the geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) of simple (S) rectangular (R), trapezoidal (T) and ellipsoid (E) condition in their flattened (rectangular -r-, trapezoidal -t- or flat ellipsoid -pl-) and volumetric (cylindrical -c-, truncated cone -tr- or volumetric ellipsoid -v-) variants. 155
Figure 9.6. Development of the ideomorphic object (FX) classification system. 161
Table 9.6. Shapes and sizes of vessels with symbolic decoration. 163

Chapter 10 Crafts, Workshops and Functionalities

Figure 10.1.1. Neolithic vases with symbolic decorative expressions - 1. "Venus de Gavà", vase with anthropomorphic decoration. Gavà-Can Tintorer mines, Barcelona. Drawing of the piece and sections, Ramón Álvarez (Calvo et al. 2021, Figure 3); - 2. Ceramic fragment with an oculate expression. Minas de Casa Montero, Vicálvaro, Madrid (Bueno and Balbín, 2012); - 3. Ceramic fragment with incised oculate motif. Cueva de Los Murciélagos, Zuheros, Córdoba. Museo de Gavà (1), Museo de Córdoba (3) and Museo Arqueólogical Regional, Madrid (2). Photographs: Depository institutions. 169
Figure 10.1.2. Neolithic figurative expressions: vases (1) and anthropomorphic figurines in pottery: - 1. Anthropomorphic vase from La Paleta, Toledo (Jiménez et al. 2008); - 2. Anthropomorphic figurine "Encantat de Begues", Cova de Can Sadurní, Begues, Barcelona; - 3. Torso of a human figure, Valada do Mato, Évora; - 4. Congosto vessel, Madrid. Museo Arqueológico de Toledo (1), Centre d'estudis Beguetans, Begués (2), UNIARQ - Centro de Arqueologia de la Universidad de Lisboa (3), Museo Arqueológico Regional, Madrid (4). Photographs: 1.R De Balbín 2. Jordi Maroto, 3. DGPC/ADF- José Paulo Ruas and 4. Museo Arqueológico Regional de Madrid. 170
Figure 10.1.3. Ceramic vessels with symbolic decoration: - 1. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora and - 2. La Encantada, Cuevas del Almanzora, Almería; - 3 - 4. Zoomorphic ceramic vases: Marcela (3), Vila Real de Santo António, Faro and Necropolis of La Zarcita , Santa Barbara de Casa (4); -5. Clay figurine with breasts painted in red. Cerro del Mármol, Seville -6. Not to scale: clay figurines painted with bands of cinnabar. Montelirio dolmen, Castilleja de Guzmán, Seville (Bueno and Balbín, 2016). ERA Arqueologia, Lisbon (1), Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (2), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (3), Museo de Huelva (4), Museo Arqueológico de Valencina de la Concepción (5), Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (6). Photographs: António Valera (1), José Manuel Sáiz (2), DGPC/ADF- José Paulo Ruas (3), María Klauss (4) Archiv Museo de Valencina 5) and R. Balbín (6). 172
Figure 10.2.1. -1. "Spatula-idols". El Miradero, Villanueva de los Caballeros (Valladolid). Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): long bones with oculate decoration. - 2. Abrigo de las Nogueras IV, Santiago de la Espada, Jaén;

-3. El Fontanal, Onil, Alicante. Museo de Valladolid (1), Museo de La Carolina, Jaén (2) and Museo Arqueológico de Alicante, MARQ (3). Photographs: Museo de Valladolid (1) and José Manuel Sáiz (2-3). 174
Figure 10.2.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): long bones with painted oculate decoration. - 1-3. Cova del Barranc del Càfer. Pedreguer, Alicante. Photos and drawings J. A. López Padilla, in Soler, 2017. Figure 7.34. Above: Cutouts in the lateral faces of the proximal area of the diaphysis and signs of wear on the front of the bone BC2-162 (Num. 1, below), (Benito, 2017, Figure 8: 5). Museo Arqueológico y Etnográfico "Soler Blasco", Xàbia.....175
Figure 10.2.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -1-3- and ideomorphic objects (FX) -4-5- in bone (1-4) and ivory (5). - 1. Rib with engraved oculate and geometric decoration. Almizaraque, Campos del Almanzora, Almería; - 2. Rib with painted oculate and geometric decoration, Terrera Ventura, Tabernas, Almería; -3. Long bone with oculate decoration. Cueva de Juan Barbero, Tielmes, Madrid (drawing, Martínez Navarrete, 1984); -4. Crook, Cova da Moura, Torres Vedras (drawing Cardoso, 2021, fig.7.2); -5. Crook with geometric decoration, Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (1 and 3), Museo de Almería (2), ERA Arqueologia, Lisbon (5). Photographs: Archivo MAN- Ángel Martínez Levas (1) and Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (3), Museo de Almería (2) and Margarida Santos (5).....177
Figure 10.2.4. Faces of human figurines (FH) known as 'anthropomorphic idols'. - 1. Ciudad de la Justicia, Marroquíes Bajos, Jaén (bone); - 2. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora (ivory); - 3 and 4 Cerro de la Cabeza, Valencina de la Concepción, Sevilla (bone); - 5. La Pijotilla, Badajoz (stone); - 6. Llerena, Badajoz (bone?). Museums of Jaén (1), Arqueológico de Sevilla (3 and 4) and Arqueológico de Badajoz (5); Era Arqueología, Lisbon (2) and José Iñiesta Mena Collection (6). Enlargements of photographs by Vicente Barba Colmenero (1), José Paulo Ruas (2), J. M. Sáiz (3-4), Eva Rocamora (5) and José Iñiesta Mena (6). 180
Figure 10.3.1. - 1. "Draghetti" or notched wooden tool from La Marmotta, Rome (Mineo et al. 2023, Figure 9); -2. Ideomorphic object. Lime stone. Necropolis of Carenque, Amadora, Lisbon; -3. Adze with geometric decoration. Necropolis of São Martinho, Sintra, Lisbon. Museo Nazional e Preistorico Etnografico "Luigi Pigorini", Rome (1); Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (2 and 3). Photographs: Juan Gibaja (1); DGPC/ADF - José Paulo Ruas (2 and 4)....182
Figure 10.3.2. Monument 3 of Chã de Arcas - Vila Pouca de Aguiar. Photo of the excavation of the monument with identification of the "idol-shaped stones" still inserted in the stone ring transversal to the access axis; photographic record according to Sanches et al. 2021, Figure 2. 184
Figure 10.3.3. Small megalithic stelae (Bueno et al. 2022a): a. Dombate; b, c. Monte dos Remédios; d. Pumares; e. Westray; f. g. Douet; h. Pool, Sanday; i. Bury; j. L'Hirondelle; k. Bois de Fourgo; l. Mendigana, Images from Benetau, 2012; Bueno Ramírez et al., 2009a; Bueno Ramírez et al., 2019a; Fábregas Valcarce et al., 2020; Hernanz et al., 2016; Large and Mens, 2017. 186
Figure 10.4.1. Graphic reading and photographic elevation of the engravings and paintings of the chamber of the dolmen of Montelirio, Castilleja de Guzmán, Seville, (Bueno et al. 2016). Photographs by R. de Balbín. 188

Chapter 11 Geographies and Contexts of Figurines in Late Iberian Prehistory

Figure 11.1.1. - 1. Dispersion of decorated plaques in the Iberian Peninsula. Data obtained from Almagro Gorbea, 1973; Leisner, 1951; Bueno Ramírez, 2010 and Lillios, 2004, with updates; - 2. Concentration of sites with decorated plaques in the Portuguese Alentejo (Bueno, 2020, Figures 1 and 2).....192
Figure 11.1.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stoneware (1-2), sandstone (3) and quartzite (4-5). Trapezoidal plaques. With face and hands: - 1. With incised decoration: Barbacena, Elvás -unscaled drawing by L. Siret 1908, Plate VIII-; - 2. With decoration in bas relief: Anta do Espadanal, Estremoz, Évora; - 3. Plain: Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy; - 4-5. Roughed: Dolmen de Trincones, Cáceres. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (1), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa (2), Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia (3), Museo de Cáceres (4-5). Photographs: Archivo MAN - Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (1), DGPC/ADF- José Pessoa (2), Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia (3) and R. de Balbín (4-5).....194
Figure 11.1.3. Above. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone (1) and bone (2-3): - 1. Trapezoidal oculate plaque with incised tritriangulars. Mértola, Beja, unscaled drawing by V.S. Gonçalves, 2006, Figure 10; - 2-3. Tripartite flattened figures ("tritriangular"): Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora (2) and Praia de Samarra, Sintra, Lisbon (3). Below. Tracing of the Anta de Pedralta. Porto (Shee, 1981). Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (1), Museu Geológico, Lisbon (3), ERA Arqueologia S.A. Lisbon (2). Photographs: DGPC/ADF- José Paulo Ruas (1 and 3) and A.C. Valera (2).....195
Figure 11.1.4. Geometric anthropomorphic bone figurines (FAG): - 1. Phalange. El Juncal, Getafe, Madrid; - 2. Flat composite with head, Cueva del Tío Republicano, Romangordo, Cáceres. Drawing, Cerrillo and González, 2011, Figure 15; - 3-6. Oculates on long bones: La Pijotilla, Tomb 3. Drawing, Víctor Hurtado. Museo Arqueológico Regional de Madrid (1), Museo de Cáceres (2), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (3-6). Photograph: Mario Torquemada -Archivo MAR (1). 196
Figure 11.1.5. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in limestone. Oculate cylinders. - 1. Herdade da Cariola, Ervidel, Beja; - 2. La Pijotilla, Badajoz; -3. Moncarapacho, Olhão, Faro; -4. Montmaurin, Haute-Garonne. 1. Museo de Sines, 2. Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz, 3. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs: Gonçalves, 2022 Figure 3 (1); Eva Rocamora (2); DGPC/ADF- José Paulo Ruas (3) and Clottes, 1977, Figure 35 (4). 198
Figure 11.1.6. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in limestone. Flat bipartites with oculate decoration: - 1. La Pijotilla, Badajoz and - 2. Monte do Pombal, Monforte, Portalegre. Truncated biconical ("hopper") in stone: - 3. Pêra, Silves, Faro. 1. Museo de Arqueológico Badajoz, 2 and 3. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs Víctor Hurtado (1) and DGPC/ADF- José Paulo Ruas (2 and 3).....200
Figure 11.1.7. Perdigões. Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Above, enclosures (geophysical image) and burials. Below. Detail of the restoration of the wooden structure associated with the "wooden circle" in the central area. Images: António Carlos Valera. NIA - Núcleo de Investigação Arqueológica - ERA Arqueologia S.A. Lisbon.....201
Figure 11.2.1. Composite lithic (1-8) and bone (9-13) geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Flat: bipartite with arms: - 1-3. Llano de la Rueda I, Tabernas, Almería and - 7-8. Loma de la Torre, Cantoria, Almería; - 9. Fragmented

tripartite. Castillejo del Bonete, Terrinches, Ciudad Real ;- 10. Cruciform ("anchor-shaped") and -11-13. Tripartite ("tritriangular"), Cova de la Barcella, Torre de les Maçanes, Alicante; - 4. Fragmented with body and head, Abrigo de Viñas Viejas, Elche de la Sierra, Albacete. Truncated biconical volumetric ("hoppers") in stone: - 5. Rambla de las Pocicas, Almería and - 6. Southeast Iberian Peninsula. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (1-3 and 5-8), Museo de Albacete (4), Museo de Ciudad Real (9), MARQ (10-13). Photographs: MAN Archive - Ángel Martínez Levas (1, 5-8) and Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (2 and 3); Gabriel García Atiénzar (4); Gabriel Menchén Herreros and Luis Benítez de Lugo Enrich (9).M. A Cabrera (10); Soler Díaz, 2017 (10- 13). 202
Figure 11.2.2. Decorative designs painted on 19 oculates on long bones. Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy (Soler, 2017, Figure 37). The reference of the drawing of the original piece is indicated (Soler, 2002, vol. II). Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): long bones with oculate decoration. El Niuet, Alqueria d'Asnar (Pascual Benito, 2021, 85.) Museo de Arqueológico Municipal de Alcoy....204
Figure 11.2.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG), lithic, truncated cone shaped ("betyl"). Los Millares, Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Photograph Verónica Schulmeister Guillén - Archivo MAN. Images of the necropolis of Los Millares: a) deposit of "betyls" at the entrance to Tomb 9 (Almagro Basch and Arribas Palau, 1963); b) images of tombs 52-54 after consolidation; c) View of reconstructed tomb 17 (Molina, 2021). Photographs. Images: Paisajes Españoles / M.A. Blanco. GEPRAN Research Group, Dept. of Prehistory and Archaeology, Univ. of Granada. Images taken from Molina González, 2020....206
Figure 11.2.4. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) on bone supports: long bones (1-3) and phalanges (5-6) with oculate decoration; truncated biconical - "hopper" - (4). - 1, 3 y 5. Almizaraque, Cuevas de la Almanzora, Almería; - 4 and 6. Tombs 40 (4) and 7 (6) from Los Millares, Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería. Drawings, Siret, 1908, Plate IV: 1 and 2. (Museo Arqueológico Nacional) Photographs Archivo MAN- Miguel A. Martínez Levas (4) and Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (1 and 3) and José Manuel Sáiz (2). 207
Figure 11.3.1. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora: a. Distribution of pieces in the site (Valera, 2021, Figure 5). Human figurines and fragments. Ivory (b and c) linked to the cremated human bones from Pit 40, (Valera, 2020, Figures 2 and 3). 209
Figure 11.4.1. -1. Gruta do Correio-Mor, Loures. Reconstruction of the "altar-shrine" (Cardoso et al. 1995, Figure 12); -2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG) Bipartite cylindrical ("scale weight"). Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photograph ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. -3. Dolmen of Dombate, Cabana de Bergantiños, A Coruña. Reconstruction of the row of "idols" located in the excavation, image taken from Fábregas et al. 2020, Figure 21. 212
Figure 11.4.2. Dolmen of Trincones I, Alcántara, Cáceres (a-b) and Anta da Horta Alter do Chão, Portalegre (d-e). Views of the exterior and deposit of figurines of "plaques with hands" and polished pieces. c) Highlights of the Trincones (above) and Anta da Horta (below) deposits. Images R. de Balbín and Oliveira, 2021. 215

Chapter 12 People and Small Human Bodies

Figure 12.1.1. Above: General view of dolmens 3 and 4 at Pozuelo, Zalamea la Real, Huelva (Photograph by R. Balbín). On the left, images of the stelae to which the burial mounds are related (Bueno, Balbín and Barroso, 2017): Figure 15, and of figurines similar in morphology: back of the human figurine from Almizaraque (Figure 4.2.1) and head of the geometric anthropomorphic lithic figurine of flat and tripartite composite form ("tritriangular") from the same necropolis of Pozuelo (Figure 4.4.3). Below. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG): oculate cylinder in limestone. Alcalar, Portimão, Faro. Museu de Portimão. Photographs ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. 219
Figure 12.1.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): oculate faces with and without nose, on different lithic (1,2,4,6-8), bone (3) and ceramic (5) media. 1: Mértola (Figure 11.1.3), 2: Espadanhal (Figure 11.1.2), 3: Los Castellones (Figure 4.2.4), 4: Perdigões (Figure 6.4.2), 5: Monte Outeiro (Figure 4.4.8), 6: Granja de Céspedes (Figure 4.4.4), 7: Anta da Horta (Figure 14.2.1: 4) and 8: Monte do Pombal (Figure 11.1.6). 220
Figure 12.1.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -1-3 and 5- and human figurine (FH) -4- in stone (1,3 and 5) and bone (2 and 4) with indication of arms in different positions. On the pubis (1), under the belly (4), open (5), open raised (2 and 3). 1: Anta da Horta (Figure 14.2.1), 2. Blanquizáres de Lebor (Figure 12.1.4), 3. Blanquizáres de Lebor, 4. Marroquies Altos (Figure 8.1) and 5. Deposit: indicated in reference figures and Museo de Almería (3); Photographs: indicated in reference figures and Museo de Almería (3). 222
Figure 12.1.4. Rock art. Anthropomorphic figurines (1, 5 and 8) and face (6) with masks: - 1. Los Órganos, Santa Elena, Jaén. Tracing: González Navarrete, 1966, Plate 4; - 5. Abrigo de los Oculados, Henarejos, Cuenca. Tracing: Ruiz, 2006, Figure 3 and image by F.J. Ruiz; - 8. Abrigo I Cabeçó d'Or, Relleu, Alicante (Soler, Barciela and Ferrer, 2018, Figure 18); - 6. Penya Escrita, Tárbena, Alicante (Soler and Barciela, 2018, Figure 15). Human figurine (FH) -4- and geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -2, 3 and 7- in stone (4) and bone (2,3 and 7). - 4. Partial representation in stone, Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy, Alicante; -2. Pair of flattened tripartite pieces ("tritriangular"), Cova d'En Pardo, Planes, Alicante; - 3. Cruciform ("anchor-shaped"), Blanquizares de Lébor, Totana, Murcia; - 7. Long bone with painted oculate decoration. El Fontanal, Onil, Alicante. Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Alcoy (2), Museo de Almería (3), Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia (4) and MARQ (7) Photographs: depositary museums and José Manuel Sáiz (7). 223
Figure 12.2.1. Decorated menhir. Caramujeira, Lagoa, Faro. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photograph: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. 224
Figure 12.2.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): trapezoidal and rectangular stone plaques. Simple with the 'head' highlighted in the decoration (1), composite with the head highlighted in the shape (2) and simple with a decoration in which the outline of a plaque with the head highlighted and within it a 'tritriangular' with hands can be seen (Figure 4.4.3). - 1. Anta Grande de Olival da Pega, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 2. Anta do Curral da Antinha, Arraiolos, Évora; - 3. Lapa do Bugio, Sesimbra, Setubal. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (1 and 2) and Museu de Arqueologia e Etnografia do Distrito de Setubal (3). Photographs: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. ...226
Figure 12.3.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): trapezoidal stone plaques with geometric decoration. With traces of red (1 and 2), reused (3) and with oculate motif (4). - 1. Cueva de la Mora, Huelva; - 2. Esparragalejo, Badajoz; - 3. Anta de Currais da Galhordas, Castelo da Vide, Portalegre; 4. Cerro de la Cabeza, Valencina de la Concepción,

Seville. Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (1 and 4), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (2). Photographs 1-3, Bueno, 2020, Figure 5; José Manuel Sáiz (4). 228
Figure 12.3.2. Above. Anthropomorphic figurines from the circle of Xagħra, Malta, (Vella Gregory, 2020, Figure 12). Below, geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) truncated biconical "hopper". Tomb 8 from Rambla de las Pocicas, Tabernas, Almería, (Maicas, 2020, Figure 12). Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid....230

Chapter 13 Combining Human Images. Figurines in the Iberian Post-Glacial Art

Figure 13.1.1. Schematic human figures between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods in Europe from the 12th to the 8th millennia Before Present (Bueno and Balbín, 2021, Figure 19). 236
Figure 13.1.2. - a Regato das Bouças, Serra de Passos, Bragança. Frieze of painted motifs from Abrigo 11, recorded with multispectral photography; - Abrigo 15: details, with multispectral logarithm photography resources of the motifs. Note the multiplicity of forms of the hidden motifs. Photographs Luis Bravo and authors of the reference publication: Sanches et al. 2021, Figure 3. 238
Figure 13.1.3. Bitriangular motifs. Penedo Gordo, Vilardevos, Orense (1) and Abrigo de Piruetanal, Ciudad Real (2), (Alves and Comendador, 2022, Figure 6). Pala de Cabras, Casaio, Orense. Painted oculates, proposed tracings. Panels 13 (4), 16 (3), 19 (5), (Tejerizo et al. 2020). Lithic geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG): - 6. Plaque from A Carballeira, (Bueno et al. 2013, collected in Fábregas, 2020), Figure 2. Museo de Pontevedra. 239
Figure 13.1.4. Types of "Simplified oculate idols" and "Sun-ray oculate idols", according to the classification of V. Barciela, 2020, Figure 6. Simplified oculate idols: Abrigo I del Nacimiento del Río Frío, Soria (1); Abrigo I del Cabeçó d'Or, Alicante (2) and La Graja de Jimena, Jaén (3). Simplified linked oculate idols: Cova del Barranc del Migdia, Alicante (4). Simplified sun-ray oculate idols: Cabeçó d'Or, Alicante (5, 6, 8); Cova del Barranc del Migdia, Alicante (7); Abrigo II del Nacimiento del Río Frío, Jaén (9); Cova Roja II, Alicante (10) and Abrigo de las Covachicas, Albacete (11). Simplified sunray and anthropomorphised oculate idols: Abrigo I del Nacimiento del Río Frío, Soria (12); Abrigo pequeño de Las Viñas or La Calderita 2, Badajoz (13); Cabeçó d'Or, Alicante (14) and Cueva del Gitano, Albacete (15). Typical sun-ray and anthropomorphised oculate idols: Abrigo II de Meravelles, Valencia (16); Abrigo Grande de Cantos de la Visera, Murcia (17); Barranc dels Garrofers, Alicante (18); Cabeçó d'Or, Alicante (19); Abrigo 15 do Regato das Bouças, Bragança (20) and Abrigo 11 do Regato das Bouças (21), Bragança. 241
Figure 13.2.1. - 1. Antelas Dolmen, Oliveira de Frades. Motifs on the front slab of the chamber. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): plaques with oculate and geometric decoration (2) and geometric decoration (3): - 2. Anta do Rabaçal, Montemor-o-Novo, Évora; - 3. La Pijotilla, Badajoz. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (2) and Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (3). Photographs: Rodrigo de Balbín (1), DGPC/ADF-José Paulo Ruas (2) and Eva Rocamora (3). 244
Figure 13.2.2. Symbolic Bell Beaker pottery and slab with sun-shape motifs: - 1. Las Vegas, Huecas, Toledo (Barroso et al. 2015); - 2. Cerro de la Virgen de Orce, Granada (Schüle and Pellicer, 1966); - 3. Decorated slab. Dolmen of Trincones, Alcántara, Cáceres (Bueno et al. 1999). Deer and sun-shapes in Ciempozuelos-style Bell Beaker pottery: - 4. San Blas, Cheles, Badajoz (Hurtado, 2004); - 5 and 7. Palmela, Portugal (Soares, 2003); - 8 and 9. Los Millares, Almería, Museo Arqueológico Nacional; 6. Las Carolinas, Madrid (Museo Arqueológico Regional de Madrid). Compiled in Bueno et al. 2017. Figures 5 and 6. 245
Figure 13.3.1. - 1. Anthropomorphic stele. Granite. Serra da Boulhosa, Paredes de Coura, Viana do Castelo, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon; - 2. Cromlech of Almendres, Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe, Évora, Portugal; - 3 - 4. "Idol of Peñatu", Puertas, Llanes. Photographs: ADF/DGPC- José Paulo Ruas (1), Rodrigo Balbín (2); João Carvalho, Wikimedia Commons (3) and Rodrigo de Balbín (4). 246
Figure 13.3.2. Above. Orthophotograph of the necropolis of Panoría (Darro, Granada) with the location of grave 17. Excavation of tomb 17 with the position of the stele and details of its structure. Photos G. Aranda. Below. Front, back, and the two sides of the altar stele. The eyes in relief can be seen, as well as the punctures that delimit them and the fine wolf's-tooth incisions on the front. The back is natural, although the blow to fracture the lower part and the concave carving to perhaps mark the legs can be seen. On the sides there are traces of colour in oblique lines parallel to each other. Photos R. de Balbín, according to Bueno et al. 2023. Figures 2 and 6. 248

Chapter 14 The Daughters of the Sun, Testimony of the Social Relations and Connectivities in Late Iberian Prehistory

Figure 14.1.1. - 1. Decorated box. Limestone, Tholos do Barro, Torres Vedras, Lisbon. Zoomorphic amulets. Green stone: - 2. Necrópole de Carenque, Gruta II, Amadora, Lisbon; - 3-4. Gruta das Lapas, Torres Novas, Santarém. Bone zoomorphic pendants: - 5-7. Necropolis of Murvierdro, Murcia; - 4. 1-4: Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon; 5-7: Museo Arqueologico de Murcia. Photographs ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (1-4) and Museo Arqueológico de Murcia (5-7). 251
Figure 14.1.2. Anthropomorph with mask. "Idol" from Barranc dels Garrofers, Planes, (Hernández, Barciela and Torregrosa, 2018, Figure 7). Photograph Virginia Barciela and F. Javier Molina. 252
Figure 14.2.1. Plaques as references for megalithic orthostats. - 1-4. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Simple trapezoidal plaques "with hands" (1, 2 and 4) and composite, with prominent head (3) with incised decoration (2-3) and in bas-relief (1 and 4). Anta da Horta, Alter do Chão, Portalegre. Direção Regional de Cultura – Alentejo. Below, Anta da Cunha Baixa. Photographs ADF/DGPC- José Paulo Ruas (1-4) and Francisco Javier Torres Goberna. 254
Figure 14.2.2. Example of a small, portable figurine that helps to expand concepts. Female human figurine (FH) in clay. Monte Novo dos Albardeiros, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. Photographs: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (5). 256
Figure 14.3.1. Identity symbols on different media. Expression of eyebrows as crooks. Geometric anthropomorphic figure (FAG) in stone. Truncated cone. "Betyl": - 1. Casaínhos, Loures, Lisbon; Ideomorphic objects (Fx) ceramic vessels

(2-4) and stone crook (5): - 2. Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja, Montemor-o- Novo, Évora; - 3. Anta do Carvalho, Mora, Évora; - 4. Anta 1 da Herdade da Moita, Mora, Évora; - 5. Anta 2 da Lobeira de Baixo, Montemor-o-Novo, Évora. Photographs ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. 258
Figure 14.3.2. - 1. Menhir de Meada, Castelo de Vide Alentejo. - 2. Geometric anthropomorphic figure (FAG) in limestone with a truncated cone shape, evoking a monumental reference. "Betyl" with a face indicated by eyebrows and linear and geometric decoration. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. Photographs: 1. Roundtheworld CC BY-SA 4.0. Wikimedia Commons and ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. 260
Figure 14.3.3. Cova d'En Pardo, Planes Alicante. Collective burial level of a "temple cave" from the East of the Iberian Peninsula with tripartite "tri-triangular" geometric anthropomorphic figures -Figure 12.1.4: 2-. Photograph. F. Sánchez, 1995 (a). Hypothetical reconstruction of a primary burial towards the centre of the cavern (b), based on a previous photograph, by Llorenç Pizà. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) flat tripartite anthropomorphic figures in bone located in the old excavations (c). Photograph and deposit Museo de Alcoy, (Soler and Roca de Togores, 2012). 262
Figure 14.3.4. Painted anthropomorphic figurine from shelter 11. Regato das Bouças, Serra de Passos, Bragança (Sanches et al. 2021). 264
Figure 14.4.1. Example of small, portable figurine that helps to expand concepts. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG). Flat, tripartite with oculate motif. Alcalar, Portimão, Faro. (Museu de Portimão) Photograph ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. 265
Figure 14.4.2. - 1. Ideomorphic object (FX). Sandal-shaped. Decorated sheet embossed with geometric and oculate motifs. Gold. Valencina de la Concepción, Seville; - 2. Pair of votive sandals, limestone, Necropolis of Alapraia, Grotto II, Cascais, Lisbon. 1. Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla, 2. Câmara Municipal de Cascais, Museu da Vila. Photographs: José Manuel Sáiz (1) and ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (2). 267

Chapter 15. An Exceptional Legacy

Figure 15.1.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figures (FAG) oculates in stone. Flat bipartite (1 and 2) and cylindrical (3): - 1. Piece from Badajoz owned by the politician Alejandro Pidal Mon; - 2. Piece obtained by confiscation and from Badajoz and - 3. Piece recovered at auction. 2 and 3 Museo Arqueológico National, Madrid. Photographs: Cabré Archive – Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte (1) and Archivo MAN - Susana Vicente Galende (2 and 3). 270
Figure 15.1.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) oculates in stone (1,2 and 5) and bone (3-4). Cylinders (1 and 2), truncated cone (5) and long bones (5). Pieces resulting from looting: Cueva de La Hoja de Cehegín (3 and 4) and without provenance (1, 2 and 5). Museo Arqueológico de Murcia. Photographs by Jesús Gómez Carrasco. Archivo Museo Arqueológico de Murcia. 271
Figure 15.1.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone not found in museums: cylindrical bipartite with breasts (1), cylindrical with octagonal decoration (2 and 3) and trapezoidal with oculate decoration (4 and 5). They are in private collections in Andalusia: Cerro de las Vacas, Lebrija. Álvarez Rojas, 1982, 2. Caro Bellido, 1982 and 3. Caro Bellido, 1982-83; missing: 4. Sepultura 40 de Cabezas Rubias, Huelva (Cerdán, Leisner and Leisner, 1952) and 5. Quinta da Farinheira, Chelas, Lisbon (Zbyszewski, 1957). 273
Figure 15.2.1. Painted oculate anthropomorph with sun-shaped head. Schematic Art. Abric I del Cabeçó d'Or, Alicante, (Soler, Barciela and Ferrer, 2018). Photograph by Virginia Barciela. 274
Figure 15.2.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figures (FAG): long bones with painted decoration, oculates. Abric del Barranc de la Parra 1 (1 and 2), 5 (3-5) and 8 (4) and Cova de l'Ocaive 2 (6), Pedreguer; Cova del Penyó, Xaló (7-14). Ensembles from looted caves in the Marina Alta, Alicante. "Soler Blasco", Xàbia. Drawings and photos by Juan A. López Padilla. Image taken from J.A. Soler, 2017, Figure 7.35. 275
Figure 15.2.3. Fragment of a Bell-beaker vessel with incised symbolic decoration. Oculate anthropomorphs with raised arms. La Calderona, Valdemoro, Madrid. Museo Arqueológico Regional, Comunidad de Madrid. Photograph: Mario Torquemada. 276

Acknowledgements

The discourse that we have conveyed in the various exhibitions held between 2020 and 2023 in Spain and Portugal has focused on aspects that have not been sufficiently developed in the general issue of the study of Iberian figurines, especially their ancient trajectory, their capacity to provide information on identities, provenance, craftsmanship and their inventory as a unique legacy of portable human bodies, mostly female. It is only fair to thank colleagues, administrations, universities and museums for their support of the scientific and informative project Ídolos. *Miradas Milenarias*. The updating of the knowledge of these objects was carried out with the collaboration of colleagues in the various publications related to the exhibition, arguing the interpretations, contexts and chronologies that have marked European historiography. Our intention in those publications was to offer the public the wide range of interpretations of figurines of women in recent European prehistory, including proposals that differ from those maintained in this book, so that the discourse we proposed could be approached with more extensive tools than those traditionally referred to for this subject in the Iberian Peninsula (Bueno and Soler, 2020, 2021 a and b).

An important aspect of these records is their scant graphic documentation, an issue that the exhibition has sought to resolve by bringing together pieces that in many cases had never been exhibited before. In addition to the managerial efforts of the staff of all the Portuguese and Spanish museums that have collaborated, it has been necessary to provide quality photographic information. The Museums have been aware that access to these images is part of their dissemination and have therefore loaned them to us with great generosity and with few exceptions. The same can be said of the researchers whose images have been made available to us, always quoting their provenance in the captions.

From all involved: the design team, the conservation, documentation and administration specialists, those who have taken care of transport and insurance, the huge and fantastic team that has been involved in these exhibitions; we have learned that when there is respect, common interests and conviction, the most complicated things become easier.

Working for culture is one of the greatest satisfactions that people involved in its research, administration and management can have, and we are enormously grateful for having fulfilled the ambition of making known to the public one of the many strengths of our archaeological heritage: the first production of portable art on a peninsular scale that focuses on women's bodies over almost three thousand years.

Since our meeting at the forum *Machines of time: archaeological museums in the century*, held in El Escorial in July 2016, when we began to think about the exhibition with Enrique Baquedano, we have built our friendship by exchanging views on the possibilities of research and dissemination of this legacy. We owe it to the *Daughters of the Sun* to have brought together our passion for prehistoric research and the luxury of sharing this vocation with that of many colleagues and professionals by coordinating the publication of catalogues and guides. Hand in hand, from the University of Alcalá de Henares and from the museums of the Diputación de Alicante, we have achieved an unimaginable goal, culminating in this edition, it is an achievement that excites us, a shared purpose.

***

Thanks to Jacqueline Mackie Cutts for the English translation sponsored by the Fundación C.V.MARQ.
Thanks to Archaeopress, the English publishers.
Matilde Rovira Soler and Matilde Gil Rovira, from Palas Atenea, for the Spanish edition of this book.
Margarita Sánchez Romero and Antonio Carvalho for the forewords.

Enrique Baquedano Pérez and María Carrillo Tundidor (Museo Arqueológico y Paleontológico de la Comunidad de Madrid); Josep Albert Cortés i Garrido and Teresa Ximénez de Embún Sánchez (Fundación C.V. MARQ); Antonio Carvalho and Patricia Batista (Museu Nacional de Arqueología de Lisboa); and Julia Helena Aguilera Collado (Museo de Huelva) for the impetus and commitment to the project Ídolos. Miradas Milenarias developed in Alicante, Alcalá de Henares, Lisbon and Huelva.

Carmen Cacho Quesada and Ruth Maicas Ramos for opening the door to the collections of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional; Roberto Risch and Harald Meller for the opportunity to exhibit our joint research at the *Landesmuseum* für *Vorgeschichte*, Halle; Dirk Brandherm for hosting us at *Queen's University*, Belfast; Juan A. López Padilla and Raquel

Lázaro for assisting us from the MARQ in Alicante and the MNA in Lisbon; Luis Pablo Martínez Sanmartín (Director General de Cultura y Patrimonio de la Generalitat Valenciana) for reviewing chapter 15.

Marco António Andrade, José M. Arnaud, Rodrigo de Balbín Behrmann, Maria Helena Barbosa, Virginia Barciela González, Valeska Becker, Francisco Blasco Rodríguez, Dušan Borić, Josep Bosch Argilagos, Rosa Barroso Bermejo, João Luís Cardoso, Marta Cintas Peña, Susana Consuegra Rodríguez, Catarina Costeira, Germán Delibes de Castro, Pedro Díaz-del-Río Español, Mariana Diniz, Ramón Fábregas Valcarce, Javier Fernández Eraso, Enric Flors Ureña¸ Sonia García Pérez, Leonardo García Sanjuan, Oreto García Puchol, Victor S. Gonçalves, Elisa Guerra Doce, Svend Hansen, Daniella Hofmann, Victor Hurtado Pérez, María Ángeles Lancharro Gutiérrez, Katina T. Lilios, José Antonio Linares Catela, Oscar López Jiménez, Vicenta López Reyes, Sarah B. McClure, Ruth Maicas Ramos, Victoria Martínez Calvo, Gabriel Martínez Fernández, María Isabel Martínez Navarrete, Consuelo Martínez Sánchez, Rafael M. Martínez Sánchez, Rui Mataloto, Andrea Martins, Fernando Molina González, Coronada Mora Molina, Elena Morán, José Antonio Mújika Alustiza, César Neves, Jorge Oliveira, Giacommo Paglietti, Ilia Palaguta, Rui Parreira, Josep Lluis Pascual Benito, Alexandre Paz Caamaño, João André Perpétuo, Consuelo Roca de Togores Muñoz, Ángel Rocamora Ruiz, Leonor Rocha, Carlos Rodríguez Rellán, María de Jesús Sanches, Joaquina Soares, Peggy Sotirakopoulou, Ana Catarina Sousa, Liliana Spanedda, Chris Scarre, Joana Castro Teixeira, António Carlos Valera, Isabelle Vella-Gregory, Mario Varela Gomes, Juan Carlos Vera Rodríguez, Alfonso Vigil-Escalera Guirado, Eduardo Vijande Vila, Rodrigo Villalobos García, Narciso Zafra de la Torre, Pilar Zapatero Magdaleno, for their scientific contributions compiled in the catalogues and guides of the project Ídolos. *Miradas Milenarias.*

The support of MINECO research projects has been the basis of the research programme that underpins part of this volume. Thanks to Luc Laporte, Vincent Ard, Florian Coussseau, Gianfranco Zidda, Laure Salanova, Pierre-Yves Nicod, Marie Besse, Nick Card and Gerard Benetau, we have participated in the research on European megalithic statuary that has allowed us to relate it to the Iberian versions. Rosa Barroso, Fernando Carrera, Rodrigo de Balbín, Alía Vázquez, Francisco Martínez Sevilla, José Antonio Linares, and Coronada Mora have been part of the team that has also gathered contexts and chronologies of Iberian sites. The current research project is supported by the colleagues mentioned above, as well as Ruth Maicas, Ángela García, Enrique Cerrillo, Esther Navajo, Lidia Cabello, Paula Becerra, M. Ángeles Lancharro, Nuria Sanz, Martin Bartelheim, Antonio Carvalho and the authors of these pages.

Julián Hinojosa, from Stereográfica for his help in processing the images included in the figures in this volume. Lorena Hernández Serrano, Design Technician at the Fundación C.V. MARQ for reviewing the graphic part of this monograph.

Isabel Izquierdo Peraile, Director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid and Teresa Ponce de Leão, President of the Laboratório Nacional de Energia e Geologia, Lisbon for the use of the images of the pieces on the covers

Directors and technicians of the museums and institutions and to all the professionals and colleagues who have contributed images for the volume.

Images made available by Museums and institutions

Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid; Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon; **Spain**: **Andalusia**: Junta de Andalucía. Consejería de Turismo, Cultura y Deporte, Instituto Andaluz de Patrimonio Histórico IAPH, Museo Arqueológico y Etnológico de Córdoba, Museo Arqueológico de Jerez, Museo de Almería, Museo de Granada, Museo de Huelva, Museo de Jaén, Museo de La Carolina, Museo de Málaga, Museo de Sevilla; **Castilla y León**: Museo de Valladolid; **Castilla - La Mancha**: Museo de Albacete, Museo de Ciudad Real , **Catalonia**: Museu d'Arqueologia Salvador Vilaseca de Reus, Museum of Gavà, Museu d'Història de Riudoms, Museu Municipal de Montmeló; **Comunidad de Madrid:** Archivo Cabré, Museo Regional de Arqueología, Alcalá de Henares; **Comunidad Valenciana**: Museo de Bellas Artes de Castellón, Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Alicante -MARQ-, Fundación C.V. MARQ, Museu Arqueològic Camil Visedo de Alcoi, Museu Arqueològic i Etnogràfic Soler Blasco de Xàbia, Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia; **Extremadura**: Museo Arqueológico Provincial de Badajoz; **Galicia:** Museo Arqueológico e histórico A Coruña**,** Museo de Pontevedra; **Region of Murcia**: Museo Arqueológico de Murcia, Museo Arqueológico de Lorca; **Portugal:** Arquivo de Documentação Fotográfica da Direção-Geral do Património Cultural (ADF/DGPC); Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses; Direção-Geral de Alimentação e Veterinária, Alentejo; Direção Regional de Cultura, Alentejo Cámara Municipal de Oeiras, ERA - Arqueologia- Núcleo de Investigação Arqueológica, Lisboa; Museu Arqueológico do Carmo; Museu da Vila, Cascais; Museu de Évora, Museu de Arqueologia e Etnografia do Distrito de

Setúbal; Museu de Portimão; Museu Geológico, Lisboa; Museu Ibérico de Arqueologia e Arte, Abrantes; UNIARQ - Centro de Arqueologia da Universidade de Lisboa; **Italy**: Museo Luigi Pigorini, Rome.

Foreword

Margarita Sánchez Romero
Professor of Prehistory University of Granada

Meaningful is the first word that comes to mind when reading this text; and after that, a few others: pertinent, rigorous, careful, informative... Also substantial, as I will explain later. As a researcher hugely interested in the study of the body from the perspective of bioarchaeology and the material culture associated with it, but not specialised in its representation, this book holds a wealth of tremendously significant and exciting information. I already found commendable the immense task undertaken by the authors of this book Primitiva Bueno Ramírez and Jorge A. Soler Díaz for the exhibition Ídolos *Miradas Milenarias* / Ídolos. *Olhares Milenares* promoted by the Fundación C.V. MARQ of Alicante, the Museo Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid and the National Museum of Portugal. So now, and going beyond the magnificent published catalogue, this book allows us to revisit the content in a recurrent, calm way and above all, the reflections derived from the elaboration of this exhibition.

I refer to this book as substantial, essential, for several reasons. Firstly, because it is pertinent, because it brings to the table the debate on the meaning of these figurines. A debate, at times, full of preconceived ideas and "authoritative" knowledge that, at times, has oversimplified the explanation of a very significant material reality of made up of more than 6000 recorded items and which appears in the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula, especially between the middle of the 4th millennium and the last quarter of the 3rd millennium BC. The updated, open and rigorous approach of the authors of this book also makes it substantial, in the most nutritional sense of the word, as in one book it provides us with everything we know so far about such important representations.

Secondly, because of the rigorous, excellent research that lies behind each of the chapters. In a very wise decision, the authors chose to structure the content through a historiographical journey through the different hypotheses, reasons and views that explain these representations, through what has been said about them; and it is essential to understand these explanations in the social, political, economic and even ethical context in which they are produced, in which this scientific knowledge is generated, because they explain, to a large extent, the reason for these accounts; without present day value judgements, but aware of the need for a critical and calm review of many of these affirmations. Moving away from interpretations of religious beliefs and moving towards those that have to do with social, territorial or gender identities allows us to open up a highly worthwhile field to gain knowledge on past societies.

Thirdly, the impressive graphic apparatus of the volume is a real luxury, a very welcome effort that allows us to go through the text in an informed way: contrasting, observing, enjoying the enormous variety of images that fulfil their function of making the comprehension of what is being explained much more fluid. The possibility of paying attention to the descriptions of bodies, signs, clothing, decorations, colours and materials make the book much richer to read.

Fourthly, it is a text with a clearly informative vocation, designed for a university audience, as a manual for students, but which, at the same time, can be read by anyone with an interest in these cultural manifestations. Primitiva Bueno and Jorge A. Soler are fully aware of the need to spread scientific knowledge, because that is the way in which Archaeology can be relevant in today's societies; not with the simple idea of showing knowledge, but with the desire for that knowledge to be transformative in the present day.

One last note, as Primitiva Bueno and Jorge A. Soler point out, the volume is called *Daughters of the sun* because of the enormous number of female representations that appear related to this typology, in their words: *Assuming that they represented bodies of different ages and genders the protagonism of women is a fact that the title Daughters of the Sun seeks to resituate in their social sphere. They collaborated in a very direct way to spread common mythologies, enrich symbolism, and in the extension of technical knowledge, in daily care and in the rituals of death that we perceive in the megaliths.* I could not agree more. In 1981, in her article *Prehistoric Venuses: Symbols of Motherhood or Womanhood? ,* Prudence Rice already made a detailed survey of the so-called Palaeolithic *venuses* and their diverse bodies: adolescents, pregnant women, elderly women, adult women, adorned, dressed, hair arranged, depicted in more or less abstract forms, pointing out precisely this, that what these figurines showed was an idea of femininity, and not of reproduction or sexuality

as previously it had been made to seem so simply, but also so efficiently in terms of the transmission of certain discourses.

That women are socially, economically or politically relevant in the communities of the past should not surprise us. Even, and we do not deny this reality, in forms of patriarchal social organisation (or at least on the way to becoming patriarchal) such as those that are the object of study of this book. Giving value to these representations and thus to those who are represented does not lead us to speak of matriarchy. That would result in another simplicity, but it does lead us to investigate in these societies concepts such as matrilocality, the system of post-marital cohabitation in which a married couple resides in the sphere of the wife's family; or matrilineality, when the affiliation of people to the social group is done through the maternal line. It invites us to understand women as conscious and recognised social agents in their societies. The possibilities are many, the research to try to glimpse the different contingencies for specific cases is fascinating, and it is necessary to put an end to narratives that try to explain (explain to us) societies in a global and homogeneous way. In this sense, this book is a (welcome and effective) step forward, not only in our knowledge of women in the past but, above all, in our knowledge of the societies of the past.

Preface

António Carvalho
Director Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (Portugal)

The presentation at the Museums of Archaeology of Alicante and Alcalá de Henares, in Madrid, of the exhibition *Ídolos MIradas Milenarias* coincided with the COVID 19 pandemic caused by the SARS-CoV-2 coronavirus, which led to an unprecedented political decision, taken on a global scale, to almost completely halt human activity on our planet Earth in 2020 and 2021.

The directors and teams of the entities organising the exhibition - the Fundación C.V. MARQ, of Alicante - and two important museums - the Museo Arqueológico de Alicante (MARQ) and the Museo Arqueológico y Paleontológico da Comunidad de Madrid, in Alcalá de Henares -, as well as the Scientific Curators, Primitiva Bueno Ramírez and Jorge A. Soler Díaz, specially supportive, were tireless in gathering the means and will to ensure that the exhibition would not be confined to the eyes of a few thousand visitors, but that it could be internationalised with its presentation at the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in Lisbon, thus marking the programme of the Portuguese Presidency of the Council of the European Union, which Portugal took over in the first half of 2021. At the same time, it was part of the programme of Mostra Espanha 2021: a biennial programme of cultural activities promoted in Portugal by the Spanish Ministry of Culture and Sport, through the Directorate General for Cultural Industries and Cooperation, in partnership with Acción Cultural Española (AC/E) and the Spanish Embassy in Lisbon, which involves multiple institutions with different ownership in both countries.

It was fortunately possible to reschedule the exhibition even during the first year of the pandemic and to present it at the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, after the period of the second and definitive confinement, which was a very special moment of great significance for all of us and marked the history of the Museum's exhibition programme, by bringing the possibility of extending the exhibition with the revision of historical collections coming mainly from megalithic contexts dating back to the 4th and 3rd millennium BC in Central/Southern Portugal.

Thus, at the presentation of the exhibition in Lisbon, the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia ceased to be, as is natural, only the largest Portuguese museum, overshadowing its counterpart, the Museo Nacional de Arqueología in Madrid for the Spanish reality, to become, thanks to the generosity, vision and competence of the organisers and the Scientific Commissions, a co-organising museum, as it presented a revised and enlarged exhibition to the public with the same concept and museography, but expanding the corpus and the nuclei.

The exhibition was particularly well visited and commented on. As in previous exhibitions in Spain, it was accompanied by an excellent cultural programme that brought together many institutions and a particularly active communication plan. In addition to the exhibition guide and other four-language support, it was possible to publish an impressive catalogue *Ídolos. Olhares Milenares. The State of the Art in Portugal.* In this edition, in partnership with the Imprensa Nacional, we show a point of view of situation on our knowledge about the ongoing research on archaeological sites and contexts and artefact collections in Portugal, involving Portuguese researchers of different generations with different experiences, perspectives, schools of thought, positionings and views.

The undeniable success of the presentation in Lisbon was the result of the particularly friendly and collaborative attitude of all those involved and consisted of a review of the historical collections, as well as an exhaustive photographic campaign of the items selected for the corpus that are now also published in this book. On the other hand, it involved several national institutions, which made it possible to bring together in the exhibition and in the Museum other collections that were absent from the previous exhibitions and that would be very difficult to bring together again, which made it possible for many to realign ideas or change perspectives of interpretation, but for all of us to enrich our vision.

The Museu Nacional de Arqueologia has also been able to deal in the 21st century with a subject which, although it was always present in the programming concerns of the exhibitions held by the generations that preceded us at the Museu, it has never been possible to present to the public.

We remember all this history in connection with the publication of the book *Daughters of the Sun. Small human images in the time of the great stones. Iberia. IV- III millennium B.C.* because we consider that this book is indissociable from this path. We can even consider it a consequence of this journey.

This book represents the moment when its authors, Primitiva Bueno Ramírez and Jorge A. Soler Díaz, reach the peak of the process of research, reflection, experimentation and consolidation of concepts on this subject, obtained through parallel paths pursued simultaneously to reach this summit.

Because we write this by the mouth of the River Tagus, allow us to take a literary liberty and say that this book is like the long estuary of a long mighty river in which water from many affluents is mixed.

The authors' task, although exciting and rewarding, was not easy. They analysed the particularly complex subject in depth, collecting and processing a vast amount of data from third party excavations in Spain and Portugal, both old and recent, and with different levels of records. They critically reflected on this data, bringing the information together in a legitimate way. It is clear that despite the book being about this reality in the Iberian Peninsula, they did not confine themselves to Iberia, as they are especially attentive to the comparative reading of these realities with other similar ones, of various chronologies, in different geographies. They then combine it with their own research in the field and the review of museum collections. Particularly relevant is the fact that the authors, with the resources that scientific research currently allows them, calibrated with the conceptual premises that this historical period offers them, provide us with a holistic interpretation that unequivocally allows us to venture into a change of conceptual and explanatory paradigm about these figures of ancient bodies, mostly portable.

The research carried out for the conception and production of the exhibitions referred to above has also allowed them to examine, several times, the transfer of scientific knowledge to society in an accessible and inclusive way. This book efficiently and effectively fulfills this desire; and, of course, it constitutes one stage of a scientific and academic, but also cultural, civic and emotional journey that Primitiva Bueno Ramírez and Jorge A. Soler Díaz have been on for years.

This book is a synthesis, but not a superficial one. It is simple and accessible, but deals with complex problems that are difficult to explain, as the authors attempt to reconstitute and critically interpret lost and distant realities. It constitutes a repository, a complete manual properly ordered, in the form of a dictionary. It is a true state of the art on the subject for the Iberian Peninsula, pre-announced, if we consider the writing, revision or orientation exercise over the last 4 years of the exhibition room texts, the exhibition guides and catalogues in Alicante, Alcalá de Henares, Lisbon and, more recently, for Huelva, and, of course, the two volumes (Nos. 23 and 24) of the journal *Zona Arqueológica* published by the Museo Arqueológico y Paleontológico de la Comunidad de Madrid and entitled *Mobile Images of Ancestral Bodies: a Millenium-Long Perspective from Iberia to Europe*.

An edition of this book in Portuguese is extremely important: for the importance of the subject; for the fact that it deals with National Heritage; for the large community of interested parties, in several generations of current and future archaeologists, for the interest of historians and art historians, and all those who are interested in the subject of humanity's relationship with small, fragile and beautiful anthropomorphic figures; as it is a unique synthesis of the subject; as it considers a geographical reality that includes Portugal and because it is undoubtably up-to-date.

The book for which Primitiva Bueno Ramírez and Jorge A. Soler Díaz invited the current Director of the National Museum of Archaeology - admittedly a non-specialist - to preface, can only be explained by the fact that they trust that the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, the respective team and its Director, have accompanied them during this time on the path of rediscovering and re-reading through the unique exhibition that we recall above.

The exhibition "Ídolos. Olhares Milenares / Ídolos. Miradas Milenarias", in Lisbon, through contact with a historical heritage of unique dimensions, and with other sources, in particular the scientific illustration of the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, even if modestly, contributed so that the authors, who already considered and reflected on the Portuguese data, became aware of the impact that their work of synthesis and dissemination also had in Portugal.

In times of executing the financing attributed to the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in the Recovery and Resilience Plan of Portugal that implies the integral remodelling of the building and the complete exhibition reprogramming of the Museum, all the reflection presented in this book and this synthesis are especially opportune and useful, as can be seen specifically in chapter 15 entitled "An exceptional legacy" where the authors make proposals for the valorisation of the anthropomorphic groups.

The vision that the book provides us with is especially interesting and opportune for the task that the team of the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia has in hand, so that it also takes on special importance for us at this time.

The Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, thanks Primitiva Bueno Ramírez and Jorge A. Soler Díaz for inviting us to continue on this path together, for the international projection that has been given to the collections and to national archaeological research.

Presentation

Primitiva Bueno Ramírez and Jorge A. Soler Díaz

The intention of making ourselves visible through engraved, painted and sculpted images has fascinated all audiences and has been the subject of archaeological, anthropological, cognitive and social research for many generations. The most ancient representations of human bodies are associated with the graphic productions of Palaeolithic groups throughout the world, their best known representation being the famous female images that came to be known as *venus*. During the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, with the settlement of habitation areas and the great development of funerary customs, an important inventory of human representations is known all over the world, with a prominent role for female references.

This period appears in all the textbooks as the beginning of the first groups of producers and metallurgists. Ceramics, polished stone, basketry, metal tools or weapons and ornaments are some of their best-known material manifestations, both in everyday life and in funerary deposits. Megaliths are the most outstanding structure, and since at least the second half of the 5th millennium BC they have been a feature of the funerary landscapes of much of Europe. Inside them, in addition to the human remains of different generations and their grave goods, there are small human figurines. Of all that period, what is most newsworthy are the great stones, the moving and lifting of which required very significant collective efforts; but the small bodies that accompanied men, women, girls and boys in death and probably also in life, hold precious information that enriches and complements that provided by other more studied materialities.

The wealth of portable Iberian figurines is unique in Europe, not only because of their quantity but also because of their variety and association with megalithic contexts with a wide territorial implantation. The Iberian pieces offer relevant data for the reconstruction of megalithic funerary scenarios and for unravelling their role in everyday life. Their codified formulas have an impact on the rest of Europe, not only in the symbolism of the megaliths but also in the configuration of the statuary associated with them, their influence being particularly visible in the Menhir statues of the South of France or in the series of Alpine statuary representations.

It is not common to dedicate a university text to small objects from prehistory. The visual strength, the level of craftsmanship and specialisation they show, the economic capacities and the connectivity they point to justify this book as an approach to rituality, funerary customs and the social cogs in a specific area of Southern Europe, Iberia.

A long habit over time and space of interacting with these images provides an initial consideration. It is not easy to confine their meaning to a single motive, nor has their role been unchanged from the most ancient to the most recent representations. Throughout this time, the image of women has been an essential reference point in symbolism, generating forms that have transcended to the present day: from the inspiration of cubism in some Palaeolithic pieces, to the expression of power through its association with solar images.

This book focuses its study on the portable versions of human bodies seen from the front, where the way in which the eyes are represented surrounded by rays, like suns, stands out. For this reason, they have been called oculates or sun-eyed figures. Some represent whole bodies, but generally it is the upper part of the body that appears, so that we might think that they are fragmented bodies or seated figures of which only the upper part is visible; without ruling out the possibility that they were intended as the upper part of supports made of wood, clay or other perishable materials on which they rested. The information we have from the most detailed and complete images that are drawn in some painted shelters in the Iberian Peninsula, shows diverse actions of social clustering in which the sun-eyed figurines are the protagonists. Although schematic art has been linked to the Mediterranean origin of Neolithic cultures, there is no territory in the Mediterranean, nor in the rest of Europe, with such a rich and varied development as Iberian schematic art. A future line of research will have to address this aspect in order to position themes and techniques of Iberian schematic art as a key reference in the study of the symbolism of recent prehistory in Southern Europe. The first chapters are aimed at outlining these aspects in order to introduce readers to the general problem of representations of women's bodies from the Upper Palaeolithic, to their development throughout Europe and to their insertion into a broader set of elaborate codifications that develop in everyday

and funerary life. The figurines cannot be understood in isolation from the rich inventory of female images that accompany recent European prehistory and, more intensely, that of the Iberian Peninsula.

We will try to approach the research from distant goddesses from the East to everyday references that were part of the social codes transmitted from generation to generation for more millennia than our current culture. The interpretation of the small bodies of Neolithic and Chalcolithic women reveals the profound changes in thought applied to the cultures of the past. Magic, religion and shamanism as generalised explanations for ancient symbolism have in many cases been exercised as an active tool for undervaluing past societies. Nowaday, contextual, territorial, social and economic interpretations weigh more heavily, including these figurines in the social narrative of cultures with a strong ideological component. We will review the different interpretations of the long journey of Iberian historiography in order to situate ourselves in the most up-to-date hypotheses. This journey is marked by some of the works that built the ideas that still form part of the interpretation of these records today.

We have followed the thread of discoveries and classifications based on the publications of Siret, who also collected the ones of those who preceded him, especially Leite de Vasconcellos and Estacio da Veiga. The sequence of publications and interpretations of the first half of the 20th century is based on his proposals, an aspect that we wanted to underline by numbering Siret's typologies in order to verify their concordance with those made well into the 20th century. This is the subject of chapters 4 and 5, before presenting the state of knowledge of the figurines in the different Iberian geographies and their preferred materials in chapters 6 to 8. For this purpose, the data collection was based on the most important references, which explains the number of bibliographical citations, including those of the contributions to the different publications of our colleagues, and our own. Where citations are direct, they are enclosed in quotation marks, as is the usual practice.

Sorting these records is a necessary starting point to facilitate the analysis of their proximities and differences, chapter 9. Their discussion is developed from chapter 10 onwards, presenting some of the formal, technical, social, functional and identity aspects of the figurines. The synthesis and conclusions in Chapter 14 underline the enormous potential for the study of the portable heritage of the first extended reproductions of women's bodies in Iberia, which has yet to be tackled. The effort to contrast with a Reference Base since Siret (RBD), how these pieces were named and their analysis by means of a geometrically based organisation, is a tool for following the historiographical trajectories of these pieces. The correlation between the nomenclatures of the organisation in Chapter 9 and the RBD takes the form of updated definitions and citations that allow this information to be used as an up-to-date reference.

Bringing together the Iberian portable figurines under the title *Daughters of the Sun* reflects the overwhelming representation of women's bodies and their close relationship with figures wearing solar garments, who are directly associated with solar representations or who are "dressed" as the sun. The images we are going to deal with, daughters of the sun, are transmitters of ancestral knowledge, justifiers of collective origins, markers of inheritance and lineage. In short, a synthesis of the stories that brought together common origins in singular lines, identities, in different areas of the Peninsula. Stories of generations far removed from our own that share the value of the sun as central characters in our own cultural stories: saints, kings and other ideological references, which have sustained the foundation of their social and ideological power in their connection with the sun.

There are many and varied works on the figurines, but few are devoted exclusively to these portable pieces. Siret and later authors did not produce any monographic publications. The only one published in the 1970s by M.J. Almagro Gorbea, with drawings and a few black and white photographs, is surpassed by the reality of the artefacts. In recent years there has been a growing interest in an archaeology that looks for people in the little things. One of the latest examples, the volume published by Insoll, *Figurines*, in 2017, has been a huge success, but the Iberian series is not valued for its contextual richness, variety or evidence of connectivity. This situation made us realise the need to work on the scientific and social dissemination of this impressive legacy that is so little known. It was with this objective in mind that the exhibition, Ídolos *Miradas Milenarias* / Ídolos*. Olhares Milenares,* promoted by the Fundación C.V. MARQ of Alicante, the Museo Regional de la Comunidad de Madrid and the Museu Nacional de Portugal, brought together in 2020 and 2021 in Alicante, Alcalá de Henares and Lisbon more than two hundred pieces from different museums in Spain and Portugal, achieving the publication of three scientific volumes (in Spanish, Portuguese and English) as well as two guides, catalogues, which have been the subject of scientific reviews (Cubas, 2020; Guilaine, 2022; Díaz Guardamino, 2023). In 2023 a new exhibition at the Museo de of Huelva has added more pieces from Portuguese museums and from Huelva's own collection, as well as an updated catalogue and a scientific volume in Portuguese and Spanish.

The museums in much of the south of the Iberian Peninsula offer a very good idea of the wealth of forms of these pieces, which are almost like jewellery due to their detailed workmanship. We can directly in person see the shapes, volumes, craftsmanship and emotion by visiting the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid, Nacional de Arqueología in Lisbon, the archaeological museums of Andalusia, the Valencian Community, the Region of Murcia, Extremadura and others in Portugal, many of which have provided us with images of the most outstanding pieces for the purpose of this publication.

We associated dissemination with research in a planned strategy that brought these two fields together, as the most active way of bringing scientific issues closer to the general public. When subjects of this importance are disseminated scientifically, it is usually an impulse for a boom and renewal of their studies, an effect that we seek starting with the research carried out in the framework of this exhibition. We hope that this will open up a fruitful period of documentation more in line with scientific archaeology.

The participation of specialists from different institutions and countries has been a great opportunity to show different views on these small objects, ranging from the positions most closely linked to exclusively religious evaluations to those that explore the social codes that sustained this type of production in recent European prehistory. The advantage for those who read this book and consult the publications mentioned above, is that they will be able to have access to the arguments that are deployed for these interpretations. Only with open and public information will those who access it have the basis for understanding the evolution of interpretations of the symbols of these societies and the role that scientific archaeology has played and continues to play in these changes. This journey is set out in the first eight chapters.

There are many ways of approaching a study such as the one we are attempting and, without undermining those that focus on the religious aspect, from chapter 9 onwards we will highlight, the ancestral trajectory of the figurines, their social value, identity, gender, age and status, information on special clothing for specific actions (dances and funerary rites), details of hairstyles and adornments. Likewise, the aspects of craftsmanship, specialisation and workshops are fundamental in enlightening us on the economy that these pieces represent. Those who incorporate them into their burials usually display various objects of external provenance and sometimes of great value, which was probably also the case during their lifetime. The search for raw materials, their relationship with specific territories or the quality of the work systems all adds information to contribute to the study of the groups that produced these images.

The time in which these figurines existed goes beyond the classic divisions between Neolithic and Chalcolithic, as is the case with other expressions associated with megalithism, drawing attention to the rigid interpretations that connect cultural and technological evolutions. The transversality of funerary customs reveals the social role of symbolic, cultural, architectural and ideological formulas of the first producer groups in the construction of the symbolism of the societies of recent European prehistory.

Between 5800 / 5600 and 2200 cal BC these coded versions of human images were common in Iberia, especially concentrated in the South and West, the areas where most of the megaliths are located along with the most common habitation installations at that time, the moat enclosures and fortified enclosures. Enclosures and megaliths require the collective effort of digging, extracting, dragging, lifting, propping up, all actions that require "coarse" tools; but the figurines show highly refined workmanship and complex technical elaborations of a specialised craftsmanship, workshops and distribution in local and outside networks.

It is a privilege to have the forewords by Margarita Sanchez Romero, Professor of Prehistory at the University of Granada, and Antonio Carvalho, Director of the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in Lisbon, who address the two lines that these volumes aim to highlight. The value of the information housed in museums and their role as a nexus between research and dissemination, and the advance in the study of the role of women in prehistory, with the updating of the historiographical trajectory of the largest Iberian record of representations of women's bodies. The quality of both considerations makes them a reference in themselves and gives us motivation to continue with this task, which still has a long way to go.

This publication aims to set out the foundations of a narrative rooted in the earliest Neolithic period in Iberia, which underpinned the contents of the exhibition Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias*. Part of it is collected in the Catalogue-Guides and in the articles and texts published by the authors of this book. The collaboration, experience and intellectual weight of those who participated in the various scientific publications make up the multiple kaleidoscopic visions from which we learned and continue to learn. This dynamic project does not end here, but rather continues to

shape new exhibition content that does justice to the unusual visual, formal, social and cultural wealth of the small bodies of women in Iberia.

The figurines are part of the components of the oral narratives that presided over social organisation in everyday life and funerary life. The sculptural images of the Iberian Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods constitute an exceptional legacy deserving of the best measures to ensure their preservation and dissemination, together with the cave paintings, some of which are already *World Heritage Sites*. A collection that has prevailed for centuries and which avoids detailed figuration, its framework being its main reference point. They are the only European evidence of portable versions of Schematic Art that expresses and transmits messages based on codes largely resolved by combining geometric shapes.

Bringing this knowledge together in a university handbook projects the value of a repertoire of human images encoded in Iberia, which transports us to the human views of other times.

Chapter 1
The Figurines of Late Iberian Prehistory

1.1. What we call figurines.

Portable art has been the protagonist of a large part of the images that have come down to us from prehistoric times. The most visible range in the lives of those who made these artefacts is made up of animal and human representations of varied positions, sizes and uses, some pendants, but also ornaments of utilitarian pieces, perhaps toys. Placed in their homes, on their bodies or in their graves, these images have accompanied all social actions since the Upper Palaeolithic.

Historiography called the earliest sculptures of women's bodies *Venus*, projecting the idea of exuberance related to female fertility as the motif that prevailed in these works. The use of this nomenclature distanced women from social, cultural or other roles in order to fix them in the same reproductive framework as they were placed in 19th century society (Sanchez Romero, 2022). What we now know suggests a greater variety that includes more schematic bodies, as well as the possibility of grouping pieces by the graphic resources used. From the earliest Upper Palaeolithic, some 40,000 years ago, female images were socially constructed, responding to characters that are shared over wide territories. They are not personal portraits, nor voluptuous images of fertility, but rather a representation ofwhat these human groups of the time understood to be their social, identity or other values.

While recognising that the interest in female figures is evident, it is also important to note that they represent a selection from a varied range of themes, species, chronologies and contexts. In the case of the human figurines, the different sizes and clothing reveal different ages and genders, an aspect that will be discussed in detail below for the social information it provides.

The largest European repertoire of figurines is associated with the producer and metalworking groups. Small sculptures of women, but also of animals and objects mainly in clay, appear in everyday contexts offering detailed data on tasks such as the baking of bread, the use of ploughs, the shape of houses, etc. (Palaguta, 2020), as well as in some funerary sites.

Although we do not yet have a complete inventory, approximately 6000 figurines make up the Iberian collection. In the rest of Europe, standardisation can be seen in large areas and in generally everyday contexts. The wealth of the shapes of Iberian figurines, combined with the raw materials used (clay, schist, hard stones like marble, ivory and gold), their sizes and their uses, along with their predominance in mortuary deposits, all points to a figurine collection that is unparalleled in Western Europe (Bueno and Soler, 2021a).

The development of abstract concepts based on geometry is combined with the use of natural elements, whose shape is close to that of the geometric bases on which human images are built. Triangles, rectangles and trapezoids carved on hard materials, or made from natural elements such as animal bones, reveal a profound cognitive component of the cultures of recent Iberian prehistory, part of which comes from the experience transmitted by groups of hunter-gatherers and their spectacular graphic productions.

Their codification is easily followed in territories that, even though they are nearby, show versions that reveal local crafts and workshops with distribution capacity (Bueno, 1992; Soler Diaz, 2020). However, the aspect that best characterises their uniqueness is the symbiosis of solar and human contents through the presence of the so-called sun-eyes, unique in this proportion and ubiquity in the whole of Europe.

Their impact in the southern half of the Iberian Peninsula is very significant, reaching a veritable explosion of figures between the middle of the 4th millennium and the last quarter of the 3rd millennium cal BC, a chronology that fully coincides with the apogee of megalithic art. For the time being, the compactness and variety of figurines from the South have not been documented in other peninsular territories, but some data points to possible future increases, as will be developed in this volume.

The figurines are referred to in diminutive because they are not large pieces. The largest ones do not exceed 30 cm in length and most of them are less than 15 cm long. The simplest ones are obtained by modelling clay (Martínez *et al.* 2020; Martins *et al.* 2021). In others, the material is essential because the figure is conceived as a whole. Specific bones of ovicaprids and other mammal species are sought, from which long bones and phalanges are selected (Andrade *et al.* 2021; Maicas,

Figure 1.1.1. Human figurines, geometric anthropomorphs and objects supporting anthropomorphic symbolic expressions in Southern Iberia from the 4th to the 2nd millennium cal BC (Bueno and Soler, 2021a.). Images referenced in other figures in this volume.

2020; Martínez and López, 2020; Soler, 2020; Valera, 2020, 2021). The elongated shape of these bones, wider at the ends, repeats the framework of two geometric bodies with a tendency towards a triangle, well known in clay and stone figuration and also in the cave motifs of Schematic Art. These human images are described as bitriangular, as they are made up of two converging triangles, the head and the body, or perhaps only the torso depicted in its lower and upper parts.

Some materials allow specific features to be expressed, such as the female breasts seen in clay modelling. In their transposition to bone, these and other anatomical details such as arms cannot always be technically resolved, or perhaps they were not always intended to be depicted, as reflected in the cave depictions of bitriangular figures without breasts, or the repertoire of stone sculptures with the same bipartite framework in biconical shapes with a circular section, where those without breasts abound.

Not all the figurines depict the head or limbs, which is why the joint study of the cave and portable repertoires is essential in order to approach the different ways in which anthropomorphic figurative concepts are determined. The bitriangular ones are worked in bone or stone, with flattened morphologies, sometimes with arm-like appendages, which led to their classification as "cruciform" (Almagro Gorbea, 1973). Sometimes another triangle is added (tripartite or "tritriangular" figurines) as a more realistic way of making the head visible, depicting a body dressed in a skirt or a tunic, a notch for the waist and an another upper one, which represents the neck on which the head appears.

The concept of *Geometric Anthropomorphic Figurine* (FAG)[1] is used because the figuration uses three and four-sided bases -Fig. 2.1.2 - with a trapezoid base – a cone in its rotation- and a rectangle base -cylinder in its rotation-. They include pieces that early researchers deemed to evoke constructive elements characteristic of megalithic monuments, such as columns (Siret, 1908), and some were even published upside down, as in the case of the one showing the face and a crescent moon found in Folha das Barradas, Sintra (Vasconcellos, 1897, 106; Siret, 1908, Fig. 2) -Fig. 4.2.7-, which includes elements documented in menhirs from the group from Évora, Portugal (Bueno *et al.* 2015a).

The so-called idol-plaques, mostly made of schist, characterise megalithic art in Alentejo, with an inventory of around 4000 specimens that continues to increase (Bueno, 2020b; Andrade *et al.* 2021; García *et al.* 2020; Gonçalves, 2021; Lillios, 2020; Oliveira, 2021; Parreira and Morán, 2021; Rocha, 2021; Valera, 2020). Some specimens with triangular heads or that include bitriangular decoration confirm the synchronies and proximities between different typologies, with the plaques and bitriangular shapes showing the greatest evidence of association (Bueno, 2020b, 209).

The rectangular pieces have their own personality in bone or ivory, in the form of thin sheets with a decoration similar to that of the cylindrical ones. Although cylinders can be recognised in raw materials of animal origin, most of them are made of marble stone, which is interesting in order to glimpse the importance of the colouring of the materials in a figurative range of pieces selecting dark ones in slate and schist as well as other light ones such as marble, bone or ivory (Bueno and Soler, 2021b, 39). In their truncated cone version, they are known as "betyls", a term taken from the Hebrew that alludes to the standing stone to indicate the presence of the divinity.

On these materials, the anthropomorphic character is reinforced by various decorative motifs. The face stands out - Fig. 12.1.2 -, sometimes framed with hair, usually without a mouth, and defined by eyebrows, eyes, nose (on fewer occasions) and facial tattooing. The pair of eyes, under the eyebrows and above the facial tattoo lines, forms a *standard* that is recurrent on the painted walls of shelters and dolmens, on megalithic stelae, and on the anthropomorphic vessels that have come to be known as symbolic pottery. They mostly appear on plaques, cylinders, phalanges or long bones, but also on bitriangular pieces, as well as on decorated objects such as dagger sheaths, or those embossed on golden sheets.

Sometimes breasts are drawn or the pubis is engraved, therefore much of this figuration has been related to female images (Figure 1.4.1), although the representation of sex does not seem to be primordial. There is a greater concern with facial expression than with sex, and the variety of shapes and sizes shows that, however much has been written, we are far from being faced with a figurative group expressing a single idea.

Some of the pieces could be interpreted as naked figurines, so the documentation of remains of fabric on a phalange from house 21 at Almizaraque (Maicas, 2020, Fig. 10) is an extremely interesting piece of information. Firstly, because it confirms this possibility and, of course, because it validates the fact that the figurines are interacted with, probably by dressing them in a variety of ways. Other pieces include geometric designs all over the body, cloaks or capes that bring us closer to possible ceremonial garments. The set of decorated plaques offers most information about the external appearance of these textiles that the archaeological documentation from Montelirio has helped to confirm (Bueno, 2010; Bueno *et al.* 2016a). These garments

[1] *Translator´s note.* All the abreviations in this book are taken from the original version in Spanish.

covered the head, could reach to the ground or halfway down the calf, revealing the feet (Anta do Curral de Antinha, Arraiolos -Figure 12.2.2.), and sometimes had triangular or semicircular necklaces at the top.

Other productions have been referred to as "anthropomorphic" because they represent the human body in a more sculptural way (Valera and Evangelista, 2014, Fig. 4) -Figure 8.1. In this text we will reinforce this plastic concept, referring to them as *Human Figures* (FH). The archaeological contexts place their peak around the middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC, when there was a secular tradition of representations that, in portable format, circulated intensively in the Southern Iberia. Without losing this schematic tradition, they present more detailed bodies, showing the limbs, buttocks, male or female sex, chest and head - Figure 10.2.4 - with a decoration that reflects the features of the aforementioned *standard.* Nowadays, few assume that these naked representations are deities, opening an interpretative range where the social aspect takes precedence over the myths, often constructed by the prehistorians themselves (Fleming, 1969, 247).

1.2. Schematic art and other graphic expressions contemporary to the figurines.

In the Iberian Peninsula, since the early Neolithic period, we have evidence of parietal images identical to the portable art we are dealing with. We are referring to the schematic art painted in open-air shelters, anthropomorphic vessels that reproduce the same canons and megalithic art. These images associate human and solar figures, through the presence of sun-eyes, or suns that accompany them as one of the most outstanding symbolic features of recent Iberian prehistory.

> «The decoration painted on Iberian parietal media offers a "syllabary" to interpret the portable pieces (...) constituting unique evidence in Europe to understand that the sun-eyes could have been masks worn by different characters in social events. The figurines would reproduce the protagonists of these events in an abstract and singularised way» (Bueno and Soler 2020a, 17).

In the rest of Europe, there no other images contemporary to the figurines, with a few exceptions such as anthropomorphic vases or stelae (Becker, 2020; Hofmann, 2020). Only the Iberia gathers together diverse versions made in the same chronology on different media, forming a rich symbolic world unparalleled on the Continent or in the Mediterranean in such quantity and variety. Shelters and caves with paintings, rocks with engravings, decorated megalith media, stelae, statues and menhirs, as well as decorated ceramics, offer a ensemble of anthropomorphic representations that justifies the social and cultural weight of the sun-eye symbol (Bueno, 2020a; Bueno *et al.* 2007a; Bueno and Soler, 2021b).

Iberian schematic art has its roots in the late Palaeolithic period (Bueno and Balbín, 2021), being the most widespread outdoor expression during the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. It experienced its peak along with that of producer and metalworking societies, being valued as a veritable communication system that, by means of astral, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic symbols, projected an ideology of enormous social significance over a wide territory (Martínez García, 2018). Two main phases have been defined: *Early Schematic Art*, with anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, astral and geometric expressions, both parietal and on ceramic vessels dated between the Early and Middle Neolithic.; and *Recent Schematic Art*, in the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, which the includes the portable representations of "Idols" (Hernández, 2009).

An updated reading nuances these differences. The sun-eye formulas are present in the Early Neolithic on anthropomorphic vessels, supporting similar dates as the parietal expressions that present these same codes, and confirming the long diachrony of the motifs that for much of Iberian historiography were exclusively related to the culture of " Los Millares" and the ideological impulse of religious motives of an oriental nature.

The figurines, as a portable aspect of parietal art, play a leading role in the placement of the motifs of Schematic Art, contributing to their dissemination, facilitated by their portability, through exchange or imitation, stimulating the symbolic expansion of the characteristic codes of the Iberian producer societies.

Relating figurines to megaliths in the Iberian Peninsula is a certainty, which is accompanied by their representativeness in ritual gestures such as deposits inside and outside megaliths and caves, as well as personal offerings and decorative pieces (Bueno 2010, Bueno *et al.* 2016a; Fábregas, 2020; García *et al.* 2020; Gonçalves, 2021; Maicas, 2020; Martínez and López, 2020; Rocha, 2020; Sanches *et al.* 2021; Soler, 2020; Valera, 2020).

Human images preside over all the activities of Iberian Recent Prehistory, on dolmen supports, with distinctive roles in the different areas of these monuments (external area, chamber and corridor), as figurines associated with domestic, extractive and ritual contexts, or as stelae and menhirs.

During the 5th and especially during the 4th millennium cal BC, menhirs and stelae were erected, as well as

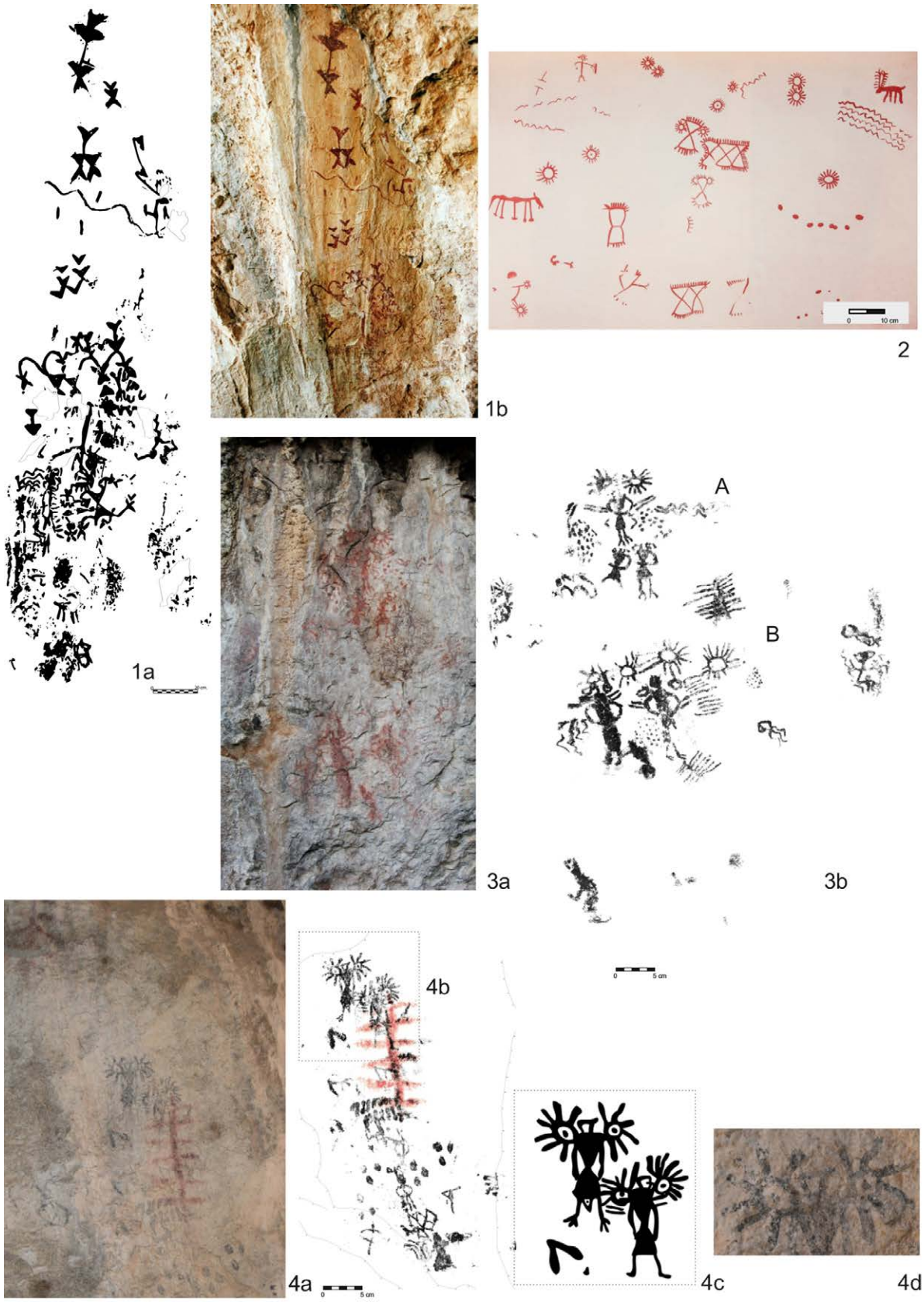


Figure 1.2.1. Anthropomorphic rock art representations. Schematic Art. - 1. Cueva de los Letreros, Vélez Blanco (Almería). Main panel, photo and tracing (Martínez and Blanco, 2014, 160); - 2. Abrigo de El Gabar, Vélez Blanco (Almería). Tracing by H. Breuil, 1935 (Barciela, 2020, Figure 2); - 3. Abrigo de la Penya del Vicari, Altea (Alicante). Panel 2, tracing and photo (Barciela -Coor. - 2015-, 68 and 69); - 4. Abrigo de Justo, Yéchar (Murcia), tracing and photo (Lucas and Fernández, 2021, 32). Composition in Bueno and Soler, 2021a.

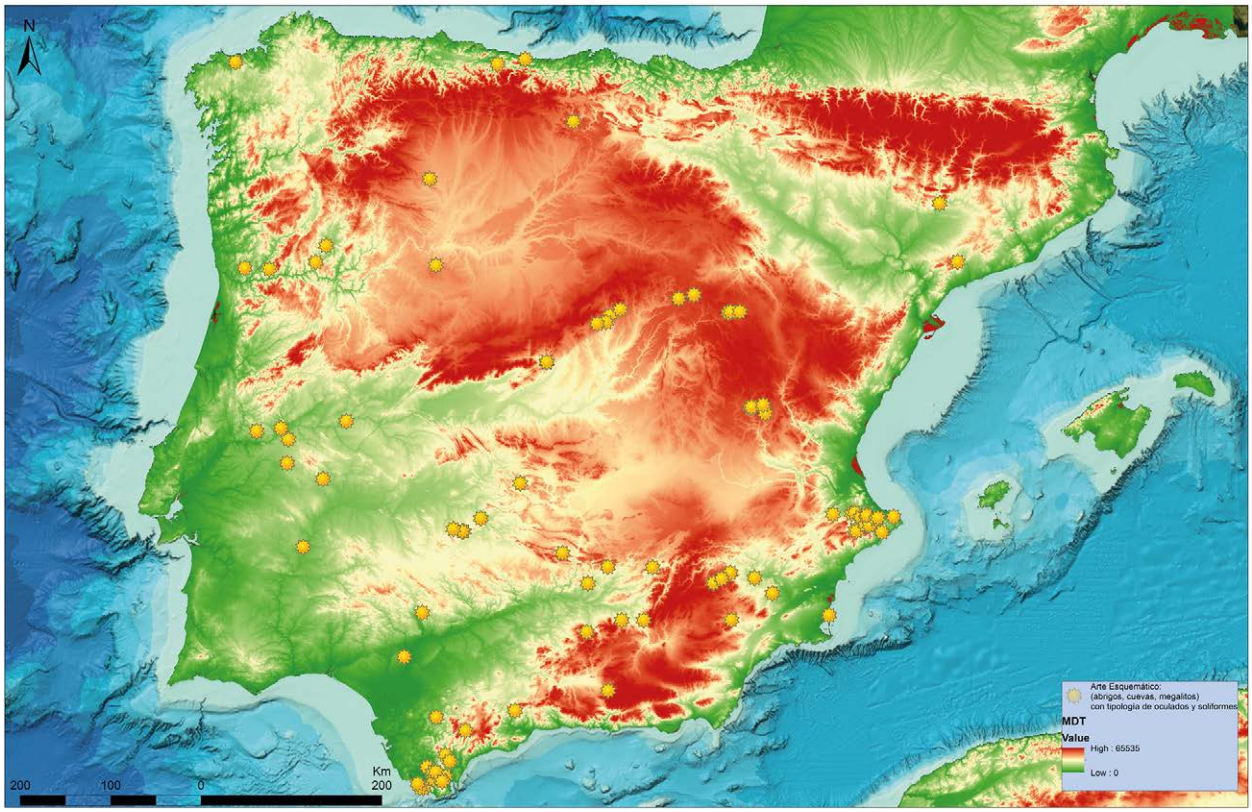


Figure 1.2.2. Scatter map of decorated ceramics, shelters and megaliths with paintings and engravings of oculates and suns. Cartographic base from SRTM, Shuttle Radar Topography Mission (NASA, Jet Propulsion Laboratory, California Institute of Technology) and GEBCO, General Bathymetric chart of the Oceans (Lancharro and Bueno, 2020, Figure 2).

megaliths, whose decoration included human images similar to figurines.

> «The ubiquity of human figures in different media, territories and sites is one of the characteristics of the symbolism of recent Iberian prehistory (...) they appear in two broad spheres, social and family. Due to their size and visibility, menhirs, stelae and painted shelters are the most impressive graphic symbols, while figurines fit into the family world or that of lineages and identities related to funerary and everyday life» (Bueno, 2020a, 34).

On the walls of shelters and dolmens, human images depict social scenes of hunting, dance and lineage - Figure 1.2.1. We will discuss these scenes for the information they provide for the interpretation of the figurines. We will also talk about the places they occupy in areas of foothills, housed in small sites, but at times with large areas in front where different activities could take place, music, songs, dances or story telling, or in shelters and caves of funerary occupation. These sites, whatever their circumstances, probably gave rise to gatherings in their surroundings.

The painted images of schematic art and megalithic art reach three-dimensionality in the different portable versions of figurines and stelae. In addition, the formal relationship between the human figures on a trapezoidal base and the megalithic orthostats is an argument of conceptual and ideological proximity between the small portable images and the symbolic discourses of the megaliths that also support the repertoire of more recent stelae (Barroso, 2020; Bueno, 1992, 2010, 2020b; Bueno *et al.* 2005a; Bueno and Soler, 2021c).

Integrating the set of Iberian human images in elaborated symbolic discourses that played a leading role in different areas of daily and funerary life, places the Iberian Peninsula as a key sector for the discussion on the role of graphic records in the social connectivities of recent prehistory in Europe (Bueno *et al.* 2015b).

1.3. Should the figurines be called Idols?

The study of the figurines began with Romantic Archaeology. The gods seen by the earliest researchers reflected the European educated classes´ vision of the past, they needed religious explanations to understand

presences more ancient than the knowledge of the religious message in which a large part of the origin of the societies of their time was situated. Their interpretation reveals, as do few others, the transition from a kind of archaeology led by prominent members of 19th century society (such as Vasconcellos, Siret and some of the builders of cultural diffusionism) to a more scientific archaeology where data is an inevitable reference. In early research, the figurines were considered to be idols as objects linked to the cult of the oriental mother goddess. For Siret and others, this oriental mother goddess came from Troy, and for the diffusionists of the second half of the 20th century, from the Mediterranean islands.

From the religious point of view, Idol was linked to idolatry. Although nowadays the dictionary of the Spanish Language expresses the term "idol" as an *image of a deity object of worship* -(23rd edition of 2014), only a few years previously it included an interesting nuance - *Figure of a false deity to which worship is given*- (20th edition, 1984), a definition that brings us closer to the mentality of nineteenth-century society. In this book we have discarded the term *Idol*, adopting the term Figurines in order to connect them with the general framework of the Continent and the Mediterranean.

The figurines and their historiographical trajectory are also evidence of the transition of research between a generic idea of ancient monotheistic religions and the shaping of references to ancestors in the construction of increasingly more widespread mythologies in areas with strong connectivities.

The protagonism of historiography is unique in the Iberian Peninsula, as diffusionism played an enlarged role here, more extensive and intense than in the rest of Europe. Iberian idiosyncrasy and politics in the second half of the 20th century favoured these ways of understanding history, and some symbolic expressions took the form of tales of oriental goddesses from all over the Near East (Cyprus, Anatolia, Jericho, etc.).

What could have constituted an exceptional Iberian legacy with its quantity, variety, and association with Neolithic and Chalcolithic group locations became a univocal argument of religiosity and orientalism, with few detailed studies on is contextual, social, technical and chronological reality until almost the end of the 20th century.

The ideas of those who sought ancient cities and traces of those who came from the Near East were gradually left behind; but the differences between the various approaches in different parts of Europe became apparent. Thus in Spain, diffusionism found a breeding ground in post-war society and in the researchers who stayed in the country, something similar to what happened in the Portuguese dictatorship. Meanwhile in Northern Europe, the use of scientific methodologies was soon established, thus giving rise to a technical and theoretical deployment that had reached great heights by the 1980s.

From the end of the 1980s onward important changes came about in the archaeology of the megalithic period, with the knowledge of archaeological contexts and more accurate chronologies, which raised new questions for research. The C14 chronologies obtained in Europe turned out to be older than the supposed eastern parallels of these pieces, dismantling the hypothesis of the the Near Eastern origin of these expressions (Renfrew, 1973).

These nominalistic differences may now appear to us to be far from representative, but the truth is that this way of looking at the Iberian figurines distanced them from European research. If we add to this the fact that most of the studies are published in Spanish or Portuguese, and that their publications tend to be scattered, record a single piece or focus on a single typology, the information is difficult to organise and difficult to understand outside the Iberian Peninsula (Lancharro and Bueno, 2020). Added to this is the fact that those objects of unknown function provide a breeding ground for what are sometimes mechanistic and generalist assumptions of religious interpretations.

The denomination *Idols* has remained in the most classic bibliography and continues to be used in museums and heritage inventories, revealing the weight of a term that has been borrowed from a long process of research.

1.4. Daughters of the sun.

The historiographical journey of the study of these figurines is also the path along which the symbolic and ideological components of recent Iberian prehistory have been discussed. In the course of almost two centuries of study, the valuation of these women's bodies has exclusively emphasised their divinity and motherhood, relegating female representations of their social and cultural role. The "Mother Goddess" is a conceptualisation more present in the mind of nineteenth-century archaeology than in the record. It reflects the history of contemporary thinking about the ideology that Neolithic and Copper Age societies might have had, evoking fertility and reproduction as the only facts of female presence in prehistoric societies (Cohen, 2011, 124; Sánchez Romero, 2022).

Far from the paradigm of unqualified orientalism, the pieces traditionally referred to as "idols" exemplify the important cultural development of recent Iberian prehistory. The widespread sun-eye code summarises

portable representations of varied body morphology, highlighting the face with eyes, eyebrows and facial tattoo lines. Together with the identical images in cave art and megalithic art, they confirm the personality of the Iberian Peninsula in the generation of symbolic content dating back to the earliest phases of the Neolithic.

The diachrony of these symbolic codes includes the entire development of megalithism. In some cases, the surge of these images and of Iberian schematic art has been related to the rise of megalithic collectivism, assuming that the individuality of the Copper Age was transferred to the decline and disappearance of female figurines, replaced by expressions of hunting and war and by the political leadership of male figures (Garrido, 2014). However, the chronologies of collective burials associated with offerings of Bell Beaker vessels extend the diachronies of these funerary patterns, as do the archaeologically documented contexts, extending the figurines to at least 2200 cal BC. The new barrier of individuality has been established in the Argaric culture where men and women were buried with weapons and other objects of prestige (Hernando, 2007, 172), and where women are understood to have a recognised but inferior position to men in each of the social classes that could be distinguished (Liesau *et al*. 2015).

Although the lines that separate the social characteristics of each period are not strict, because in the Bell Beaker culture the data are not always precise and do not clearly point out those differences that exclude women from leadership (Barroso *et al.* 2018, 331), there are women who enjoyed a very prominent role in the Bronze Age, in view of the exclusive diadems that accompany them in their death in the context of the El Argar Culture in Southeast Iberia (Montón, 2010, 131; Sanchez Romero, 2008). Some may have exercised political power within a class society, or perhaps they were a symbol of this power (Lull *et al*. 2021, 345). What is certain is that the ideological panorama changed at the end of the 3rd millennium BC, with figurines being relegated in favour of statuary representations that take Neolithic and Chalcolithic roots to construct images of power (Bueno *et al*. 2005a). It has been pointed out that the production of figurines became obsolete with the arrival of the Bell Beaker, as kinship was superseded as a system of social organisation (Martínez García, 2002, 85). Although, as a whole, the stelae also determine identity specialisations, so that other possibilities about the social narratives underpinning these transformations can be considered. It is likely that the forms of displaying kinship are concentrated in the burial areas, making the stelae the visible manifestation of the ancestry of these groups, which would reflect the tradition of representing female characters with unique clothing and ornaments, transferring it to representations of different genders and ages (Bueno *et al*. 2005a, 2010).

This book sets out to review the research carried out to date which authenticates the prevalence of images of women in different media and different contexts - Figure 1.4.1 - with a special numerical incidence in funerary contexts. There are many examples hich make the female bodies produced between the VI and the III millennium cal BC the receptacle of widely shared stories.

With this title, *Daughters of the Sun*, we intend to point out the prominence of women in hunter-gatherer and producer societies. They appear in portable versions as heiresses that justify the connections between everyday life and mythological life, which positions the sun as the organiser of agricultural and livestock calendars or as a reference for the orientation of everyday and funerary installations. The sun represents power in agricultural societies, and in Iberian groups this power is centred in female images. We have no doubt that they could have been emulated by means of costumes shared by individuals of different ages and sexes as part of a widespread rituality, the clearest reflection of which can be found in the scenes of the open-air paintings. In fact, there are also male images, especially in the bone and ivory pieces from the mid-3rd millennium cal BC -Figure 2.2.2.2-, where there is no lack of women either; in some cases it is difficult to determine their attribution and in others hybrid versions appear both phallic and gynecomorphic, as in the case of Almargen, Antequera (Vilaseca, 1993-94, 38) -Figure 6.4.3-, or the decoration of a long bone from the Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy (Soler, 2017) -Figure 6.2.6: 8-.

The title *Daughters of the Sun* evokes the objective fact that female figurative productions take on the values that the sun eyes might have, a theme that had a long history when the figurative emergence took place in the heart of megalithic societies. Reflecting the life and death of the women and men of the time, Neolithic and Chalcolithic figurines bring us closer to the people and their roles. We know the importance of language, and perhaps it is not very appropriate for the Academy that governs the Spanish language to choose to make the masculine prevail when in a group there is a female majority of people.

Without going into the value of religious meanings, which we cannot and do not intend to deny, the codification of symbols within the Iberian social formations of the 4th and 3rd millennia cal BC, offers interesting reflections on the prominence of representations of women's bodies in the identity mechanisms of those who made them. Societies with different degrees of complexity mostly use images

Figure 1.4.1. Female representations in the Iberian figurine record. Human figurines -FH- (1 and 6), geometric anthropomorphic figurines -FAG- (2-5, 7- 10 and 11) and decorative expression on ceramic vase (12). Material not to scale referenced in Bueno and Soler, 2021e. Images referenced in other figures in this book.

of women with a high social status. This collection is unequalled in Europe and today it forms the greatest legacy of portable art from prehistoric times in the Iberian Peninsula. Hugely striking pieces are recorded in tombs, in settlements and in ritual areas, suggesting their importance and acceptance.

Combining the data on the ways of associating with the sun: sun eyes, suns on the heads of the figures, sun rays accompanying them, or people dressed as the sun (Bueno and Soler, 2021c), led us to choose the title of this book, *Daughters of the Sun.* The woman appears as the main member of a society of complex symbols far removed from the interpretation of the *Goddess* as the only explanation for the figurines. Assuming that they represented bodies of different ages and genders, the protagonism of women is a fact that the title *Daughters of the Sun* seeks to resituate in their social sphere. They collaborated in a very direct way to spread common mythologies, enrich symbolism, and in the extension of technical knowledge, in daily care and in the rituals of death that we perceive in the megaliths.

Some of the figurines and, more abundantly, the decorated plaques, show graphic resources aimed at presenting other images inside them, visually projecting the origin of one onto the other - Figure 6.3.4. Thus the *Daughters of the Sun* are also ancestral mothers, whose relationship with the sun makes them socially powerful, probably as a political tool for transmitting the origin of certain lineages and materialising identities.

Chapter 2
Thought and Practice for a State of Art of Human Figurines in Iberia

The brief description of the object of study of this book brings us face to face with the most complex part of the discourses that make up the interpretation of Recent Iberian Prehistory. Symbols have been the subject of various approaches in which their interpretation has taken precedence over the practice of methodologies that provide verifiable data, generating a great deal of "noise". This is particularly evident in the great theoretical and methodological differences between the reconstruction of material history and that of its symbols, the former having obtained great scientific advances, while the latter has been subordinated to systematic approaches that are not very objective and to interpretations more typical of romantic archaeology than of scientific archaeology.

Approaching the interpretation of images means dealing with the study of just another materiality. There seems to be little doubt about the symbolic value that underlies each action of the deposition of human remains, the maintainance and vistation of sites, offerings, etc. The same is true of everyday contexts in which all remains are the product of a specific way of living with objects (Bradley, 2003). In the end, separating images from other materialities is an admission of our methodological shortcomings in undertaking their study (Bueno and Bahn, 2015). Like vessels or lithic tools, images present conservation problems and there are similarities between them and other productions from the same cultural sphere.

Using their parallels as a way to approach their possible meanings makes sense in the same range of reliability as, for example, comparing cardial ceramics with each other. What makes no sense is contextually distorting the parallels, going beyond chronologies and territories with no archaeological basis to support them, the same as with the ceramic example mentioned above.

The subject we are dealing with is a good case study of these tensions, as many of the figurines now have well-studied archaeological contexts, although almost two centuries of lethargy still seems to weigh too heavily on their analysis. This was one of the reasons that prompted us to create the exhibition *Idols. Miradas Milenarias* as an incentive to resume a scientific study of one of the richest and least known repertoires of figurines in Europe.

The main difficulty in offering a comprehensive picture of these pieces in Iberian megalithic art is that there are no up-to-date publications we can turn for information on basic questions about their materiality, contexts, associations, chronologies. The works of the 19th and first half of the 20th century included these pieces in the general discourse of recent Iberian prehistory as part of their religious manifestations, evidence of eastern influx (Siret, 1907, 1908). Breuil´s publications on Schematic Art (1935) were the first to contribute an approach more in keeping with the Iberian reality, breaking down the various versions which, from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age, show images painted, engraved and sculpted on different media and in different contexts.

Subsequently, only two works, one by Pilar Acosta also on Schematic Art (1968) and one by M.ª José Almagro Gorbea on the *Idols* (1973), offer general overviews. Both researchers draw very directly from the advances published by Breuil, adding an important dose of oriental diffusionism that leads them to point out parallels and, thus, colonists, arriving from Anatolia, Cyprus and the Mediterranean islands, in line with the ideas that Childe and Crawford contributed to European archaeology. Each typology of figurine corresponds to these different origins. A few years later and on the basis of more detailed studies, Acosta (1984) began to question the colonial hypothesis in view of the notable absence of references to most of these coded images in the Mediterranean territories.

In the second half of the 20th century, the study of figurines in the rest of Europe focused on their role in everyday contexts, their ancestral trajectory and their relationship with ways of projecting cultural references (Ucko, 1962). Soon their inclusion as part of religious concepts begins to give way to their role in generating social content in the continental area (Gimbutas, 1974; Guilaine, 2022). The prominence of symbolism in the continental territory does not imply isolation from other sectors; on the contrary, the connectivity, the movement of raw materials and people that genetic studies support, all add arguments for more complex scenarios than those of the simple and supposedly ordered mechanism of diffusion, following the famous reading of Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza (Arcellier *et*

al. 2022; Boric, 2020, Brace *et al.* 2019; Hofmann, 2020, among others).

In Iberia, the end of the 20th century saw an important increase in the knowledge of regional developments, the figurines being part of this (Bueno, 1992, 2010, 2020a; Gonçalves, 2006; Lillios, 2008; Soler, 2020, among others). Publications about unique pieces, groups of sites or regions, or specific typologies are common. On the other hand, there are few versions of joint publications that deal with contemporaneities, associations, specialisations, relationships with expressions in other media (schematic art, megalithic art) and contexts (Bueno and Balbín, 1992; Bueno et *al.* 2005a, 2007; Hurtado, 2010).

A review of the historiography that has shaped classical interpretations is fundamental in order to comprehend how and when the diffusionist and religious interpretations based on historicist discourse came about. This hypothesis, which seemed to have been overtaken by the greater weight of social interpretations at the end of the 20th century, is now making a strong comeback, driven by post-processual ideas in which religion, understood as an organised superstructure, would lead a large part of the social explanations that would have mobilised the protagonists of the first agricultural and metallurgical productions (Cauvin, 1994). Once again, sanctuaries, goddesses and sacred sites would be the ideological cogs of the distribution and use of the territories of the past. This book cannot nor does pretend to offer a solution to these dichotomous versions, but the transversal vision we seek does pose more questions than usual about origins and chronology, more nuances to the univocal hypotheses and, above all, reasonable doubts about sequences and evolutions that are sometimes far removed from the data provided by the material reality.

2.1. Hypotheses and objectives.

After the publication of the monographs in Spanish, Portuguese and English of the studies that accompanied the aforementioned exhibition, it seemed reasonable to bring together an update (Bueno and Soler, 2020a, 2021d, 2021e). We undertook this book with the intention of offering an overview of Iberian figurines not only as part of post-glacial symbolism, but as the basis for considering the role of their iconographies in everyday, funerary or other contexts of recent Iberian prehistory. The images of the early farming groups are reworked and spread among those who built the megaliths, pointing to the solid temporal and ideological reference of the human representations that preside over their different activities. At present, a complacent reading with transformations and adaptations, is the easiest, following a line consolidated by Ucko in his work of the 1960s and 1970s and which has a marked development in the studies of figurines in continental Europe (Boric, 2020; Hansen, 2020; Hofmann, 2020; Paglietti, 2020, among others). The limited impact of these *longue durée* readings in the interpretation of the symbols of recent prehistory in the Iberian Peninsula is partly explained by the prominence of historicist positions, whose arguments focus on the disappearance of hunter-gatherer groups at the end of the Upper Palaeolithic and with them all their technical knowledge and their ways of relating socially and culturally (see discussion in Bueno and Balbín, 2009, 2016).

Through the figurines, codifications of territorial impact can be easily followed, as well as varied connectivities that, added to those offered by other types of materialities, notably enrich our view of these cultural expressions. It should not be forgotten that the collection of Neolithic and Chalcolithic Iberian writing is one of the richest and most compact in Europe, especially between the 4th and 3rd millennia cal BC.

We could have carried out an exhaustive analysis of everything we know about each of the types of figurine, but that task is being developed in the different works that we have published in collaboration with many colleagues. Another option would have been to graphically present the enormous expressive wealth of these pieces, as we have said, virtually unpublished for the rest of European archaeology, and not very well known to those who do not work in very specific territories in the South of the Peninsula (Bueno and Soler, 2021f). Certainly, there are many possible directions, but it seemed coherent to us to opt for a book that explains the historiographical foundations of the interpretations of the figurines, which are ultimately what constitutes the analysis of the symbolism of Recent Iberian Prehistory. An orderly exposition of a history of historicist discourses will allow the new generations to understand that most of these views are understood within the framework of the cultured societies of the 19th and early 20th centuries. They sought an explanation for a past whose material evidence went beyond what they expected from a few isolated individuals with little social capacity and no technical knowledge. In this nineteenth-century context, women have a limited social role, which explains why most interpretations extol motherhood or divinity as the only explanations for this vast and varied collection of women's bodies for which we have evidence since the earliest Upper Palaeolithic.

It has rarely been pointed out that 19th and 20th century historiography borrowed images and interpretations from authors, sometimes without referencing each other, giving rise to very repetitive inventories that in our current understanding border on plagiarism. This

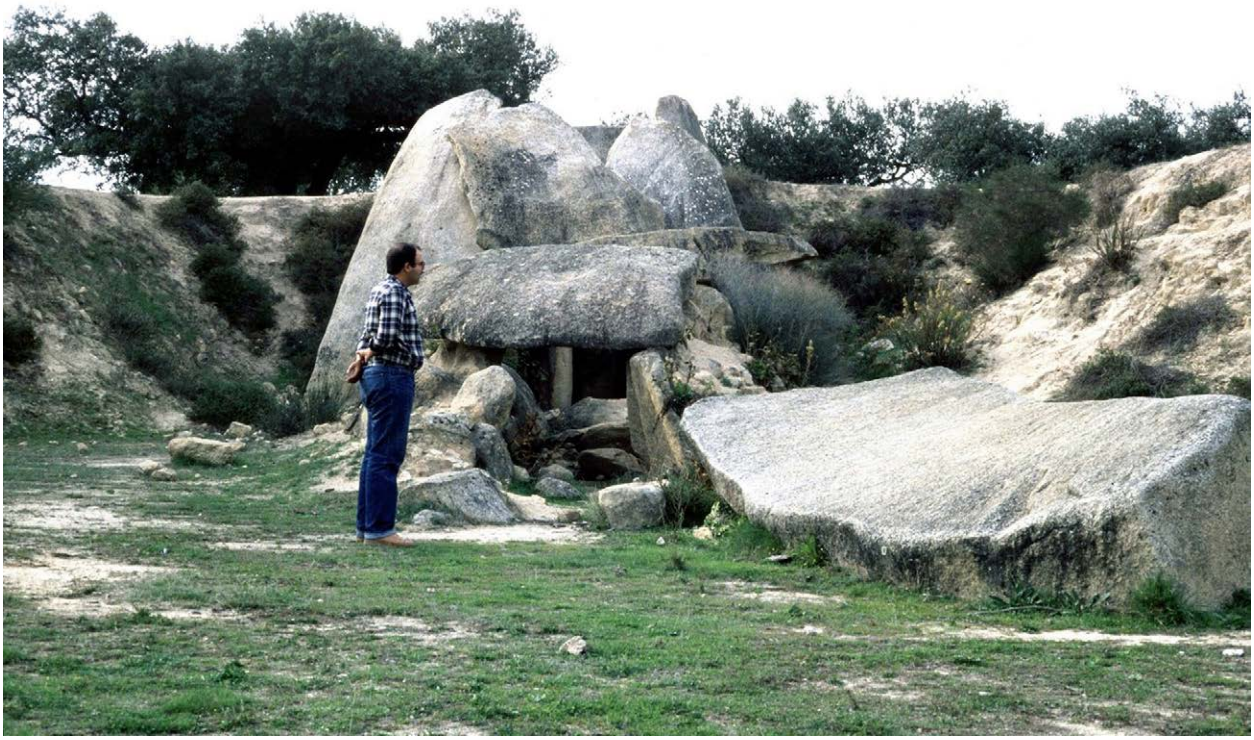


Figure 2.1.1. Anta Grande de Zambujeiro, Évora. A large stone construction from Western Iberia that housed hundreds of decorated plaques. Photograph: Bartolomé Ruiz.

explains why most of the discussions on the chronology, typology and interpretation of the main Iberian groups have been commonplace since the first studies.

It is no easy task to offer a compendium of the extensive Iberian historiography that has been justifying the interpretative path of these *items.* To convey this information, we have chosen to select the most influential authors and their proposals.

Given that the method used to argue that settlers arrived was centred on the comparison between Iberian and foreign pieces, always the same ones in this systematic and constant reuse between authors, we have decided to use them as a tool to demonstrate that, with the same repertoire, different things can be seen. With this aim in mind, we have included them in a *Bibliographic Register of Denominations* (RBD). Each of them is cited for the first time with a number in brackets, generating a kind of "primordial inventory", which helps us to follow the research and historiographical journey. This argues that not only the 19th century authors (Siret himself collects data from Leite de Vasconcellos and Estacio da Veiga), but also those of the first half of the 20th century, feed off each other, systematically going round in circles with very similar interpretations based on the same images, the only difference being whether they are of western or eastern origin.

This study supposes that Iberian figurines with different morphologies and materials represent codified images through geometrically based formulas for different parts of the face, especially the eyes, the body and the clothing and ornaments, in territorially defined expressions of a shared image. We take this hypothesis to establish a synthesis of geometries of human bodies, in which the triangle and the rectangle/trapezoid are the preferred geometries, sometimes with three-dimensional developments among which the conical versions stand out - Figure 2.1.2 -. This handling of geometries and volumes is unparalleled in the rest of Europe in terms of their quantity and quality.

The systematisation we propose focuses on the cases of figurines acknowledged in the RBD, adding information on their interpretative path, the updating of their contextual data and their study and, if possible, the chronologies proposed by their researchers with the corresponding reference.

Throughout the text, dating has always been treated in terms of calibrated references, as is the custom in recent European prehistory. On one hand, C14 dates are included and, on the other, probability ranges are assigned to some of the typologies which are not directly dated due to the inert raw materials in which they are made, but are associated with the deposits in which

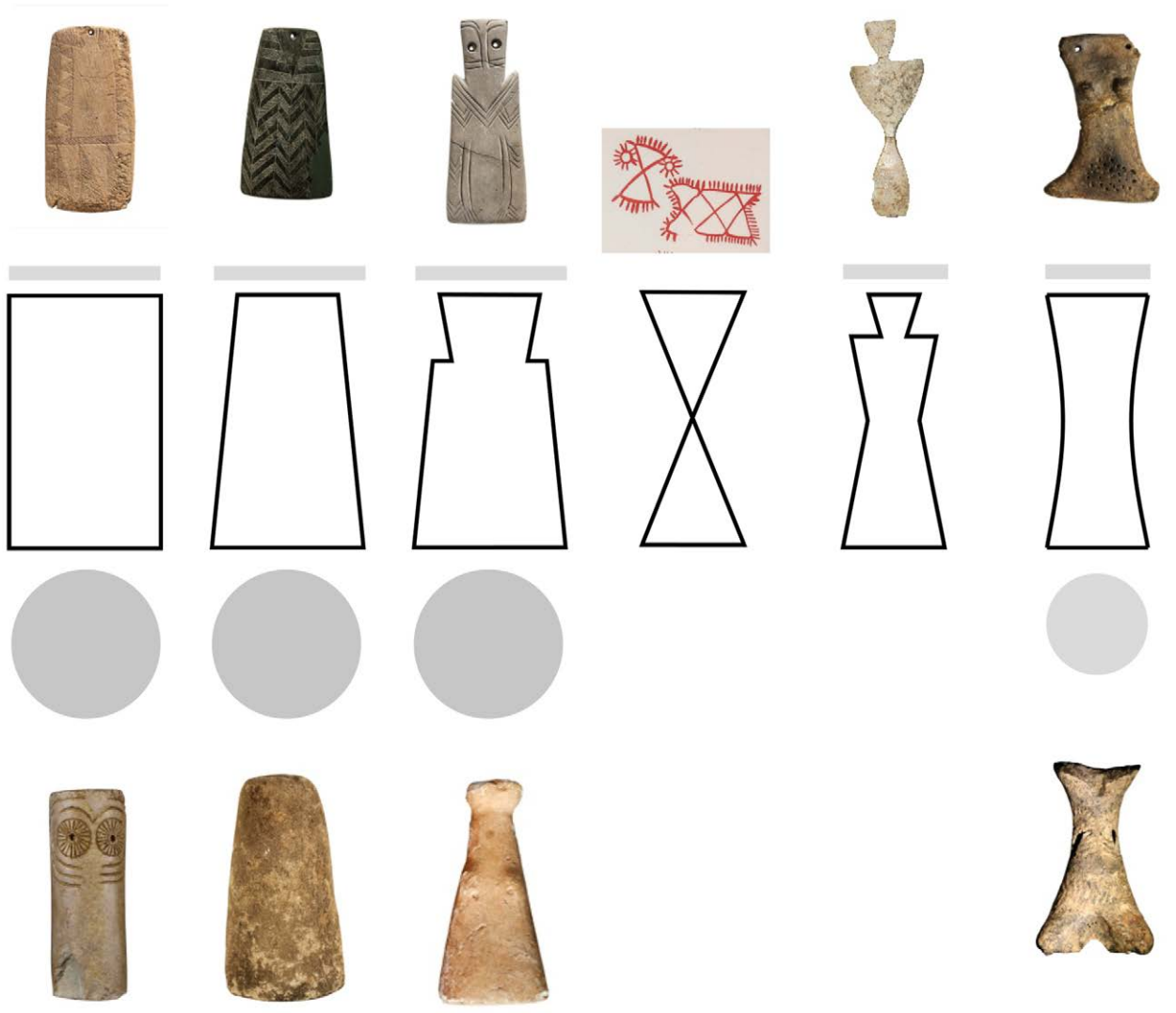


Figure 2.1.2. Geometric references of flattened and volumetric geometric anthropomorphic figuration (FAG). Images referenced in other figures in this volume.

they have been documented, whether habitational or funerary.

The classic tripartite divisions of the Neolithic period tend to be concentrated today in two large blocks, early Neolithic between 5800 / 5600 and 4000 cal BC and advanced Neolithic characterised by groups whose most important social reference point was collective burials between 4000 and 3300 cal BC. From that time until 2200 cal BC, in the Chalcolithic, habitational and funerary building intensifies, with the first half of the 3rd millennium being one of the peaks of the presence of figurines.

For part of the research, the 3300-2200 cal BC range would be the only one in which these pieces played a relevant role in the construction of social and identity references (Andrade *et al.* 2020; Lillios, 2008; Gonçalves, 2020). The combination of information gleaned from the study of Schematic Art, early Neolithic figurines, anthropomorphic vases, deposits from the oldest megaliths and the study of megalithic art, argues in favour of trajectories with older roots, placing the first representations of human images with sun-eyes at least in the second half of the 6th millennium cal BC (Bueno and Soler, 2021c).

With the information available, we have assigned the oldest figurines associated with the megaliths directly dated to around 4000 cal BC ("spatula-idols"- Figure2.1.3-). For those associated with the megaliths in their ancient phase, but without a direct chronology, we have established a generic range: 3800 / 3600 -2500 / 2700 cal BC, which is generally the most widely accepted today. The peak phase of these figurines, which we can date to between 3300 - 2200 cal BC with the known C14

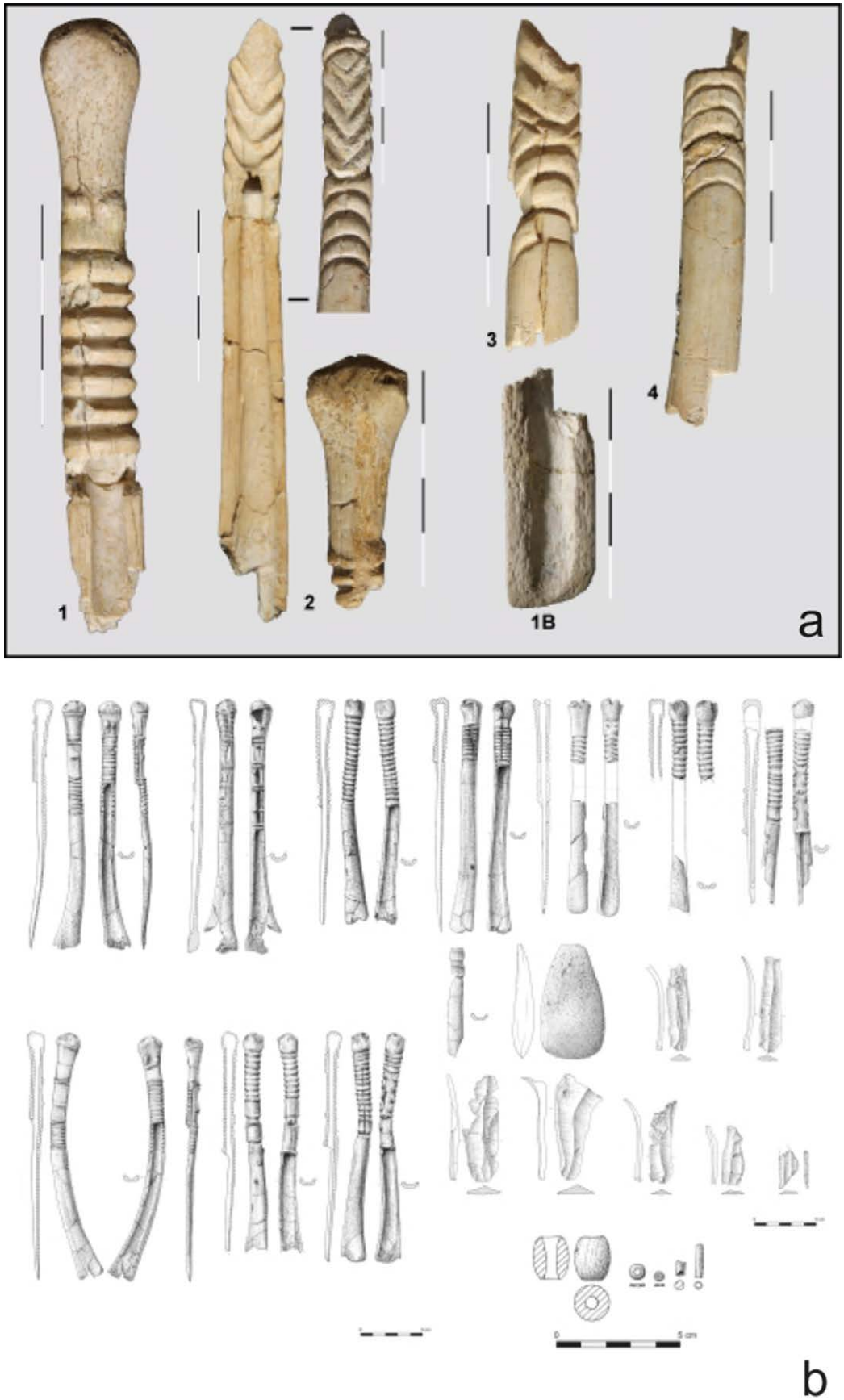


Figure 2.1.3. - 1. "Spatula idols" from the dolmen of San Martín, Laguardia. Those dated by radiocarbon are numbers 1b, (Fernández Eraso et al. 2015); - 2. Elements of the grave goods belonging to individual 7 -adult male- from El Miradero, Villanueva de los Caballeros (Villalobos et al. 2020, Figure 11).

data, is the one that in many publications had been fixed between 3000 - 2500 cal BC in the framework of the proposals for dating the Late Neolithic-Chalcolithic made in the second half of the 20th century. Some classic inventories, such as those of the hypogean burials of the Lisbon Peninsula, are made in this period of the peak of full Chalcolithic, contemporary in its most recent phase with a large part of the Bell Beaker productions, as we pointed out some time ago (Bueno, 2010; Bueno *et al*. 2010).

This proposal is not without nuances and problems of precision. The types that fit these dates could have an earlier origin and a more extensive development, as seems likely from their parietal references. These ranges assume, moreover, that intermediate dates would also have specimens available.

We are aware that there is still a long way to go in the direct dating of these pieces. Even among those made from organic raw materials there are not enough datings (Monge and Soares, 1991) and those we do know of have opened up an unexpected line of ancient dates (Villalobos *et al*. 2020), which we have always considered viable in the Iberian records (Bueno 2010, Bueno *et al.* 2007a).

2.2. Fragmentary Archaeologies in the Construction of Symbols of Late Prehistory.

The methodology for the study of archaeological objects has been adapted since the impulse of *New Archaeology* to the need to obtain scientific data on their composition, on the provenance of their raw materials, their operational chain (extraction, transfer and craft systems), and their direct and indirect chronology. Objects ceased to be a mirror of research ideas to establish themselves as scientific arguments. In the last twenty years, the study of these objects has been increasing to the point of approaching an archaeology of things that is sometimes lacking in contexts and interpretations on a larger scale. Interpreting them contributes to a biography of artefacts that, when connected to the biography of sites, offers renewed approaches to their study (Chapman, 2013; Joy, 2009; Routledge, 2013).

Archaeometry has undoubtedly advanced beyond the predominance of individualised analysis of cultural expressions that are part of larger systems. Without wishing to go further into this discussion, contemporary archaeology has to take a position between a rigid study of materiality and its theoretical readings, recognising that much of the theory of archaeology is centred on the scientific study of objects (Jones, 2004).

In the present case, the greatest contradiction is the application of sound theoretical models and scientific studies of site records (natural caves, megaliths, moat enclosures, fortified enclosures) in contrast to the meagre analytical documentation of the figurines. There are not many analyses of the composition of the clay used in the objects, nor studies on the provenance of the hard stones or how they were worked. Nor do we have quality data to back up the methods and formulas for the reuse of these pieces. Nor are there many efforts to obtain direct dates for those made from organic materials.

These shortcomings reveal one of the weakest points of prehistoric archaeology, which can be extended to other periods of the humanity. Symbols are the stronghold of historicism, playing a leading role in the narratives of what archaeology in the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century wanted to see as our past. In this context, interpretation outside the data has leeway not afforded in other fields, a line of research that has been allowed even in journals of impact without radical rejection of its unscientific content.

Part of the answers to the credibility of the social and cultural role of the materiality of these records lies in the corporeality of the figurines, an inexcusable fact that allows the development of an archaeology of the body, *Embodiment Archaeology* (Crossland, 2016), whose fundamental pillar is the recognition of the *Agency* between objects and people, one of the most fruitful research lines of recent years (Hofmann, 2020; Jones and Diaz-Guardamino, 2019; Robb, 2009). Agency, the way of building relationships between people and objects, is also the way in which identities are expressed. The symbols of this construction of identity can be and are varied (Hernando, 2002), with graphic expressions being a very useful way of approaching other ways of understanding and classifying social factors (Bueno, 2020 a and b; Bueno *et al.* 2005a; Soler, 2020).

The remains of the past make up memories that fix oral narratives. A tool that may be used to approach how these memories played different roles in different societies is the *Archaeology of Death*, whose methodology integrates the records in actions that link symbolic elements for the choice of sites or building materials (Bueno *et al.* 2015c, 2018; Scarre, 2009, among many others), with the extended use that includes maintenance, refactoring, rebuilding of the constructions and their decoration, as well as cleaning, restructuring, and emptying of deposits. Collective tombs are containers and exhibitors of the social bonds that symbols help to pinpoint.

The undeniable prominence of female figures from the Palaeolithic to recent prehistory offers a unique field of study for *Gender Archaeology* (Talalay, 2012). However, sexing the past has to take into account that our codes are not applicable in every time and place, so nuances

are necessary (Gero and Conkey, 1991; Robb and Harris, 2018). In any case, few objects present sexual attributes as directly as those of some figurines, but it has to be pointed out that in the whole ensemble there are a great many pieces that offer no data or that raise reasonable doubts about their relationship with female bodies (Duhard, 1993; Svoboda, 2007; Martínez and López, 2000; Sotirakapoulou, 2020, among others).

Figures that present a dual male/female interpretation have been noted on multiple occasions (Bailey, 1994; Vella Gregory, 2020), as have male figures (Hansen, 2017; Malone, 1998; Malone and Stoddart, 201, 32,6; Skates, 2017, 788). In fact, the Iberian repertoire, like the Cycladic one, shows abundant male references, especially during the 3rd millennium, suggesting that the contents associated with the figurines evolved to support new, more individualised narratives (Hansen, 2020; García Pérez *et al*. García y López; Soler, 2020; Sotirakapoulos, 2020; Valera, 2020).

In line with this, large menhirs of a phallic nature were made, whose diachrony we can follow at least between the 5th and 2nd millennium cal BC in territories where these figurines play an important role, as is the case of the megalithic group of Reguengos de Monsaraz, in Evora, Portugal, a reference that forces us to rethink male / female / male sequences that have presided over some of the most successful hypotheses of recent European prehistory (Robb, 2009, for example). Physical elements and accessories such as certain objects and clothing have been the basis for assigning sex when

Figure 2.2.1. - 1. Fragment of a human figure (FH) in stone. La Pijotilla, Badajoz; - 2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG), cylindrical bipartite with flared ends, with face. Marroquíes Bajos, Jaén. Museo Arqueólogico de Badajoz (1) and Museo de Jaén (2). Photographs: Eva Rocamora (1) and Juan Pedro Bellón (2).

this could not be identified through the representation of the genitalia of the figures. In both cases we have, after the abundant historiography and studies carried out, some nuances to point out. With regard to the portrayal of breasts, these are present in both male and female figures, which is even more evident in their larger statuary correlations (Bueno *et al.* 2005a). Women were portrayed with breasts, and when their genitalia is explicit, the breasts appear as embossed bulges. However, men also have breasts (Valera and Evangelista 2014, Figs. 4 and 5). It should be added that the warrior protections of the armed representations include, in most cases, the corresponding hollow to protect this part of the torso and if they are decorated, simple circles or circles surrounded by sun rays appear, as is the case in some figurines from the Mediterranean area (Skates, 2017: 34.6).

Of course, this observation does not invalidate the generally female asignation of the statuettes, rather it should heighten caution when establishing attributions on the basis of the presence or absence of physical criteria (Escoriza, 1992, 152). It should also be taken into account that some poorly preserved pictorial decorations show evidence of asignation that is not visible today (Bueno, 2010, 53; Chapin, 2012; Sotirakoupolos, 2020).

The clothing, ornaments or objects that accompany these representations have been part of their interpretation as feminine or masculine images, an aspect that has been developed most notably in larger statuary (Harris and Hoffman, 2014; Harrison and Heyd, 2007; Robb and Harris, 2018; Sorensen, 2013; Turek, 2015). However, these arguments tend towards the idealisation of objects defining the masculinity (attack weapons, breastplates, helmets) or femininity (elaborate clothing, ornaments), an aspect that is changing in recent years with archaeological evidence that weapons (metallic or otherwise) were carried by both female and male representations.

The same is true when relegating the possibility that some of these pieces represent people at different ages in their lives. Exhibitions of figurines of different sizes could reproduce "family" groups (Barroso *et al.* 2021; Bueno *et al.* 2017, 2018, 2022a; Rutter, 2003; Palaguta, 2018, 2020; Valera, 2020; Vella Gregory, 2020), as has also been pointed out for some aggregations of painted human images in Iberian shelters (Barciela, 2020).

Interpretations from Palaeolithic images onwards have prioritised the idea of goddesses related to fertility, so that they would be the material manifestation of a universal *Dea Mater (*Gimbutas, 1974; Tringham and Conkey, 1998), regardless of their contexts, chronologies and material associations. The *Dea Mater*

Figure 2.2.2. Male human figures (FH) in ivory: - 1. La Pijotilla, Badajoz; - 2. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (1) and ERA Arqueologia, Lisbon (2). Photographs: Eva Rocamora (1) and A.C. Valera (2).

would symbolise the fertility of the earth (Cauvin, 1994) and would be further developed in the Neolithic in relation to socially organised groups, as part of a primitive religious expression. In these hypotheses, the rich record of female figures in the Upper Palaeolithic, the evidence of masculine character (sexed bodies or phalluses) or the inventories of zoomorphic figurines and everyday representations, would have no recognised role beyond M. Gimbutas' proposal to grant tutelary and divine qualifications to all these records. The presumed spread of this religion from East to West seemed to repeat the myth of the origin of present-day European culture.

Codified uses for female representation observed throughout prehistoric times has also been explained as the result of certain tastes or fashions for voluminous bodies, as part offat accumulation practices for survival in groups with mobile lifestyles that would encourage steatopygia. This assumes a stylistic evolution in which stout bodies would have been the most ancient expressions and the slimmest ones the most recent. All these explanations pose problems, most importantly

arising from claiming to give a single explanation for cultural responses that are extended in time and space. It does not seem possible to either question some of them or to confirm them due to lack of data, but it is difficult to accept them as a general explanation. Even some of the most established ones, such as the more ancient presence of the stout female figurines in the Palaeolithic records and the lack of them in the most recent records, cannot be taken for granted with the archaeological data we know today.

More recently, from the detailed observation of the differences of these bodies, it is accepted that they offer information about different phases of female fertility (Duhard, 1993, 19; Rabay- Salisbury, 2017, 592; Tringham and Conkey, 1998; Vella Gregory, 2020). In that sense, the figurines are assumed to be a materiality that conveys information about events in the realm of women's lives. The descriptive image of some Palaeolithic vulvas implies a very direct frontal observation probably related to gestures of solidarity between women at the moment of giving birth (Bueno, 2020a, 32). Information passed on from older women to younger women through images depicting the different stages from puberty to procreation could be expressed with these figurines. Such a function does not invalidate their role as possible amulets, as many of them seem to have been worn as pendants, perhaps representations of ancestors. Nor does it deny their version as a vehicle for explaining or dramatising stories by firelight (Svoboda, 2007, 74), or evidently the possibility that they were used as toys (toys are for learning), or their relationship to the cultural codes (clothing, ornaments, work forms), which define highly codified formulas of identity content.

The close relationship of Neolithic figurines, especially in Northern and Central Europe, with ceramics, whether in sculptural form or as anthropomorphic vessels (Naumov, 2017; Hansen, Becker, Hofmann, Martínez *et al.* 2020), is a further argument for the hypothesis that some of them were probably made by women. Some *performances* on activities such as the production of bread, pottery or weaving (Palaguta, 2020), express the idea that they were used as a vehicle for passing on information, part of which refers to the control of maintenance and reproductive activities carried out by women.

The great prominence of solar iconography in the records points to aspects that have been extensively developed in *Archaeoastronomy* (Magly, 2020). These concern the evidence of a profound knowledge of astronomical events and orientation systems based on the stars. Solar calendars, solstice and equinox orientations, portrayals of star groupings, maps of the sky.... (Darvill, 2022; Meller and Risch, 2021), were part of the mastery of these societies.

In the Iberian case, the relationship between figurines and megalithic settings is unquestionable, so that the orientation of the monuments to the East or East-Southeast and their totally artificial selection are solid arguments for the use of astronomical orientations. Analyses of the impact of sunlight and the position of the decorations on the walls or at central points of these tombs demonstrate not only their empirical knowledge, but also their role in the funerary discourses, since the area where the decoration is most elaborate is that which receives direct sunlight (Burl, 1980; Bueno *et al.* 2015c; 2016a; Bueno and Soler, 2021c). The orientation of outdoor decorations has been assessed in the same way (Bradley, 2020, 58).

In the megaliths, artificial colour, wall decoration (engravings and paintings), the orderly arrangement of corpses, ceramics, ornaments, clothing, figurines, stelae and menhirs, combine with the smells and sensations of the death space, composing elaborate funerary scenarios (Bueno *et al.* 2016a, 2022a; García Sanjuán *et al.* 2019; Skeates, 2010). These rituals are more explicit in the most prominent monuments of the necropoles (Bueno and Balbín 2006a, b) and more common in the records of the late 4th and mid-3rd millennium cal BC, coinciding with the peak of the figurine period.

The close association between human images in Iberian schematic art and suns is reflected in three dimensions in the figurines, in which images without sun-eyes are made alongside codified versions of personified suns. This confluence of differentiated versions of contemporary human figures is a strong argument for underlining the mythological value of solar expressions. A long tradition of stories featuring the sun in the guise of a human figure spreads through Iberia during the 6th millennium cal BC and forms part of a recognisable *background* in the framework of our own mythographies (Bueno 2010, 40-41). The recurring use of sun-eyes in portable pieces, ceramics, and parietal art is unique in its quantity and density in Iberia, supporting the hypothesis of the impact that some Iberian iconographies had on the rest of Europe (Bueno *et al.,* 2015b, 2019a).

The expression of the geometric basis of bodies in two (parietal art) and three dimensions (portable art), provides a wealth of data to follow the evolution of shapes in relation to the conceptualisation of their meaning. *Cognitive Archaeology* provides references on this evolution, including the idea that the mechanisms of the human brain can be reconstructed from the material elements that bring us closer to how social relations were established through the elaboration of codified concepts and formulas. Renfrew (1982) described it as the study of the minds of past societies and some of their individuals. There is no explicit methodology for approaching the study of the mind,

but recognising geometric bases as a conceptualisation of human bodies that can be argued from the Iberian figurine record provides an interesting avenue to explore by means of the use of structuralist approaches that we propose in this volume.

Reconstructing the past through archaeology is to enter into a dialogue between what we are and what we were. A permanent questioning of each of the ways of dealing with this past, always in an active way, constitutes a platform that opens up lines of research and enriches the methodologies that derive from new questions. From cultural historicism, to functionalism, processualism and post-processualism, different *archaeologies* have added points of view that can be read as partial. Many of these interpretative versions are anchored in the classical ways brought together in the terminologies just mentioned, without eluding the fact that many of the more recent versions have taken on significant relevance in the post-processualist impulse. Our interpretation is integrated into *social archaeology*, which cannot ignore the advances of the *Gender Archaeology*, while assuming methodological aspects of *New Archaeology*, *Landscape Archaeology*, and some hypotheses of post-processualism, without forgoing the utilities provided by structuralism.

All the theoretical approaches to the figurines from the end of the 20th century to the present day (body archaeology, gender archaeology, archaeology of things, biography of objects, identity archaeology, archaeoastronomy, archaeometry, sensory archaeology, cognitive archaeology, etc.) have shaped a series of proposals and reflections on the identity value of the representation of bodies, on the social role of women's knowledge, on the mastery of craftsmanship and dissemination of the figurines from workshops, on the ability of these groups to orientate themselves astronomically, to construct large stone buildings and to project social and cultural codes with a deep historical trajectory.

These advances open the door to a necessary intensification of the study of Iberian portable records. We hope that the impulse and updating that the work carried out for the exhibition Ídolos*, Miradas Milenarias* has provided will act as a trigger to increase scientific knowledge and the social and cultural significance of these small human bodies in the reconstruction of how they interacted in everyday life and in the construction of funerary narratives in recent prehistory.

Chapter 3
Women's Bodies in Portable Art from the Palaeolithic to Late Prehistory in Europe

3.1. The first female images.

Tracing the oldest human images is not only part of science, but of human groups´ innate curiosity concerning how we depict ourselves through the ages and our different geographies and traditions. If Palaeolithic art, from the discovery of its parietal images, already proved a challenge for the societies of the 19th century to understand the capacities of the people of the past , the small portable figurines of women required more effort to integrate the techniques and geometric forms produced in the new graphic universe of the Upper Palaeolithic hunter-gatherer groups.

The multitude of interpretations of Palaeolithic art establishes the dichotomy between the animal images that make up the majority of Palaeolithic parietal representations and female sculptures. Along with them, there are some male statuettes disguised as animals and representations of various quadrupeds (horses, meat-eating animals, mammoths) which, in addition to bone, clay and various stones, occasionally use amber.

In order to produce them, they took raw materials from nature, animal bones or stones, which sometimes came from further afield than the early stages of these studies assumed. (Weber *et al.* 2022), confirming the great mobility of these groups. They also moulded clay, creating the first ceramic productions dating long before the Neolithic (Svoboda, 2007).

> «Found in Willendorf, Austria, in 1908 during the construction of the railway, the famous Venus is 11 cm high. It was made some 30,000 years old, and represents a way of conceiving the female image characteristic of the earliest stages of Palaeolithic art, in relation to fertility.
> Probably one of the most spectacular male figures in portable art is the lion-man from Hohlenstein-Stadel, found in 1939 in the excavations in the caves of the Swabian Jura valley in Southern Germany. Assembled and restored at the end of the 20th century, it represents a 28 cm tall man carved from mammoth ivory, covered with the skin of a lion and a mask of the same animal. It dates from the Aurignacian culture, around 40,000 years ago. The venus amulet and the more sculptural figure of the lion man, Palaeolithic imagery shows the mastery of three-dimensionality, chiaroscuro and carving techniques from the early Paleolithic period» (Balbín, 2020).

The impression that human images have been and continue to be the main focus of interpretation is a real one, even though it can be said without hesitation that small animal sculptures are more plentiful. The antiquity of these repertoires shares the same chronology as the female statuettes, confirming that 40,000 years before hte present, elaborate sculptural themes and techniques were part of the cultural and artisanal resources of a large part of the European continent. Their presence is related to a variety of human activities. Places where they gathered, living areas and some funerary finds, as well as possible workshops (Paris *et al.* 2017), are the contexts that allow us to confront a variability of functions that makes sense given the significant diachrony of the evidence.

None of these pieces have been depicted in movement. They are usually presented face front, in the case of the human ones, with legs of smaller proportions than the rest of the body and unfinished feet, so that this pointed end would make it easier to drive them into some soft surface: the floor, household clay or others. Zoomorphs are depicted from the side, in versions that are almost always flatter than human images. The legs are better finished and correspond to the body size, although many of the pieces would not easily have stood upright due to the small base of the hooves. Volumes predominate in the female images in which the mastery of symmetry, bas-relief, circle and lines has attracted attention since the first discoveries.

This difference in the profiles and base of the pieces could justify that the animals were easier to use as gaming tokens, or as toys in themselves, while the statuettes could have been used preferably as pendants. In any case, it is not easy to explain either the functionalities in all contexts, or of course how they were used.

Several cases could be chosen to illustrate their relationship to specific activities. One of the most famous for the quality of the data is Sunghir in Russia. It

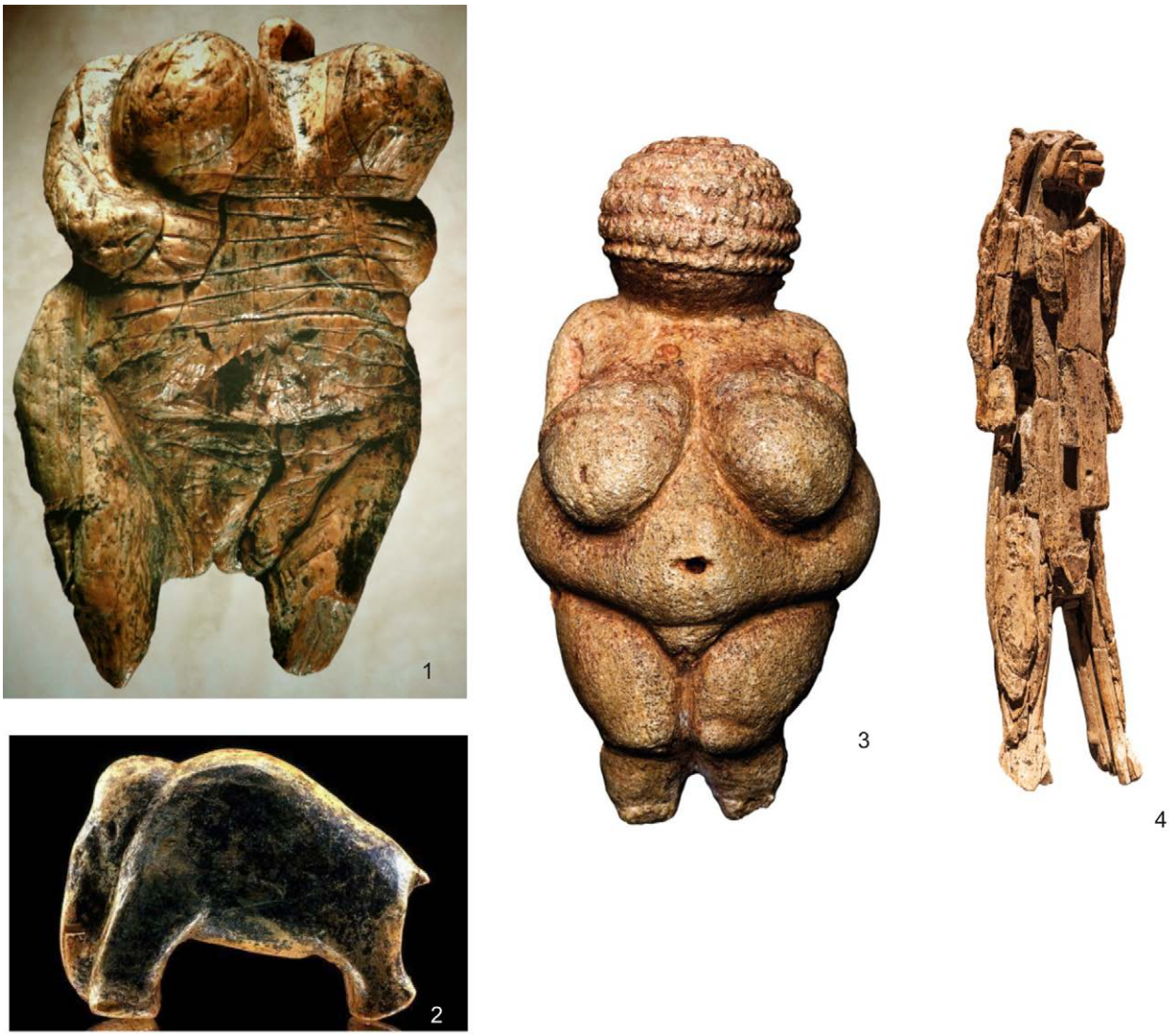


Figure 3.1.1. Anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines from the Upper Palaeolithic in Europe. - 1. Venus from Hohle Fels, Schelklingen, Germany. Ivory; - 2. Mammoth from Vogelherd, Württemberg, Germany. Ivory; - 3. Venus of Willendorf, Moravia, Czech Republic. Limestone; - 4. Lion man, Hohlenstein-Stadel, Germany. Limestone. Urgeschichtliches Museum Blaubeuren (1); Institut für Urgeschichte der Universität, Tübingen (2); Natural History Museum, Vienna (3). Images: L. Lammerhuber (3), Creative commons. Wikipedia (1 and 4); Thilo Parg. Wikipedia Commons. CC BY-SA 3.0 (2).

is a cave with several burials dated between 34,000 and 30,000 years before the present (Trinkaus, Buzhilova, 2018). We will highlight the burial of two children with physical problems that would have made their daily life difficult, but who reached adolescence because of the care given to them. They were accompanied by various objects, with two small horse figurines thought to be toys -Figure 3.1.2.

Some human figurines have been described as puppets. This is the case of a piece from Brno made of mammoth ivory, with red traces on the surface, depicting a man with a visible penis. It was found in a grave near Dolni Vestoniçe in Moravia - Figure 3.1.2 - Czech Republic, dated to around 26,000 years before the present. It was next to a 10-year-old boy with physical problems, buried in a mantle embroidered with shells and accompanied by a drum and animal skulls. The burial of a woman in Brno also points to the presence of figurines and masks closer to portraits or differentiated uses than the more common Palaeolithic female images.

Although grave finds provide relevant information, in general the documentation is old and does not usually provide quality data. The same is true in other cases, where not even the functionality of the site can be established, such as the collection of fragments and female figurines from Brassempouy, France (Simonet, 2021). There are few sites in Europe where habitation environments have been characterised. Kostienski in

Poland and Gönnesdorf in Germany stand out. Female and zoomorphic figurines are known from both sites. The most famous female images from Gonnesdorf are depicted from the side - Figure 3.1.3, filled with geometric lines that have been related to clothing and tattoos. These patterns are reminiscent of those that decorate some Neolithic human images in Europe.

A brief summary of these references reveals similar social uses between Palaeolithic and later groups. The themes of the inventories confirm the coexistence of human bodies, zoomorphs and decorated objects, technical tools, the use of small supports, funerary and habitational contexts and the presence of pieces that suggest more personalised representations and even death masks. Naturalistic shapes and volumes coexist with more schematic versions which, like some phalanges and decorated bones (Margarit, 2010; Mújika, 2008, Figs. 10 and 12) - Figure 3.1.3 - precede the formulas that are well known in the post-Palaeolithic area.

The relationship between Palaeolithic and post-Palaeolithic female figurines was discussed by P. Ucko (1962) and revisited on several occasions. In the current state of our knowledge, the evidence of a long period before the Neolithic in Europe where figurines played a prominent role adds relevant data to give substance to these Palaeolithic roots.

The documentation of Palaeolithic clay figurines confirms closer links between Palaeolithic and Neolithic figurines, which have clay as their favoured raw material. Pieces from the Palaeolithic site of Vela Spila, Croatia (Farbstein *et al.* 2012) have been dated to between 17,500 and 15,000 years before the present. Several fragments of clay figurines (36) depict at least one quadruped and some human body bases. Other European Palaeolithic sites feature clay figurines (Vandiver *et al.* 2009), the most famous for its good contextualisation is Pavlov, Russia, where some of the small clay sculptures replicate formal characteristics of Willendorf-type venuses, especially in the head ornament/cap (Adovasio *et al.* 1996; Svoboda, 2007, 69-70). The common technology of Palaeolithic and Neolithic figurines is added to the fact that their graphic contents highlight the same type of accessories, clothing and ornaments, placing the focus of representation on the external image that projects corporealities, and on their "wrapping", recognisable as a cultural expression. A formal proximity that is best evidenced in Northern Europe where some LBK Neolithic artefacts reflect traditions with deep Palaeolithic roots (Hofmann, 2020).

The hypothesis that in some Neolithic sites Palaeolithic venuses were reused (e.g. the Marmotta, Rome) takes on new relevance in the light of these findings (Paglietti, 2020). At the Marmotta - Figure 3.1.4 - the figure´s features are fully Palaeolithic. A figure with

Figure 3.1.2. - 1. Sunghir double burial, Vladimir, Russia. Coloured reconstruction; - 2. Ivory horse and bone elements from the grave goods of the same burial; - 3. Anthropomorphic ivory sculpture from Brno, Moravia, Czech Republic. Moravian Museum, Brno (3). Images: Illustration © Libor Balák (1), Vladislav Zhitenev (2), Wikipedia Creative Commons (3).

Figure 3.1.3. - 1 and 2 Mask and Venus XV. Doní Věstonice, Brno, Czech Republic; - 3. Phalanx decorated with female sex and geometric dress. Epigravetian levels. Cuina-Turcului, Romania; - 4. Plaque with female figures. Gönnersdorf, Germany. Images: 1-2 (Rau et al. 2009); 3 (Margarit, 2010) and 4 (Gaudzinski-Windheuser, 2012).

Figure 3.1.4. - 1. Wooden sculpture of Shigir, reconstructed by D. Lobanov (1890-1891). Yekaterinburg Museum (Zihlin et al. 2018, Figure 2); - 2. Neolithic and Palaeolithic female figurines from North-Central Europe in the same style. Above: LBK site of Gaukönigshofen, Germany (Wamser 1980); in the centre: detail of the textile head cap of the Venus from Willendorf, Moravia, (Soffer et al. 2000, fig. 4). Bottom left: Venus of Willendorf. Moravia. Bottom right: clay head and body with belt from the Palaeolithic site of Pavlov, Czech Republic, (Svoboda, 2007, fig. 5.5, 5.6; 3); - 3. Venus from La Marmotta, Rome, Italy. Museo Luigi Pigorini, Rome.

this chronology could have been reused in a Neolithic ritual structure. Or perhaps these forms survived, as the Balzi Rossi figurine would indicate in a Mesolithic site in the nearby area (Mussi, 1991).

In Northern Europe, the remarkable similarities of head representations between Palaeolithic Willendorf-type images and some LBK Neolithic figurines - Figure 3.1.4 - have been assessed as a survival of these identity modes of constructing female figurines (Hoffman, 2020).

Wooden statues add further evidence to the links between Palaeolithic and Neolithic productions. The piece form Shigir in Russia measures almost 3 m high, representing a human body with a prominent head, arms, legs and geometric engravings to depict its clothing -Figure 3.1.4. Although the C14 dating has some problems, its chronology is accepted to be around 12,000 years before the present (Zihlin *et al.* 2018), which allows it to form part of a growing body of Mesolithic representations across Europe (Bueno and Balbín, 2021).

Productions such as those described reveal a high level of symmetry and geometric composition to project volumes and abstraction, indicating the levels of knowledge and cultural elaboration of the Upper Palaeolithic groups. All aspects of drawing, from the perception and formation of lines, to the execution of elaborate techniques, different perspectives and themes that convey complex associations between naturalism and abstraction, are a reality from the very beginning of Palaeolithic portable art, forming part of the "package" of techniques and symbols of the most ancient European Neolithic cultures.

3.2 Figurines in post-glacial Europe.

From 8000 before the present onwards, human figurines, mainly female, but also male, as well as zoomorphs and some objects, present a similar group of small sculptures, with zoomorphic species being more typical of the domestic environment in the case of the Neolithic, extending the custom of using small sculptural pieces until at least 2200 cal BC.

The rich finds from Turkey, especially Gobleki Tepe and its surrounding sites, have been linked to early Near Eastern Neolithic installations as an up-to-date reference of possible eastern influences on the figurines.

Their relationship with Paleolithic technical and thematic tradition provides a more comfortable way of understanding them (Kornienko, 2018, 19). Some time ago our colleagues from the University of Barcelona proposed that the decorations from the Tell-Halula site in Syria - Figure 3.2.1 - reproduced female formulas of Palaeolithic tradition. An observation that has also been mentioned in the study of the figurations of the eastern Mesolithic groups, especially the Natufian. Recently, the site of Rare in Israel has yielded phallic representations of face images dated to 7000 BC (Crassard *et al.* 2022), confirming a widespread Mesolithic decorative phase in the area. Accepting the weight of the Palaeolithic tradition in these graphic contents is not at odds with the innovation of the producer groups. On the contrary, it proposes a solid technical base, as well as providing diachronic transversality to some of the contents of the hunter-gatherer groups that adapted to the new social needs.

> «Symbolic thinking was not a creation of the Neolithic period, but was already part of the nature of ancient hunters» (Hansen, 2020: 84).

a. Centre and North.

This kind of interpretation is also convincing for the sculptural productions of Central and Northern Europe, some of which date from the Mesolithic period. The case of the wooden statue from Sighir mentioned above is paradigmatic of the value given to human images and their visibility in various contexts. Some references to wooden totems in Mesolithic populations were already collected by Rust in the 1940s.

The best known are the sculptures from Lepenski-Vir, Boljetin, Serbia - Figure 3.2.2 - which, dated to the Mesolithic and Early Neolithic periods, present human figures with the arms under the chest, like Palaeolithic and some Neolithic figurines. There are abundant stone representations at the site that relate to humanised images of fish and pieces with geometric decoration. The updated study of the site suggests a hunter-gatherer population settled in the IX and VIII millennium cal BC (Boric, 2020).

The peak period for figurines in Europe is the Neolithic, with some large concentrations during the Chalcolithic. In the Balkans and Carpathians we know of a rich recent prehistory in the form of numerous groups defined by their pottery, settlements and funerary customs, which soon reached the first copper production.

The most ancient Balkan Neolithic cultures, gathered under the name Starçevo-Koros-Cris, have been understood to be the origin of the LBK expressions that would be the reflection of more mobile populations. The plastic works of the large settlements in the Balkans and the Carpathians appear in areas with no outstanding monuments, such as megaliths. Villages are the point of clustering and the place where social pacts develop. Some clay statues, deposits and altars have been documented inside the villages, as well as frescoes with paintings of human and zoomorphic images. Models of houses, ovens, looms and work scenes are famous and

Figure 3.2.1. - 1. The "Abu Ghassan" and "Ghassan" stelae from the JKSH P52 site, Jibal al-Khashabiyeh © Mission Archéologique du Sud-Est, Jordan; - 2. Profiles of women painted on the walls of a hut at Tell-Halula, Syria, (Molist et al. 2004).

offer a unique picture of everyday life in these villages (Palaguta, 2020) - Figs. 3.2.3 and 3.2.4.

Part of everyday life includes anthropomorphic vessels that make up a well-known collection in these territories, with notable specimens in Turkey and in some other parts of the continent (Becker, 2020). The Iberian ones will be discussed below.

In the Central European context, Palaeolithic precedents are increasingly being taken into consideration, as formal links and widespread Palaeolithic chronologies provide data that were hitherto unknown.

The LBK populations, so prolific in this type of expressions between 5500 and 4900 cal BC, could have produced them from precedents in the Starcevo type groups dated between the 7th and the beginning of the 6th millennium cal BC (Hofmann, 2020). Starcevo would *roughly* coincide with the chronologies of Mediterranean *impressed ware* pottery, while the LBK productions are contemporary with those of the Mediterranean

1 2

3

Figure 3.2.2. - 1. Anthropomorphic stone sculpture. Lepenski Vir, Boljetín, Serbia. Photo A. Mc Pherron (Boric, 2020), Figure 4; - 2. Bone "idol", Tomb 13, Ensisheim, Alsace, France (Gallay and Mathieu, 1988); - 3. Mural from Ludwigshafen am Rhein, Germany, (Hofmann, 2020, Figure 7).

cardium pottery. This contemporaneity helps to explain some connectivities between Central European and Mediterranean cultures, such as the presence of cardium ware in continental sites or symbolic forms from the Continent in the Iberian Peninsula, a connectivity that has recently been confirmed by genetic analysis (Szécsényi-Nagy *et al.* 2014).

Without going too deeply into the chronology of these sites, it does seem revealing that their dates establish the first European societies widely spread over a large territory, which implies significant demographics. Whilst in Iberia these early societies were described as small groups living in caves (Cova de l'Or), the updated documentation in the Meseta with habitation clusters

Figure 3.2.3. Anthropomorphic clay figurines from different traditions: - 1 "Lady of Vinča", Vinča, Serbia, Vinča Culture, (Vasić, 1932-36); - 2. Figurine with a mask in the hand, Lubkova, Romania, Vinča Culture (Draşovean, Popovici, 2008); - 3. Head of an anthropomorphic figurine, Karanovo, Bulgaria, Gumelnitsa-Karanovo VI Culture (Радунчева, 1971); - 4. Figure of a bearded man, Krutukha-Zholob, Ukraine, Cucuteni-Tripolye Culture (Videjko -ed-. 2004); - 5-6. Female and male figures, Bilcze Złote, Ukraine, Cucuteni-Tripolye Culture (Kadrow, 2013); - 7. "Madonna" from Nemirov settlement, Ukraine, Tripolye CI - Cucuteni B period. Excavations by S.S. Gamchenko, 1909 (Starkova, 2018); - 8. "Thinker" from Tîrpeşti, Romania, Precucuteni-Ripolye A Culture, (Monah -ed.-, 1997). Compiled by I. Palaguta 2020, Figure 2.

Figure 3.2.4. Ensembles of anthropomorphic clay figurines: - 1-2. Male and female figures from Dumeşti, Romania, Cucuteni-Tripolye culture (Monah -ed-, 1997); - 3. Figures in a model house, Platia Magoula Zarko (Greece), Tsangli-Larissa Tsang from the Neolithic, (Gallis, 1985) - 4. "Altar" - a model of the vertical loom from Pieterle, Romania, Gumelniţsa-Karanovo VI, (Hansen et al., 2011) - 5. Ensemble of figurines and objects. Gumelnitsa-Karanovo VI from Ovcharovo, Bulgaria, (Todorova, 1983). Collection published by I. Palaguta 2020, Figure 5.

in its wide plains, lake habitats such as La Draga and the conjecture that some Northeastern sites of the so-called Neolithic with pit graves have an earlier origin, in addition to new types of sites in Alicante that are older than l'Or, as in the case of Mas d'Is. Demographies are approaching those of the rest of Europe, aiming at the research expected in the coming years (Bueno, 2018).

Central European figurines are characterised by their small size, like almost all European figurines. The quantitative difference in the number of *items* in the different sites is something to consider. Representations of sex also differ from site to site, as in some sites female images are more numerous, whilst in others indeterminate figures are more common (Hofmann, 2020:117).

Fragmentation processes have been observed that are reminiscent of those described in some Mediterranean sanctuaries in more recent chronologies. The fragments are preserved confirming that the pieces have their own meanings materially fixed in their forms, ornaments and clothing (Chapman, and Gaydarska, 2006). This activity of fragmenting the past in order to recover it again occurs at all scales of megalith-building groups: stelae, menhirs, and figurines, which are taken up again, recycled or changed, their use enduring through several generations and functioning as veritable relics (Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2016a).

The paintings of the LBK house in Ludwigshafen -Figure 3.2.2.2- dated around 3900 cal BC are relevant in considering the relationship between different European areas. The rectangular images, with the head associated with the sun, resemble the stelae of the alpine series of Petit-Chasseur, in Sion, Switzerland, whose best compositional reference is to be found on some Iberian figurines and especially on decorated plaques (Bueno 2010, 45-46; Hofmann, 2020).

b. Atlantic.

The Atlantic has traditionally been absent from the European figurine collection. As Scarre (2017, 2020) points out, although the repertoire is not very abundant, some pieces are part of the Neolithic Chasseen sites (with interesting peninsular references). Also in Italy, figurines are relatively scarce, but close to Central European and Balkan forms (Skeates, 2017), dating from 4900 cal BC onwards.

The megalithic component of the Atlantic region is the most emblematic in this area, so that human images have been recognised mainly in the form of menhirs, statues and menhir-statues Recently, small anthropomorphic pieces on stone have been reported in megalithic contexts, similar to Iberian ones (Bueno *et al.* 2022a). As we know from other material culture data, this sector includes different traditions, not to mention that there may have been figurines made of wood and other organic materials that have not survived.

Perhaps the most "Iberian" record is that represented in the group of Menhir statues from France -Figure 3.2.5-, which repeats geometries, volume and codified representations of eyes and tattoos, in some cases very close to the cylinders (Bouisset or Cazarils) and, in others, the majority from the menhir statues, tattoos, trapezoidal, rectangular or triangular faces such as those on decorated plaques, and multiple or single necklaces.

However, there are also references to Iberian codifications in the iconographies of the British Isles. The relationship between the *pins* that appear in Irish megaliths and themes from Iberian megalithic art is commonly accepted (Eogan, Twohig, 2021 ; Shee Twohig, 1981). Their elongated bone shapes, with the head standing out in the upper area, are usually decorated with deep geometric reliefs. They are reminiscent of Iberian decorated spatulas, as well as the wide repertoire of pins with human profile heads from some important Iberian sites such as Vila Nova de São Pedro, Portugal.

Breuil had already proposed some Atlantic references for Iberian pieces. This is the case of the plaque with linear motifs from Antrim, Ireland, and another piece from Sweden: a trapezoidal and flattened "amulet" pendant found in Grätgask, Vásterbotten, which has a bitriangular engraving on one of its faces (Breuil, 1935, Figs. 80 and 81) -Figure 3.2.5- To these we could add the portable pieces with geometric decorations found in Neolithic mines in Great Britain (Jones and Diaz-Guardamino, 2019).

The drums from Folkton, Yorkshire, Great Britain -Figure 3.2.5-, add Iberian reminiscences by incorporating the oculate face and a geometric decoration that we relate to the more classical ones on Iberian plaques and cylinders (Bueno and Soler, 2020b, 32).

> «The Menhir statues from France, the anthropomorphic figurines from Orkney and the baked clay miniatures from Chassey contexts illustrate the diversity of Neolithic anthropomorphic representations in Western Europe, north of the Pyrenees. The spatial and temporal overlap between these anthropomorphic representations of different sizes and materials is minimal and the contexts in which they appear or are deposited vary greatly. Some may have been intended for habitation space, others for burial, and still others for the outside. Some may even be representations of ancestral or mythological beings, which may have belonged to complex memory and belief systems» (Scarre, 2020).

Figure 3.2.5. - 1. Folkton drums, found in a burial mound in Yorkshire (England) in 1889. (British Museum). Photograph: Marta Díaz-Guardamino. Image taken from Scarre, 2020, Figure 4; - 2. Menhir statue, Bouisset. Photo R. de Balbín. Calvet Museum - 3. Menhir statue, Cazarils. Photo R. de Balbín. Calvet Museum; - 4-5. Slate plaque with checkerboard decorations, Antrim (Ireland) and Slate amulet, Crätgask, Vásterbotteen (Sweden), (H. Breuil 1935).

c. Mediterranean.

A marked difference between mostly earthenware pieces, of simple and rapid manufacture associated with habitation sites, was generally contrasted with figurines in stone and other hard materials from the Mediterranean, understood to be more modern than the Near Eastern ones in their first phase, and as part of specific non-Neolithic traditions connected with shrines associated to the world of death, in their latter moments (Sotirakopoulou, 2020).

However, new research in the Western Mediterranean also points to the Palaeolithic tradition (Paglietti, 2020, 342). In Sardinia, figurines are made in the Middle Neolithic and the links with Malta are convincing, as well as with the Cycladic area in its most recent phase. Malta's spectacular temple culture dates from 5000 cal BC. It has been explained as the arrival of settlers from Sicily, who have cardium pottery (Vela Gregory, 2020).

> «The female figurative artefact known as "Venus de S'Adde" depicts an adult female with only one

breast (it is not known whether it was intentionally mutilated), without the upper limbs and with steatopygia on the buttocks, with traces of red paint (...). The head shows what may be a zoomorphic representation that perhaps makes reference to *Prolagus sardis*, a lagomorph now extinct in Sardinia, or to a mask of the same animal (...). Its attribution to the Upper Palaeolithic is part of a long-standing debate on the origin of human presence in Sardinia» (Paglietti, 2020: 342) -Figure 3.2.6-.

Skates' work relates Maltese society's early temples to its interest in generating spaces with a strong sensory content in which to gather. The island's purchasing power is reflected in the presence of objects whose raw material comes from the Alps, Etna or Calabria, which continue to be reused in fragments (Skeates, 2010, 97).

«There is a widespread iconic image of what Late Neolithic Maltese figurines should look like, which is usually that of erect or seated Ħaġar Qim figures showing a large body with no discernible secondary sexual attributes, or that of the Maltese "Venus", a Ħaġar Qim figurine of a softly curved woman with a pronounced pubic area and full breasts. This iconic image manifests that late Neolithic archaeology is measured through the scale of megalithic constructions» (Vella Gregory 2020, 357) -Figure 3.2.6-.

What we now know of the large Maltese sites proves an expressiveness that provides hybrid images and even non-existent beings interpreted as mythological images, in the pediments at the entrance to the temples with animal reliefs. Some sets of figurines represent family groupings by including in a single group of similar pieces in different sizes, as is the case in Cycladic, Balkan and Iberian deposits. These figures appear in underground temples with differentiated spaces in which numerous burials can be found, generating funerary landscapes with a strong sensory impact: smell, colour and sculptural forms are added to the structures.

It has been suggested that a population shift in the Bronze Age would explain the symbolic intensification, but probably also a greater cultural openness in a context of high ritual implementation. The important development of temples ensures a level of social relations strongly based on public events related to the display of ancestors (Vella Gregory, 2020).

A brief summary of the situation in the Mediterranean suggests that the Western islands, Corsica and Sardinia, maintain relations with the mainland, adding clay pieces to sequences of strong personality with larger versions in stone, stelae and menhir statues. However,

Figure 3.2.6. – "Venus" from S'Adde-Macomer, Sardinia, (Paglietti, 2020, Figure 1); - 2-3. Maltese stone figures from Ħaġar Qim and the circle of Xagħra. National Museum of Archaeology, Malta (Vella Gregory 2020 , Figure 7); - 4. Marble figurines from tomb 26 at Louros, Naxos. National Archaeological Museum, Athens (Sotirakoupoulou, 2020, Figure 6).

they also have connections with Malta and with the Cycladic area, creating an open territory in which navigation was the tool that allowed for these relations.

In Iberia, the relationship between schematic art and the Mediterranean has been accepted. However, a review of the data reveals the scarce representation of these graphic versions in the sector. Without detailing the evidence, some shelters with poorly dated schematic art are known in Sardinia, in addition to the decorations on their hypogeum. In the absence of more intensive research, it does seem clear that Iberian Schematic art is an exception in the Mediterranean because of its abundance, ubiquity and diachrony.

> «In the Luzzanas shelter, the scene revolves around a central character (...). Men, women, animals and stars are represented next to him, reflecting the cosmovision of these populations, in which the regeneration of life, the relationship with animals and the links between people were the most important aspects» (Spanedda, 2020,73) -Figure 3.2.7-.

Among the sculptural expressions of the Mediterranean, those related to the Cycladic world are the most mediatic - Figure 3.2.6 - refined forms, the raw material being marble of a striking white colour (although as with the classical world we now know that many were painted) and sculptures of sophisticated arts such as music or dance. Since the first discoveries, the legend of the Cyclades has been supported as an identifying element of European past. Unfortunately, we now know that many of these figures are fakes (Sotirakopoulou, 2020, 323) and establishing a reliable inventory of provenance and chronology is still a very difficult task.

There is no doubt that navegation was known from ancient times in Europe, which in the case of the Cyclades and other Mediterranean islands is a key aspect in understanding the idiosyncrasies of their productions. The position of the islands in the arc between Greece, Asia and Crete is ideal for encouraging the romantic vision of the past in which these figurines are set; but they also provide food for thought to consider that, despite this location close to some of the great Neolithic centres, through their figurines the

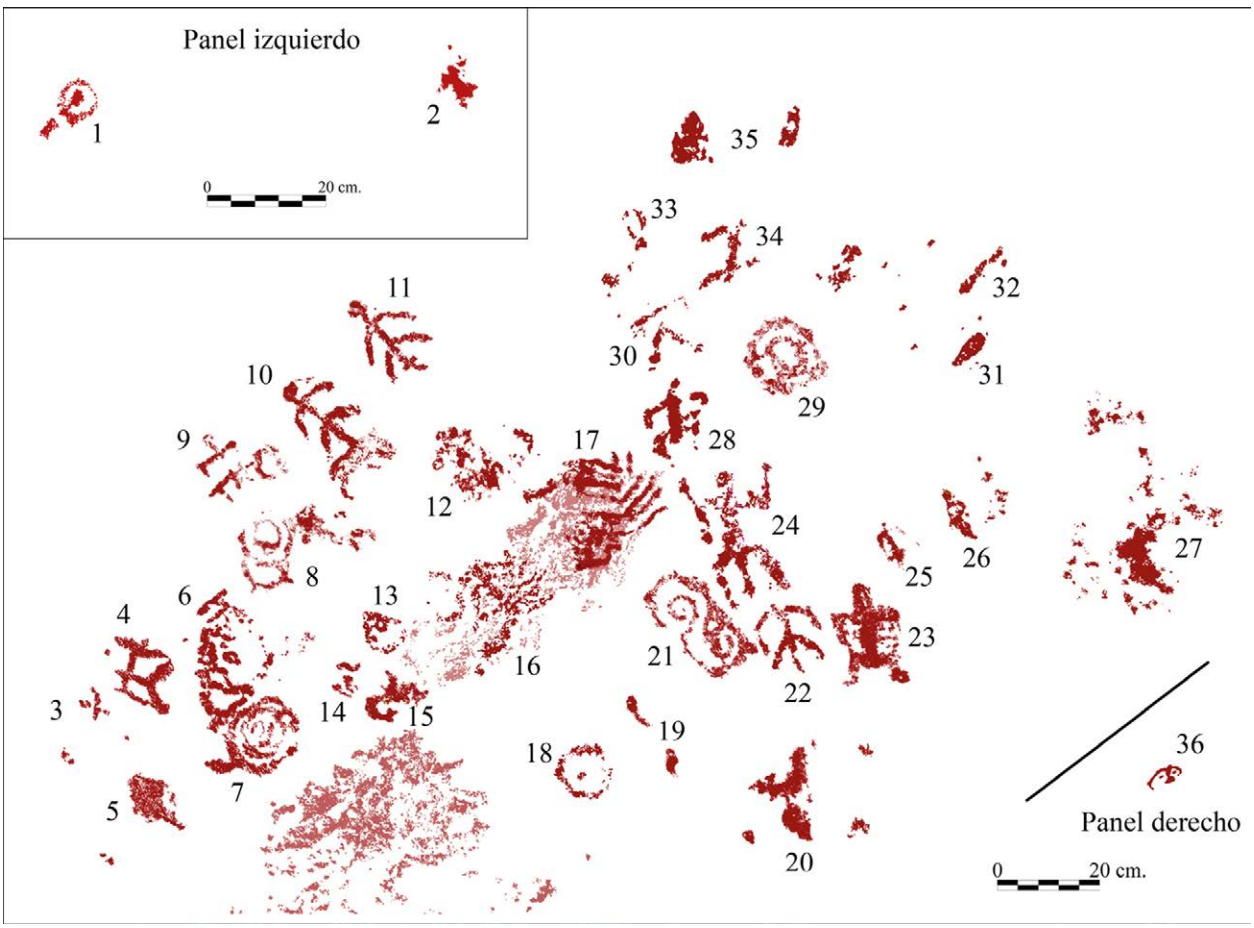


Figure 3.2.7. Painted figures from the Luzzanas shelter (Ozieri), Sardinia (Spanedda 2020, Figure 14).

islands show an expression of their own that influenced their neighbours, and not so much the other way around. A cultural response that we could also apply to the uniqueness of Malta´s symbolic productions.

The most ancient of the Cycladic series point to links with Anatolia, dating to around 4300 cal BC. The best-known display of forms relates to cemeteries and shrines dating between 2900 and 2300 cal BC. Especially the last centuries ot this period, 24th and 23rd centuries B.C., provide the most spectacular examples and the boom that justifies their influence in mainland Greece, Malta and Sardinia. Although we will return to this aspect later, it is worth pointing out that the anthropomorphic pieces - Figure 8.1 – originally interpreted in Iberia as part of these influences, are actually older than the Cycladic ones (Arribas, 1977).

> «The foundations of the ancient Cycladic culture were laid well before the 3rd millennium BC. Evidence of very early human activity in the Cyclades has been obtained from examples of exploitation of a large flint source at Stelida, Naxos, for the manufacture of carved stone tools from the Lower Palaeolithic to the Mesolithic (...). Also by the occurrence of Milos obsidian in Upper Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites in Argolid, Attica, Gioura, Icaria and Crete, and by the presence of Cycladic millstones in Neolithic sites in mainland Greece. These finds provide irrefutable evidence of navigation in the Aegean from ancient times» (Sotirakopoulou, 2020, 324).

The close relationship between the small versions and the statuary invites an interesting consideration with regard to Iberia, where some of the portable pieces are veritable models of the larger statuary in styles and forms unrelated to the Cycladic ones (Barroso, 2020; Bueno *et al*. 2005a).

The volume recently published with our colleagues (Bueno and Soler, 2020a and 2021e, d) provide an updated state of the research on figurines in Europe, which can be briefly summarised. For part of the research, the traditional weight of the Near Eastern figurines as versions of the *Mother Goddess* continues to prevail. For the rest, this predominant role is tempered by the new data from the continental plains, on the one hand, and Turkey, on the other, which revalue the weight of the Palaeolithic tradition. Stout forms, hands on the chest and pubic triangles confirm this hypothesis in specimens which, if we did not have their Neolithic contexts, seem so close to the Palaeolithic ones that we might doubt their attribution.

Genetic studies provide references to mobility involving women, as was the case in the Palaeolithic. In the Early Neolithic of Lepenski Vir, some women came from Anatolia. Their inclusion in these populations led to material and technical transformations, whilst the symbolic and economic traditions of hunter-gatherers remained an intrinsic part of the lifestyles of this population and all those around the Danube Gorges (Boric, 2020, 2022).

The whole of Europe is presented in the early Neolithic with very prominent demographics in some areas, the Balkans, the Carpathians, Central Europe and the South. The connectivity of these groups is reflected in the different aspects of their daily and funerary life: cardium ware reaches French Brittany or the Iberian Atlantic and Central Europe, despite not being the preferred ceramic expression in those areas; obsidian from the Mediterranean islands reaches Iberia and France; variscite from Huelva is documented in Brittany; decorated spatulas from the Iberian interior recall anthropomorphic pieces in bone from the LBK area, as do some anthropomorphic vessels detected in the Iberian interior; and so on and so forth. The existence of very active networks for the exchange of prestige goods dedicated to the funerary sphere would provide an excellent explanation of contemporaneities, styles and influences, which with our presnt knowlege can hardly be interpreted as the fruit of colonial arrivals. The codification of the figurines in culturally well-defined territories shows that there was never a common religious reference image. The female bodies synthesise the ancestral, technical and social values of each of the groups in which these figurines played multiple roles in diverse contexts.

3.3. Early Neolithic figurines in the Iberian Peninsula. Between bones and clay.

The emergence of Iberian figurines during the 4th and 3rd millennium cal BC is comparable to the rest of Europe in chronology. It is also true that the earliest ones are related to the first producer groups. In Iberia, some pieces confirm a phase of portable representations between the 6th and 5th millennia cal BC, whose parietal reproductions in schematic art do not have a precise chronology.

There are precedents in the Iberian Peninsula that may help to explain the figurative explosion of the 4th millennium cal BC. Anthropomorphic vessels are known from the 5th millennium with their motifs not only engraved with shell, but also incised on fresh clay. At the end of the 5th millennium BC, blunt-tipped articles were made on long bones, which are likened to spatulas ("spatula idols") - Figs. 2.1.3 and 10.2.1. In addition to these productions, there are volume representations, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figures dating from the second half of the 6th and early

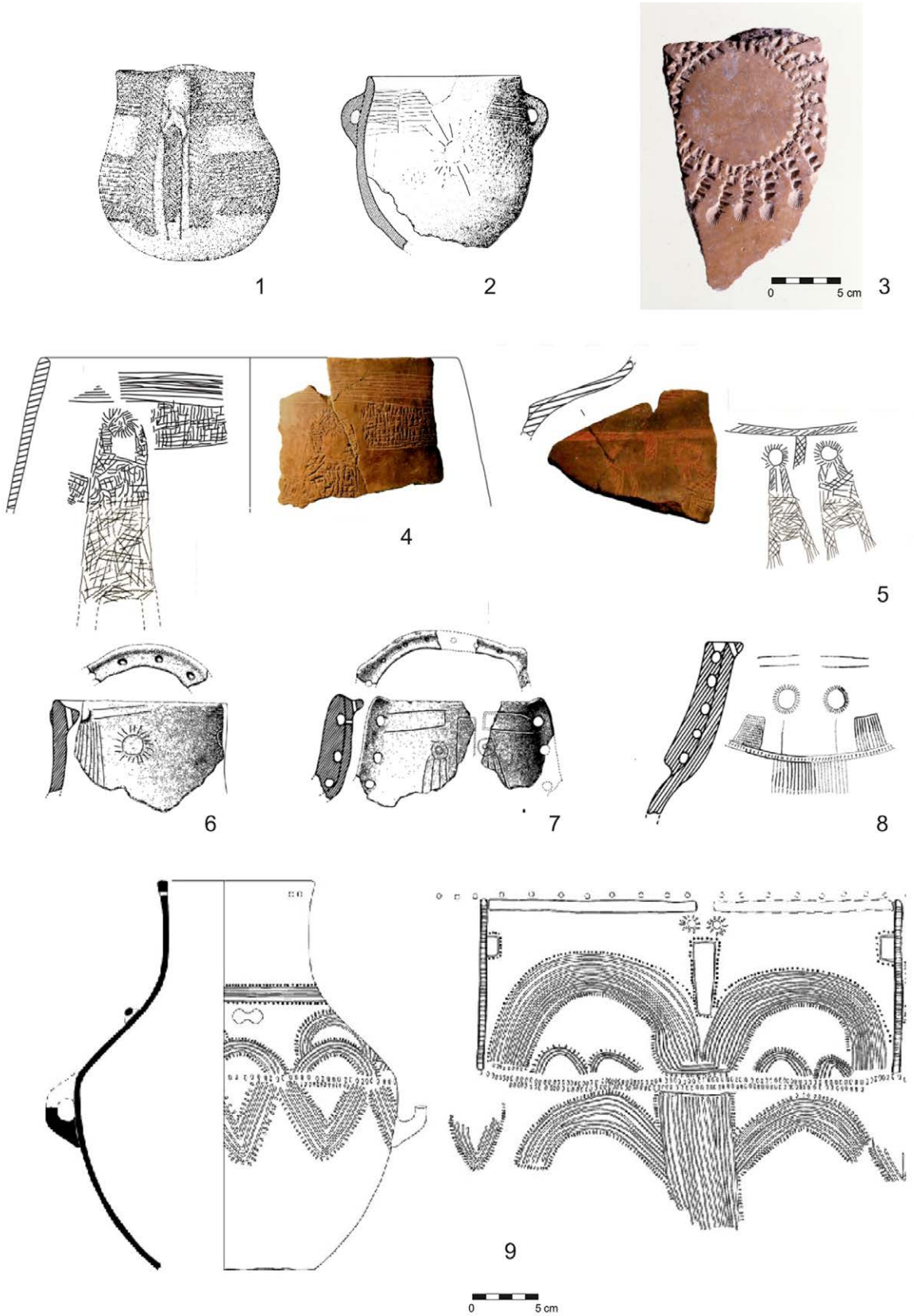


Figure 3.3.1. Vessels with anthropomorphic or symbolic decoration: - 1 and 3. Cova de l'Or, Beniarrés, Alicante (Martí and Hernández, 1988, Figure 1 and 27: 1); - 2. Cueva de la Murcielaguina, Córdoba (Carrasco et al. 2006, Figure 3; 13); - 4 and 5. Sima del Conejo and Sima del Carburero, Alhama de Granada, Granada (Carrasco et al. 2015, Figure 6: 1 and 3); - 6-8. Cueva del Muerto, Carcabuey, Córdoba (6) and Cueva de los Murciélagos, Zuheros, Córdoba (7-8) (Gavilán and Vera, 1993, Figures 5 and 8); - 9. Torre la Sal or Costamar, Ribera de Cabanes, Castellón (San Feliu and Flors, 2009, Figure 10). Compiled by P. Bueno and J.A. Soler 2021a.

5th millennium cal BC, so that a joint assessment of all these precedents reveals a rich panorama of portable figures characteristic of the Iberian Peninsula, dated to between the early Neolithic and the emergence of megalithism, between 5800/5600 and 4000 cal BC (Bueno and Soler, 2021a).

The portable pieces in question show two revealing aspects of the cultural casuistry that can be seen without difficulty from the end of the 5th and especially throughout the 4th and the three thirds of the 3rd millennium cal BC. On the one hand, the influences/connectivities with the continental sphere and, on the other, the great weight of Iberian creativity. The Mediterranean relations are undeniable from the presence of *impressed* and cardium ceramics, which makes it even more remarkable that these two characteristics: continental symbology and their own productions, are the ones that mark these first figurines related to the Neolithic.

Two statuettes, Valada do Mato and Can Sadurní -Figure 10.1.2-; a possible anthropomorphic applique in Cova Fosca, Castellón (Escribá, 2023); anthropomorphic vases such as those from La Paleta (Toledo) -Figure 10.1.2. 10.1.2-, Costamar (Torre la Sal) -Figure 3.3.1- or Gavá (Can Tintoré) -Figure 10.1.1-; fragments of possible anthropomorphic vases in the Meseta (Casa Montero) -Figure 10.1.1-, in the region of Murcia (Pascual, 2010, 103) and in Southern Iberia - Sima del Conejo and Sima del Carburero; Cueva del Muerto and Cueva de los Murciélagos - (Carrasco Rus *et al.* 2015) -Figure 3.3.1 and 10.1.1-, confirm records from the 6th and 5th millennium cal BC that already show the sun-eye code. The anthropomorphic vase with sun-eyes from Costamar, dated to the 5th millennium cal BC, is the most complete specimen and the clearest confirmation that the sun-eyes are part of the ancient traditions of the early Iberian Neolithic.

It is reasonable to assume that this data will increase as research intensifies. It should not be forgotten that many of these pieces come from excavations carried out over the last 20 years.

The direct bone dating of the San Martin-El Miradero type spatulas (Villalobos *et al.* 2020) - Figure 2.1.3 - adds to the argument for the continental connectivity of the Iberian Neolithic in the early stages of Iberian megalithic architecture.

The association of these pieces is overwhelmingly funerary and in principle related to only a few individuals out of a larger total number of burials, which has been valued as a distinctive feature of said individuals. Their compact distribution in the Duero, Ebro and Tagus basins is the same as that of the large chambered architecture with corridors and the earth and stone tumuli characteristic of the Meseta. Both structures and decorated spatulas are expressions of identity produced from the first moments of megalithism that allow us to propose their chronological depth in a territory that has been neglected by research (Bueno *et al.* 2015d).

The direct chronologies obtained for some spatulas from funerary monuments suggest that these pieces may come from earlier uses, with the interest that their dates are in line with those expected for the earliest Iberian megaliths. An in-depth study of these *items*, with more C14 dating results, will help to better establish their position as an indicator of the earliest evidence of portable human representations in the megalithic records of Southern Europe.

Between the 6th and 5th millennium cal BC, anthropomorphic vessels and portable figurines guarantee the development of codes of human representations while the sun-eyes are the most visible and characteristic element of these images.

Chapter 4
Typologies as a Product of Iberian Historiography in the 19th and First Half of the 20th Century

4.1. Some guidelines for understanding the typologies of Iberian figurines.

For those who handle the information on figurines in Europe it must be complicated to approach the multiplicity of Iberian typologies that could only be compared to some extent with those of the Cycladic ensemble. The difference is that in the Cycladic case the typologies are a tool associated with possible chronological sequences (Sotirakoupolou, 2020) and follow constant formal patterns. In Iberia, early research argued that typologies had Eastern origins, the intention being to situate the Southeastern types as the origin of the later Western ones.

The terminologies applied in the 19th and 20th centuries were the basis for those of the 1970s, without the expected discussion between the two proposals. This explains why the term "idols" survived, even in spite of the evidence that many of the pieces were not human representations. Subsequent works accepted a host of nomenclatures that were as imprecise as they were generic. Some were unsuccessful, others, however, have survived to the present day, which is sometimes not very understandable both outside and within academic circles.

The weight of religious interpretation is not the only factor in understanding the course of research. The perception of research as integrated into its time, thought, region, "race", or the beliefs of its protagonists (Carr, 1961), faced with objects often deprived of context, is another factor to be considered in defining the concept of *Idols*.

The lack of advances in defining the typology of Iberian figurines contrasts with the progress made in other fields such as ceramic typology, where some of these problems were soon overcome and definitions in more precise geometric terms were addressed such as ellipsoid vase and spherical vase (Camalich, 1982; Soler, 2002). With exceptions for specific types such as plaques (Bueno, 1992), this approach was not used for ideo-technical productions. The persistence of terms such as "betyl idol" or "hopper idol" in the third decade of the 21st century has been the greatest success of *Los* Ídolos *del Bronce I Hispano* (Almagro, 1973), although today a very different interpretative framework is in place to the one compiled by M. J. Almagro Gorbea in her book. This success also took its toll because it contributed to the continuation of a univocal view of what was actually as rich as it was differentiated. Also the study of the different types that made up the classification was separate and non-comparative along with the fact that a typological construct was not adhered to based on a hierarchical ordering of attributes; all this hindered a clear vision of the similarities and differences of the different versions.

In order to approach a useful discussion on how to deal with Iberian typologies today, it is necessary to unravel the process of research, because its concept comes from this development. We are now going to show how the history of the research is explained on the basis of Louis Siret's contribution, which summarises older texts by Cartailhac, L. de Vasconcellos and some other researchers such as Estacio da Veiga and continues from the beginning of the 20th century up to M. J. Almagro Gorbea´s approach as the final exponent in this long path.

Throughout the presentation, an identification number of the different forms described in these works will expressed between square brackets [], with the intention of following the Belgian engineer´s great imprint on later typological references, although his role was not always acknowledged when considering the figurines´ types and denomination.

Without claiming to be strict in the order, we will present an exhaustive list of the morphologies by compiling a *Bibliographic Register of Denominations* (RBD) as a simple tool to associate the information on the different forms gathered while developing the bibliography. This serves to highlight the repetition of arguments, the use of the same images, the transformation of interpretations; in short, it acts as a mirror of the various problems that have dragged on from cultural historicism to the present day.

On the other hand, it helps to understand the way in which nomenclatures were established that came to be

categorised as typologies. We believe that this will be a useful way of approaching the state of the questión prior to our proposal for a geometrically based synthesis of Iberian figurines built on a hierarchical ordering of attributes (Chapter 9).

4.2. Louis Siret, compiler of the typologies of figurines between the late 19th and early 20th century.

A Belgian national and an engineer by profession, Louis Siret developed his proposal in *Religions néolithiques de l'Ibérie* (1908), based on the premise that everything that constituted the Neolithic and Eneolithic periods came from the Near East. Those who moved from there towards the West, reaching both the Southeast and the mouth of the Tagus in Iberia, brought new tools and also objects and symbols of the "religion" they practised in the Aegean region or in the Near East.

His book collected 170 anthropomorphic images and other elements that he considered to be amulets or cult objects, in 28 figures and 15 full-page illustrations, after a 100-page text, without sections or epigraphs. The pieces came from at least a hundred habitation or burial archaeological sites that he excavated in the Southeast of the Iberian Peninsula, especially in Almería and to a lesser extent in Granada. To this unpublished collection he adds a good number of pieces located in other sites, with the merit of tackling and compiling data from the Western Iberian Peninsula: plaques, *staffs* or votive axes, and other pieces taken from the Portuguese bibliography. The author consults among others: *Introdução à arqueologia da Península Ibérica*, by A. Simões (1878); the second volume of the *Antiguidades Moumentaes do Algarve. Tempos Prehistoricos*, by S.P.M. Estácio da Veiga (1887); the first volume of the series *Religiões da Lusitania* by J. Leite de Vasconcellos (1897) and several articles published in journals such as *Boletim da Sociedade archaeologica Santos Rocha, Portugalia, O Arqueologo Português.* Siret's publication was both a novelty and a qualitative leap, considering that the contents are barely referred to in the first summary of the metallic stages of peninsular prehistory that E. Cartailhac (1886) had published some twenty years earlier -*Les Ages prehistoriques de L'Espagne et du Portugal*-, referring to a few Portuguese plaques and crooks.

In Siret's point of view, under the pattern of "anthropomorphisation", forms that encompass various meanings are included in order to make them more human and construct an idol or a fetish. He explains this clearly when he deals with the marble cylinder that was already in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid at the time - Figure 4.2.1 -, supposing that it represents *an extraordinary being, which was not human, but nevertheless bore a vague resemblance to man* (Siret, 1908, 74).

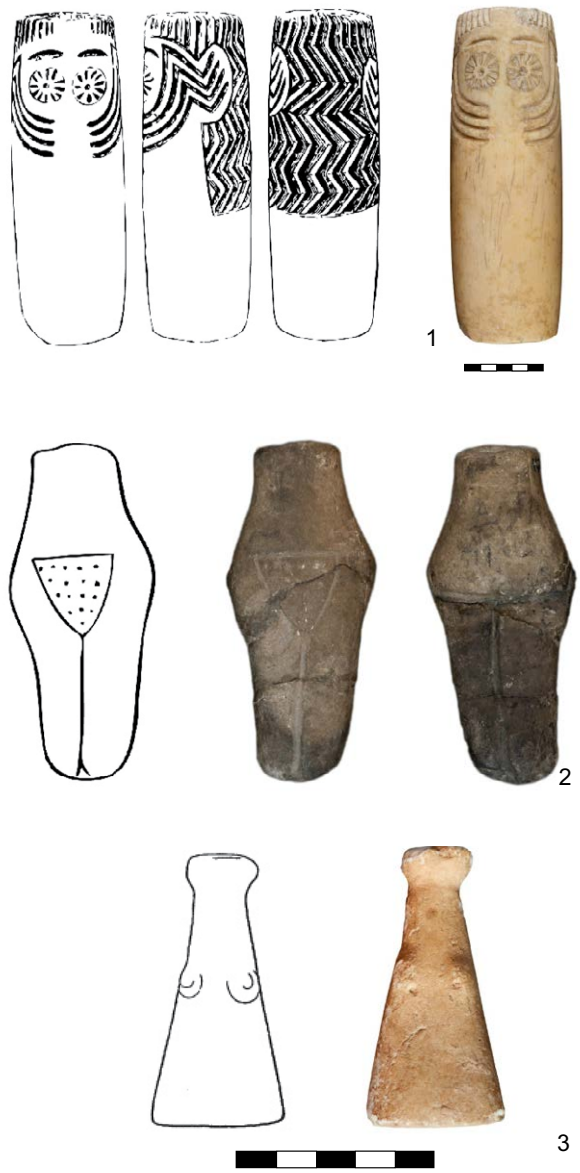


Figure 4.2.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -1 and 3- and human figure (FH) -2- in stone: - 1. Oculate cylinder, Southwestern Iberia; - 2. Human Figurine, Almizaraque, Almería,- 3. Truncated biconical vase with breasts. Grave 57 from Los Millares, Almería. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Drawings (Siret, 1908), not to scale. Photographs: MAN Archive - Verónica Schulmeister Guillén.

In hindsight, some of Siret's proposals have survived (Soler, 2020). Others, however, remain in the realm of speculation, such as the references he took from the findings of H. Schliemann in Troy and Mycenae. These explain some denominations such as the relationship of the Minoan *Labrys* with the bitriangular -Figure 4.2.2- (Siret, 1908, Fig. 17) which he interprets as "idol adzes", or the one he proposed between specific decorations of the symbolic pottery located in Los Millares with the

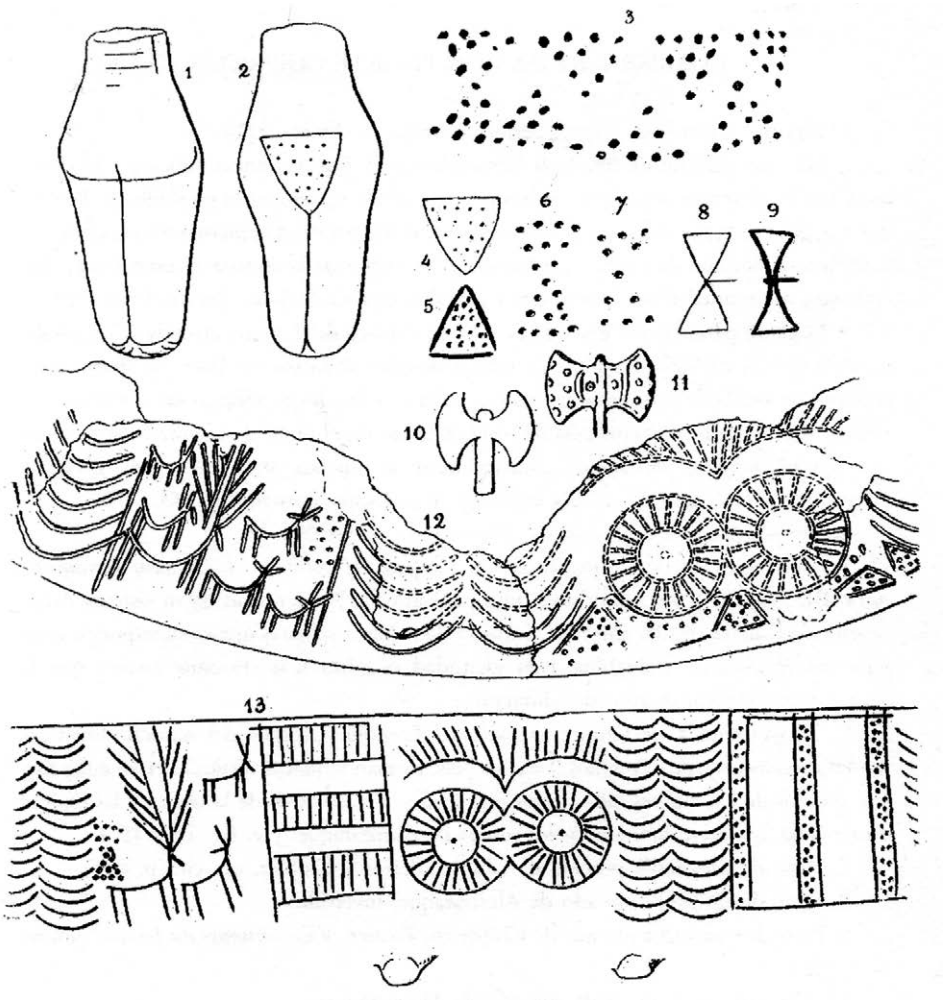


Figure 4.2.2. "The sexual triangles and the double-bladed axe" (Siret, 1907, Illustration IV). It depicts the Almizaraque human figurine (1 and 2), bitriangular motifs (3), Cretan double-bladed axes (8-11) and the decorative friezes of vases 15 (12) and 17 (13) from Los Millares, Almería. Motifs 4 and 5 are the triangle of human figure 1 and one of those represented on vase 15 (12), which, due to its orientation, would be male for the author.

winged oriental divinities, the Mycenaean octopuses or the Punic palms (Siret, 1908, 71-74 and 90).

> «We shall now see that the figures of all these Neolithic idols come from the juxtaposition of various geometrical symbols under the influence of anthropomorphic tendencies, but that nothing in them, absolutely nothing, was taken directly from the human figure. This is the goal towards which our idols are directed, but not their point of departure. This distinction is capital and provides the key to many of our symbolic representations» (Siret, 1908, 73).

Within the notion of "anthropomorphisation" Siret included the bitriangle as one of the basic concepts of geometric figuration. At first sight the outline is easily identifiable with dressed human figuration with a head (head and body) or headless (torso and skirt), but among the "added values" that the engineer presumed was a union between the two sexes, as a symbol of the generation of life. He reached this conclusion from observing two pieces: a human stone figurine from Almizaraque [RBD 1] -Figure 4.2.1-, Cuevas del Almanzora, which represents the body from the waist to the knees, showing the pubis with an inverted triangle filled with dots, clearly expressing hair, and the decorative friezes of vases 15 and 17 from Los Millares, Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería -Figure 4.2.2-. The depictions of a stag and hinds on these vases would allude to fertility, highlighting the reproductive power embodied by the renewal of the antlers after they have been shed.

> «Why this insistence on associating this symbol with the stag surrounded by hinds? The ancients,

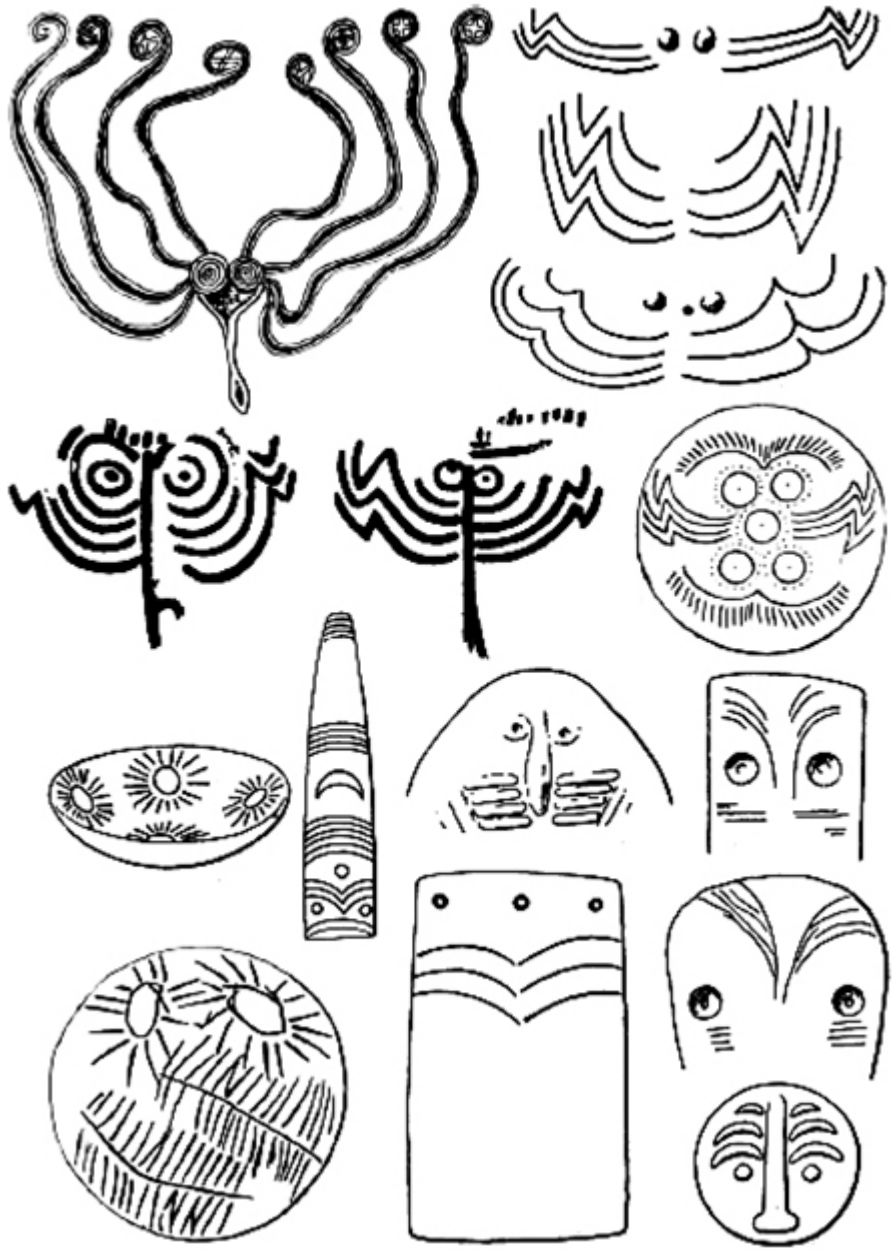


Figure 4.2.3. "Symbolic figures". Siret, 1907, llustration III. Comparison of the octopus (1) from Pitane, Aeolis, with the painted oculate motifs of the vase from tomb 21 at Los Millares (2 and 3). Incised motifs and breast expression on Los Millares vases (4-6). "Los Millares funerary cup with the bottom inside covered with engravings: pairs of arms, eyes and eyelashes", found in grave 37 (7). "Column or betyl from Folha das Barradas, Portugal (13). Head of a menhir statue from Saint Sernin, France (8) and from the plaques from Idanha a Nova (9) and Alcobaça (10), Portugal. Engraved lithic plaque (12) and vessels with astral symbolic decoration from graves 15 (14) and 57 (15), Los Millares, Almería.

according to Pliny, had observed that, among animals, only in the stag was the growth of the antlers intimately associated with reproductive power. The phenomenon of the fall and renewal of antlers was surprising and impressive. In our scenes, the proportions of the antlers are proof of the importance of their role. The antler was, moreover, the emblem of virility. We can therefore admit that the scenes before us, due to both the stags and hinds and the double triangle, allude to the same principle of fertilisation» (Siret, 1908, 78).

Next to the deer on both vessels, he observed the rendering of the double triangle [RBD 2] -Figure 4.2.2-.

The exaggerated size of the triangle filled with dots on the Almizaraque anthropomorphic figurine led him to think it was linked to "maternity", while the inverted triangle should be considered as complementary value and therefore the expression of "paternity". Their combination in the bitriangular motif incised on the ceramics would be the expression of "the union of the two sexes, the idea of reproduction, of the preservation of life" (Siret, 1907, 43).

He also identifies motifs on the walls of the ceramic vessels that reveal the "cults of the time". In addition to the Bell Beaker pottery, which he understands to be merely decorative, he identifies other pottery whose themes "are of great importance in the history of Neolithic religion". From the painted pottery he presents the anthropomorphic motifs "symbolic of mysterious appearance" from tomb 21 at Los Millares (Siret, 1907, Illustration III) -Figure 4.2.3: 2-3-. He saw them as octopuses which prevented him from being the first to recognise their assimilation to faces and sun eyes. In terms of incised decoration he mentions the same motif of wavy and parallel lines in a "simplified" version -Figure 4.2.3: 4-6- or a "complicated" one by showing radiating circles with or without triangles -Figure 4.2.3: 7-, various combinations of geometric symbols or deer marked with the "special symbol" -Figure 4.2.2: 12-13- which represents the bitriangle.

Each phase of the tripartite sequence of his Neolithic proposal has an associated 'idol', the 'Early Neolithic' ones being elongated, with a narrowing - *in the shape of a sandal or violon* - and of oval section which he called "El Garcel" [RBD 3] -Figure 6.2.4-, because of his location in the village of the same name in Almería (Siret, 1908, Fig. 1).

This type, nowadays doubted to be ideomorphic (Maicas, 2020, 293; Martínez and López, 2020, 265), stretches to the following period, also Neolithic and characterised more by other flattened lithic figurines in marble or alabaster, generally in the shape of a cross. Siret located 40 examples in 19 graves in Almería and Granada. He calls them "adze-idols" [RBD 4] - Figure 9.1.1: 4 - because they have the representation of a double "adze" on their main axis, with sides that the author interpreted as cutting edges. In some of these pieces the smaller sides of the cross are raised in the "shape of horns" (Siret, 1908, Lam. I) -Figure 11.2.1: 8-. This kind of pieces were the trigger for eastern parallels to the point that even P. Bosch Gimpera (1969, 55), a prehistorian convinced of the western root of megalithism, considered them to be of the "Aegean type".

With the third stage of his sequence, the 'Eneolithic', Siret related -a *veritable army of idols or amulets* (sic) - varied in form and nature. As for the lithic ones, first of all, there are those which he assimilates to "stone statues" (Siret, 1908, Illustration II), of pyramidal trunk shape and rectangular section with a groove separating the head from the body and another crossing the upper part.[RBD 5] -Figure 9.1.1: 5-. Located mainly in Almizaraque -Figure 6.2.4: 2 and 3- and with parallels in the West, funerary caves of Cascais and Palmela, the presence of eyes and, on occasions, lines of facial tattooing have been noted in this ensemble (Maicas, 2010, 117).

Without proposing any specific designation for the following group [RBD 6] -Figure 9.1.1: 6-, Siret considers them to be *idols of stone, horn and ivory.* Of these, he notes 45 pieces. They are truncated biconical objects with an elliptical cross-section and a prominent head in the form of a "beret" (Siret, 1908, Illustration III). In some of them he notes breasts - Figure 4.2.1: 3 - or a notch or hollow in the upper contour, similar to that observed in the "stone statues" (Figure 4.2.1: 3) [5] and that of the epiphysis of the phalanges.

Highlighting a clay copy from a grave in Llano de la Gabarra, Gor (Siret, 1908, Illustration IV: 14), he collected 250 phalanges, mostly horse. He collected a total of 200 in about fifty funerary contexts, finding the rest in different houses. In his commentary, he mentioned the few found in the West, calling attention to the one from the tomb of São Martinho, Sintra, due to its decoration -Figure 4.2.4-. He includes this image in the illustration that exemplifies the type that he expressly calls *Idolos-falange* [RBD 7] (Siret, 1908, Illustration IV: 4), taking it from the second issue of *O Arqueologo portugués*, where it was represented horizontally, as Apollinario (1896, Figure 6) had interpreted it as a fish tail. In addition to the one decorated with wavy lines from São Martinho, Siret's illustration adds three pieces from the Southeast with a detailed face: the painted and engraved one from burial 7 at Los Millares, and the engraved ones from the Almizaraque station and burial 19 from Hoya de los Castellones, Gorafe -Figure 4.2.4.

The next object he characterises is the *very extraordinary group of long bones* [RBD 8] from the village of Almizaraque -Figure 4.2.5-, documented on the floor of a house destroyed by fire, which partially charred the sample. In a posthumous article (Siret, 1948), more bones were published from this set, which is still one of the most exceptional (Maicas 2020; Soler, 2020). From the geometric ornamentation of one of these pieces made on a rib – Figs. 4.2.5: 9 and 10.2.3 - he establishes an interesting parallelism with the engraved schist plaques [RBD 9] - Figure 4.2.6 - which, due to their distribution centred in Portugal, he supposes were introduced into the Iberian Peninsula from the Tagus Valley, pointing out their presence in Almeria (Siret, 1908, 51) and Illustration VII: 13).

Figure 4.2.4. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Phalanges: - 1. Oculate. Los Castellones, Gorafe, Granada; - 2. With geometric decoration. São Martinho, Sintra. Drawing, not to scale, with the position proposed by M. Apollinario (1896, Figure 6), who interprets it as a fish. (Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (1) and Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (2). Photographs: MAN Archive - Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (1) and ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas.

By the time they were compiled by Siret, the plaques had already appeared in extensive bibliography in the West, where they were made known three decades before the engineers's publication. A. Simões (1878, 53), places them in the dolmen period, ruling out the possibility that they could be axes due to their delicate workmanship. At the beginning of the 20th century Siret estimates that about 200 have been found, of which he has knowledge of about 40, selecting 25 complete ones for illustration VII of his book. Siret's graphic corpus draws on those reproduced by Cartailhac (1886, Figs. 100-103) from Casa da Moura, Cesareda, and others such as the one from Monte Real, Leiria (Simões, 1878, Fig. 31) or the pieces from the Algarve – Aljézur and Anta de Pavía published in the second volume of the *Antiguidades Monumentaes...*, where Estácio da Veiga (1887, 44) claims their Western origin.

The documentary record locates the plaques in graves and burial caves. They are trapezoidal or rectangular in shape, with more or less rounded sides, and with one, two or, exceptionally, three perforations on the narrower side. In illustration VIII of his text (Fig. 4.2.6), Siret gives a preview of some of the features that would later be used to classify or describe them. He lists those in which "a kind of head was cut out", he points out "necklaces, arms and clothing accessories", or the relationship of some with anthropomorphic features with the French menhir statues that was proposed by Cartailhac. In terms of workmanship and the presence of this human expression, he highlights two with sculpted arms which "are the most extraordinary of the group", pointing out the sculptural gesture in bas-relief and the fact that the hands reach the pubic triangle of the figure (Siret, 1908, 88) - Figure 4.2.7: 3-.

The plaques were present at the *International Congress of Anthropology and Prehistoric Archaeology* in Lisbon in 1880, and in the bibliography known to Siret, the decorations and raw material show clear similarities with the crooks [RBD 10] - Figure 4.2.8-. Due to their elongated shape, these objects, characteristic of the Alto Alentejo (Cardoso, 2020), had been associated with a phallic cult (Estácio da Veiga 1887, 429-462), an idea soon dismissed by J. Leite de Vasconcellos (1897, 155-169), who classifies them as an ornament, insignia or religious object, which, due to the absence of traces of friction in the holes that characterise them, would have been shown on special occasions or linked to the dead.

It was Simões (1878, 54) who, evaluating the piece from the tomb of Martim Afonso, Salvaterra de Magos, Santarem, interpreted them as "insignia of a higher level", due to their unique character, which explains their assimilation to the symbol of authority carried by important people.

In Illustration IX - Figure 4.2.8 - "Engraved schist and horn staffs", he includes 3 Portuguese flattened pieces in stone -Casa da Moura, Anta d'Estria and Martim Afonso- which he takes from E. Cartailhac (1886, 92 and 94) and A. Simões (1878, 53). To these Western pieces he adds an undecorated variant, including the coarseware from Los Millares 17, which he reproduces together

Figure 4.2.5. "Engraved bones from the Neolithic station of Almizaraque" (Siret, 1908, Illustration V). Long bones and a rib (9).

with the group of "staffs" in illustration IX and a horn [RBD 11] -Figure 9.1.1: 11- found in the Almizaraque workshop, decorated with incised triangles, a form which does not survive in later classifications.

Siret defines as betyls [RBD 12] (Figure 9:1.1: 12 and 11.2.3) or erect sacred stones so characteristic of the Punic ritual universe (Siret, 1908, 88), the elongated cylindrical, truncated cone or "barrel" shaped lithic elements, from 15 to 60 cm in length, which he documented aligned next to the graves in enclosures as small shrines. He located 45 in a single compartment which he does not specify, but which must be a tomb at Los Millares. Their morphology allows him to

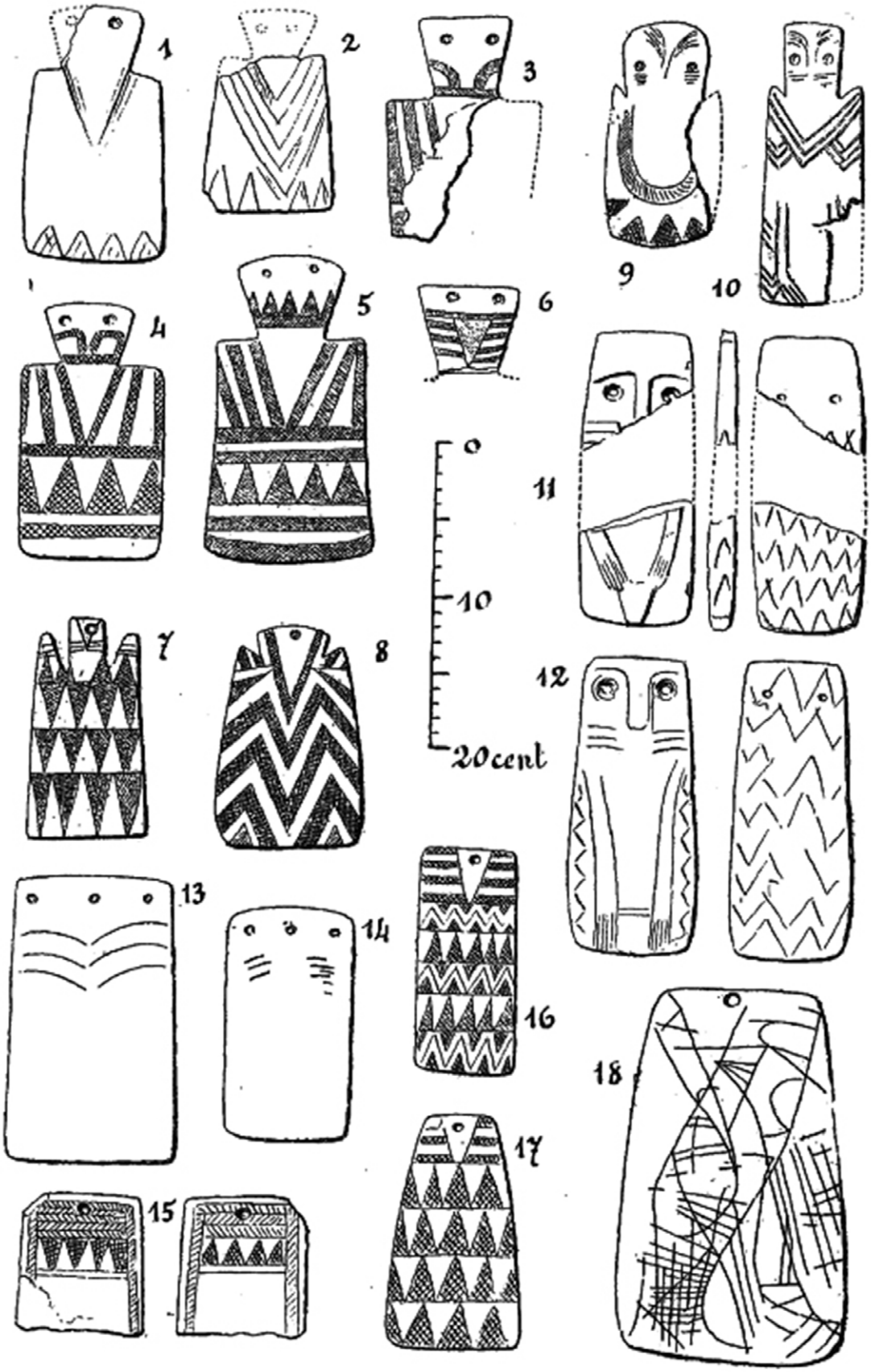


Figure 4.2.6. "Funerary plaques, engraved or sculpted schist", (Siret, 1908, 99, Illustration VIII).

Figure 4.2.7. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone. Cylindrical (1), trapezoidal (2) and truncated cone-shaped (3). - 1. Oculate cylinder. Moncarapacho, Olhão, Faro; - 2. 'Betyl', Folha das Barradas, Sintra, Lisbon. In the drawing it is represented as a column; - 3. Sculptural plaque with hands, dolmen of Garrovillas, Cáceres. Drawings not to scale by Siret, 1908, Illustration VIII, 11 and Figure 2; and Åberg, 1921, Figure 31. (Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (1), Museu Geológico, Lisbon (2) and Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (3).)Photographs: Archivo MAN-Susana Vicente Galende (1) and ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (1 and 3).

relate them to the column that supports the false dome in funerary constructions -*tholos*- from Almería and Portugal (Siret, 1908, 54). In Illustration XII Siret reproduces beyls from Los Millares and other tombs in Almería. Because of their shape and raw material, he relates them to the truncated cone-shaped and cylindrical pieces that Cartailhac (1886, 105) calls "rollers", of which he describes 16 in white limestone measuring between 8 and 20 cm, from the burial caves of Cascais, reproducing a pair of cylinders of different sizes.

Among the earliest known truncated cone-shaped pieces, he takes the decorated Portuguese ones (Siret, 1908, Fig. 2 and Ill. X, 1), publishing one from São Martinho with a decoration in bas-relief based on bands with no horizontal lines (Apollinario, 1806) and another one, from Folha da Barradas, Sintra [RBD 13] -Figure 4.2.7- which he takes from J. Leite de Vasconcellos (1897, 106) both of which are published in an upside down position with respect to the one currently proposed -Figure 4.2.3. The Portuguese researcher identified it with a lunar cult, due to the symbol that characterises

it. Over time, the group of decorated "betyls" has proved to be particularly localised in the Lisbon region.

Of the strictly cylindrical ones [RBD 14] Siret (1908, Figure 4) includes one with a face from Moncaparacho -Figure 4.2.7- based on J. Leite de Vasconcellos (1903, 171); speculating on its prehistoric character; and another decorated only with lines in the Cova da Estria, interpreted as an insignia or counter (Simões, 1878, 55). For the first time, he presents the magnificent cylinder from Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid Figure 4.2.1-, drawing it from a model made available to him and highlighting it as an important cult object (Siret, 1908, 56 and Fig. 5).

Among the objects, the "Votive Adzes" made of stone and with a handle are linked with the elements that support the Neolithic religion [RBD 15] (Siret, 1908, Illustration XI and Fig. 25); which he takes from Cartailhac's summary (1886, Figs. 133-136). Cartailhac reported two decorated specimens from a cave in Cascais and from Anta d'Estria, suggesting their symbolic character and raising the possibility that they were insignia of command due to their ethnographic parallels (Cartailhac, 1886, 109). Siret reproduces the one from the ensemble of São Martinho-Figure 10.3.1 published by M. Apollinario (1896), pointing out the similarity of the geometric decoration with that of the plaques. With this group of axes and guided by the oriental parallels, he asscociates the marble object with a flattened section from the collection of the politician Pidal, gaining access to the piece thanks to his contacts. He classifies it as a "double-bladed axe" [RBD 16] -Figure 15.1.1-, believing it to be an object that was never used and that, because of its decoration, would fully fall into the category of "idols".

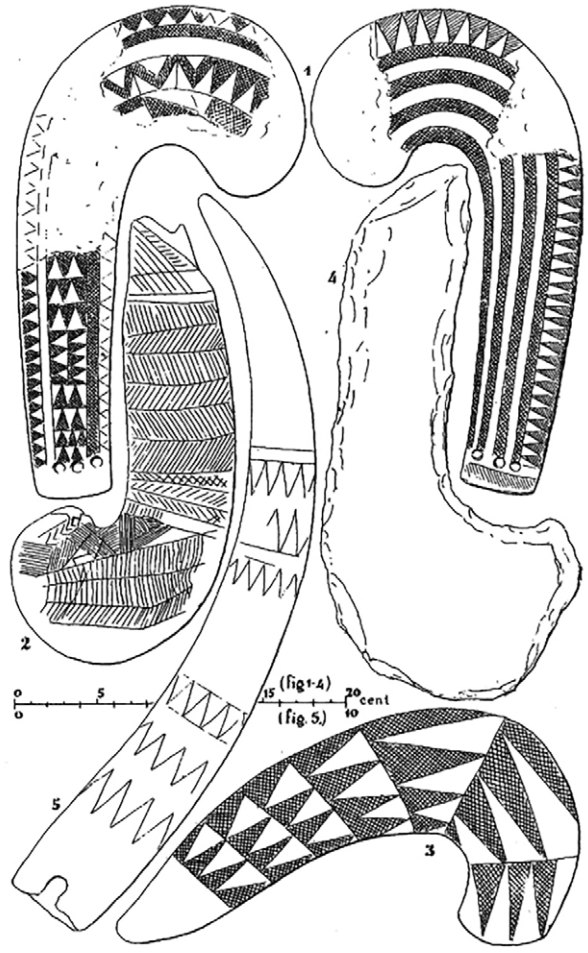


Figure 4.2.8. "Engraved schist and antler staffs". Siret, 1908, Illustration IX.

He completes the "cult objects" or "fetishes" with the representation of elements that could also have had a religious character, such as Pecten or Triton shells (Siret, 1908, Figs. 7 and 8) and unworked stones in the form of two joined spheres (Siret, 1908, Fig. 9), such as the one from burial 62 at Los Millares [RBD 17] -Figure 9.1.1: 17-. In later approaches they have been valued as "natural idols" (Molina and Molina, 1980; Ayala and Jordán, 1984; Pascual Benito, 1998).

Listing the symbolic ceramics [RBD 18] that he includes as a media for the decorative motifs mentioned above, he concludes his inventory with the animal figures (Siret, 1908, Fig. 15) modelled in clay [RBD 19] -Figure 9.1.1: 19-, pointing out one of a bovid from burial 126 in Gorafe and another one of a pig from a funerary cave in Carvailhal taken from E. Cartailhac´s summary (1886, 113), as well as what he considers to be horn fragments from the habitat of Almizaraque and from burial 3 in the Llano de La Lámpara de Purchena.

Siret's work is tremendously complete, going beyond the concept of providing information on the portable objects. As regards the ornamentation of funerary monuments, he presents some indications such as a "female breast" modelled in plaster located on a slab half a metre above the ground (Siret, 1908, Fig. 10), taking up the mention by J. Leite de Vasconcellos of traces of red paint on the walls of some dolmens, portraying "*roughly made human beings*". He links them to a decoration painted on a slab recovered from tomb 63 at Los Millares, where with reservations he identifies an anthropomorphic figure (Siret, 1908, Fig. 11).

His contribution was soon criticised. J. Dechelette, sees tattooed faces where Siret identifies Mycenaean octopuses (Siret, 1908, 72; Dechelette, 1908, 596-597). In his *Manuel d'Archéologie Prehistorique,* the French prehistorian develops an amendment rejecting the whole scheme proposed by the Belgian engineer in the monograph *Orientaux et Occidentaux en Espagne au*

temps préhistóriques (Siret, 1907), taking for granted the beginning of the Bronze Age as a result of a Celtic invasion that would put an end to the Phoenician Empire and all the Neolithic anthropomorphic figuration that characterised it. This controversy places the author outside the scientific debate (Martínez and Molina, 1995).

However, the truth is that Siret's classification has the merit of summarising previous works and adding the archaeological documentation of the Southeast, fruit of his excavations. The comprehensive interpretation of the various portable, parietal and megalithic versions is another of his strengths. His work is, without doubt, one of the starting points for the typological definition of the figures of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods in the Iberian Peninsula. Nonetheless, later research process separated bidimensional and tridimensional pieces, missing out on the reality of a common vision in a good number of representations. What has survived most from his work is what is least valid, that is, the idea of the prevalence of the East when it comes to explaining the origin of figuration in the Iberian Peninsula.

4.3. "Idols" in the 1920s and 1930s. The role of Henri Breuil.

In the early years of the 20th century, research by V. Correia, N. Åberg and H. Breuil took centre stage in the West; but it is H. Breuil, who argues the close relationship between portable art and Schematic Art with archaeological information, including open-air engravings, megalithic art, stelae and menhirs. The French prehistorian´s influence continues to be one of the bases of research into post-glacial Iberian symbolism (Bueno and Balbín, 1992).

As in the case of Siret, Breuil took references from other colleagues. V. Correia, curator of the Museu Etnológico Portugués and the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, considered these pieces to be primitive and rudimentary "artistic creations" reserved for divinity. The"plaques" [9] (Correia 1917, 73-82) are "idols or icons of prehistoric divinities". Regarding E. Hernández Pacheco´s work (1916) on the plaques from the dolmen of the Vega del Peso de Badajoz -Figure 6.3.3-, he points out the face and the facial tattoo, valuing the rest of the decoration as an expression of the dress. For this interpretation, he follows the proposal on the open-air stele from Peña Tú -Figure 13.3.1-, Llanes, which would be wearing a "tunic", with no mouth "as is the general rule in idols of the same period" (Hernández *et al.* 1913, 8).

Correia separates the plaques that include human features such as face, shoulders, arms, etc. from the rest, which he considers to be "*vulgar",* focusing his classification on those where eyes can be distiguished and the way in which they are expressed. These would be the true representations of a wide-ranging deity (Correia, 1921, 82).

> «But I have no hesitation in placing them alongside the feminine divinity, which manifests itself throughout Neolithic and Eneolithic Europe (...) the same one represented by the idol-sculptures and idol-cylinders found in Portugal, Spain and France.; the same one that appeared in the strata of Anghelu Ruju (Sassari), of Raget in Coizard, of Hissarlik, of Crete, of a hundred different places in the Mediterranean basin" (Correia, 1921, 82). »

In the *Neolítico de Pavía* he deals with pieces that should also be considered "idols". He clusters them into different groups, the first of which are the "Idol-sculptures" (Correia, 1921, 87) [RBD 20], or large stone pieces representing the face or head and trunk in the form of a bust, related to dolmens and made known by J. Leite de Vasconcellos (1910). Simple linear motifs are exemplified in the one from Serra Boulhosa, 112 cm high and decorated with necklaces -Figure 13.3.1, or the one from Crato at 30 cm high, highlighting the face with eyes and nose, the hair or headdress being represented by means of a lattice -Figure 4.3.1-. The most complete of the two located in the concelho of Moncorvo has necklaces and is 35 cm high. To these he adds the engraved and painted stela from Arronches -Figure 4.3.1-, a piece published by H. Breuil (1917), recovered for the collections of the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia of Lisbon, by J. Leite de Vasconcellos (Cardoso, 2016). This series has chronological and contextual references to certify its position in the megaliths (Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2005a; 2016a).

V. Correia´ second and third groupings bring together the aforementioned "idol-plaques" and "idol-cylinders" [14] made of limestone and bone, as a clearly human expression, and thus of divinity (Correia, 1921, 87 and 89). Within the cylinders he points out a specific variant with neck – *gola* idols - (Correia, 1921, Fig. 72) [RBD 21] - Figure 4.3.3 -, suspecting that they might have had a lost painted decoration. The author sees no difference between the cylindrical body and the truncated cone, reproducing the idea that the "cylinder", would be a representation of the "column" described by Siret in Folha das Barradas -Figure 4.2.7- [13], correctly positioned, with eyes and mouth, and ruling out a lunar cult object (Correia, 1921, 89). Another one in the Museum of Faro, of elongated trapezoidal shape [RBD 22] -Figure 9. 2. 2. 2: 22-, with a decoration of dotted lines, which is for him represents hair (Correia, 1921, 94), stands out as being different from this series.

Interesting input is the identification of tattooing (Correia, 1921, 92) in the facial expression of the

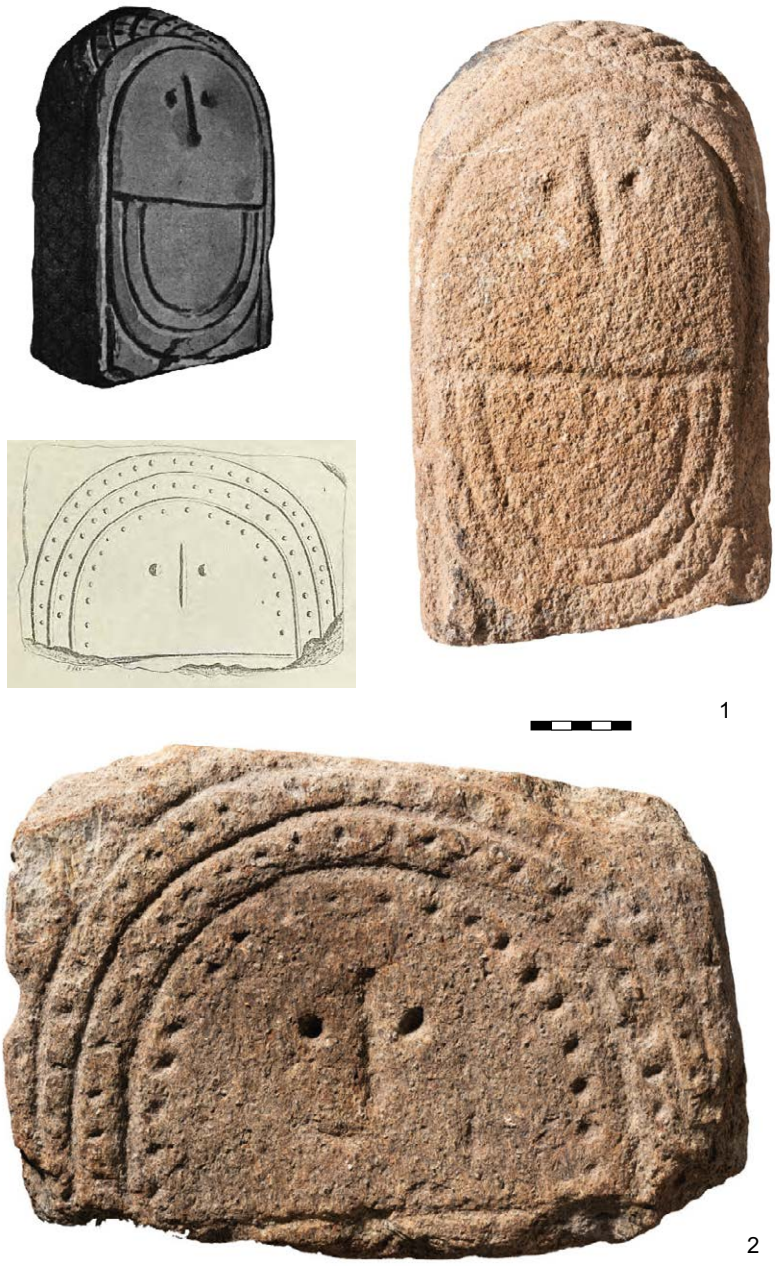


Figure 4.3.1. Stelae with anthropomorphic portrayals. Granite. - 1. Crato, Portalegre, - 2. Esperança, Arronches, Portalegre. Drawings not to sacle by Leite de Vasconcellos (1910) -1- and H. Breuil (1917) -2-. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs ADF/DGPC - José Paulo Ruas.

cylinders, based on the observation of the small bone head from São Martinho de Sintra [RBD 23].-Figure4.3.2-, a problematic piece as it is not included in the report on M. Apollinario´s intervention in the necropolis (1896). V. Correia interprets it as the Goddess (Correia, 1915), comparing it to the tattoo of a "Malay savage" that he took from a publication by J.J. de Morgan (1897, Figure 112). A fragment of this piece is also in the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia in Lisbon, with the torso and the stump of an arm facing downwards.

> «It fell to me to publish this figure of the goddess, on whose face the stripes of the tattoo are so clearly indicated, and whose head appears covered with a mantle in folds already artfully cut. How can we admit the coexistence of this magnificent little

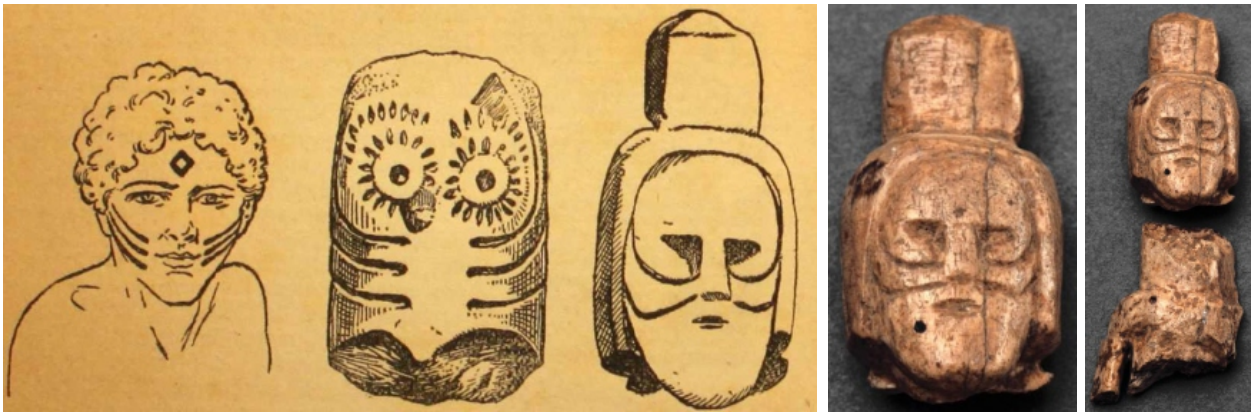


Figure 4.3.2. "Malay savage", cylinder from Moncaparacho and small head from São Martinho, Sintra, (Correia, 1915, Figs: 4-6). Photo of the head and of the same with the body fragment. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs ADF/DGPC-José Rubio.

> figure of a woman with the engraved cylinders, the most rudimentary anthropomorphic portrayal that we can imagine? (...) The little head from the tumuli of San Martinho de Cintra belongs, due to the conditions of the find, the material, the patina and the character, to the same prehistoric cycle as the other objects found in the necropolis. Therefore, its facial features prove, better than by any other means, that the attribution of these features to signs of tattooing is not an archaeologist's fantasy" (Correia, 1921, 93-94) ».

He includes a fourth group of various -another *types of idols-,* with lithic pieces with a globular or pointed conical head and a foot [RBD 24]. It had already been suggested that one of them, the one from São Martinho, decorated with a lattice of lozenges - Figure 5.1.2 - is similar to a pine cone (Apollinario, 1896, 220 and Fig. 10), something that Correia (1921, 95) disagrees with, pointing out its resemblance to idols from Troy.

With less detail, he comments on the phalanges already taken into consideration by Siret, or the series of ceramics with anthropomorphic motifs in their decoration [18], contributing the vessels with lines applied or in the form of a double arch to represent the eyebrows - Figure 4.3.3 -, illustrating them with the ceramics from Anta 7 from Heredad de la Caeira and Anta 1 from Heredad de Entreaguas (Correia, 1921, Fig. 49).

A very different interpretation of the figurines is proposed by Nils Åberg (1921, 36-50) in *La civilisation* éneolithique *dans la Péninsule Ibérique*. At the time teaching Nordic and comparative prehistory at the University of Uppsala, he paid attention to the nature of the schist, marble or bone, considering their origin in the Iberian Peninsula and a synchrony between the different productions.

He does not deal with all the types, but focuses on the West, paying attention to plaques, cylinders and related items and, in a more cursory way, to the bony versions which at that time were more characteristic of the Eastern Iberian Peninsula. He considers that the plaques [9] with anthropomorphic features would not have the same value as those with only geometric decoration, and would be amulets that "procure happiness" (Åberg, 1921, 46). An early follower of Gustaf Kossina's ideas (Cornell *et al.*, 2008, 50), the concept of "degeneration" applied to the study of the evolution of figurines is not surprising.

The real "idols" for Åberg (1921, 37-38) are the most anthropomorphic ones, characterising sculptural or incised works that in the 1970s were addressed as "idol-plaques with hands" (Ferreira, 1973), as in the case of Idanha-a-Nova -Figure 4.3.3-, or some plaques from the Rotondo Collection with a detailed face made known by Siret

Figure 4.2.6: 12-, and suggestion of the arms; while the plaques with geometric decoration with the only indication of the cut-out head, such as the one from Anta 1 de Cavaleiros -Figure 4.4.3-, would be the first step towards this "degeneration" into trapezoidal objects that only have geometric decoration, without the "sun-eyed" face.

He supposes the same evolutionary concept for the cylinders [14]. The one from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid -Figure 4.2.1.1 - published by Siret would be the oldest, while the less decorated one from Moncaparacho -Figure 4.2.7- would be more recent (Åberg, 1921, Figs. 31 and 32).

The simple decorations, with two pairs of lines, such as the one on the cylinder from Rotura da Pena (Åberg, 1921, Fig. 33) - Figure 4.3.3: 4 - may have portrayed arms,

Figure 4.3.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in ivory (2) and stone (3-5). Ceramic vessel with anthropomorphic decoration (1). - 1. Composite profile vessel, Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja, Montemor-o-Novo, Évora; - 2. Cylindrical composite 'ídolo de gola'; - 3.- Truncated biconical Pêra, Silves, Faro "idolo tipo Pêra"; - 4. Cylindrical with simple decoration, Castro da Rotura, Setúbal; 5. Bipartite composite trapezoidal plaque, with prominent head and suggestion of hands in the engraved decoration. Schist. Anta de Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas.

not tattoos. In this line of interpretation, a decade later it was proposed that the Morón de la Frontera cylinders must be old because of the better technique used (de la Mata, 1931, 15).

Åberg (1921, 44) was also the first to recognise the proximity of the flattened piece from the Pidal Collection [16] -Figure 15.1.1.1- with the series of long bones from Almizaraque -Figure 4.2.5-, pointing out the formal resemblance with the phalanges (1995, Illustration III) [6].

In the mid-1930s, *Les peintures rupestres schématiques de la Penínsule Ibérique* was published, in which H. Breuil (1935, 113-134) brings together the figurines in a chapter entitled *L'art mobilier* énéolithique *d'Iberie.* Expressions from both the Atlantic and Mediterranean seaboards are included, he approaches ceramics, the so-called "Almerian idols" and the Portuguese "plaque idols", introducing terms and updating concepts, always in the line of arguing the religious (idolatrous) meaning of the motifs.

His study of symbolic ceramics (Breuil, 1935, 113-115) [18], points out the convergence of motifs with the portable pieces. In addition to the single, double or triple "bitriangular idol" of the vessel from Cerro de las Canteras, Los Vélez (Motos, 1918) -Figure 4.3.6- and the scenes with deer, or the oculate face that he observes in the vases from Los Millares published by Siret -Figure 4.2.2: 12-13-, he classifies as sun-shaped the "radiated circles" on the inner surface of two vases assigned to graves 15 and 57 of the same necropolis -Figure 4.2.3: 7 and 14-.

The astral merges with the eyes to combine different identities in a single medium. On the inner face of a vase from grave 37 - Figure 4.2.3: 7 - he distinguishes two pairs of circles which, under eyebrows, indicate two faces linked by a fifth circle from which parallel lines emanate ending in angles, a decoration best parallelled in the motif of the cylinders, which Correia had pointed out to be tattooing. These incised or painted broken lines can be seen together with eyes and eyebrows, as in the painted motifs on the vase from Millares burial 21 -Figure 4.2.3: 2-3- or they appear on their own or together with protuberances in the form of breasts -Figure 4.2.3: 4-6- (Breuil, 1935, Fig. 66).

These are themes that reach the Bell Beaker Chalcolithic with deer portrayed together with stars on the inner surface of the bowl from Las Carolinas, Madrid (Obermaier 1917, 19 and 20) -Figure 13.2.2-, and hinds set out on the outside of a flattened base vessel found with other Bell Beaker vessels in a grotto in the surroundings of Quinta do Anjo, Palmela (Marques da Costa, 1907, Est XII) -Figure 13.2.2-. His contribution not only establishes the concept of symbolic pottery, but is also the starting point for a seamless relationship between codifications regarding vases and portable figurines.

"Almerian idols" -Figure 4.3.5- would be the lithic objects collected in illustration I by Siret (1908) [4] (Breuil, 1935, 117- 124) and other objects on bone sheet from the East (which he considers to be typical of the *Almerian Civilisation*. Of the new repertoire, the flat steatite piece from the Dolmen de Tijola made known by J. Cabre (1924) and the one from Llano de la Lámpara I stand out, both shown upside down to the way to that later proposed by Georg and Vera Leisner (1943, Taf. 4.3 and 3.4) -Figure 4.3.4-, not taking into account for either the raised position of the arms, which has been likened to the gesture of the orant (Escacena and Flores, 2019, 121). Also in contrast to a later assessment, he considers the masculine character of the second (Breuil, 1935, 121), adding the sexual organ, where the Leisners later placed the triangular head.

He highlights the formal variance of these flattened lithic figures found in graves in Almería and Granada [4] -Figure 4.3.5- which would later be related to the so-called *Culture of Almería* (Bosch Gimpera, 1969, 55). He reproduces them and warns of the scant data available (Breuil, 1935, Figs. 68 and 120), they echo a tripartite framework, with the middle part characterised by the absence or presence of arms, and the development and positioning of them when they are present; and the geometric shape of the head (rectangular, triangular), the bust -when there are no arms-, or the lower part of the body (rectangular, triangular or rounded). He assumes that most of the depictions are female (Breuil, 1935, 121), supposing them to be dressed in a flared or subtriangular garment, when the lower body suggests this morphology.

> «The bone figures consist mainly of a triangular head and an armless bust with a narrow waist separated from a flared or subtriangular dress. These are obviously female figures» (Breuil, 1935, 118-119).

From two other very fragmented lithics from the tombs of Llano de los Churuletas 3 and Llano del Jautón 3 -Figure4.3.5: 1 and 2 - he suggests the presence of wings, finding references to this shape in cave panels from Extremadura and Sierra Morena. Those referring to the bitriangular framework [4], lead him, like Siret, to identify them with the Eastern Mediterranean, pointing out parallels in Greece (Breuil, 1935, 121 and Fig. 69).

He also endorses the idolatrous nature of the anthropomorphic figurines on carved, flat and tritriangular bone sheets [RBD 25] - Figure4.3.5:

Figure 4.3.4. Some pieces referenced by H. Breuil as "Almerian idols" in stone. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): composite, flat with limbs in a cross. - 1. Dolmen of Tijola, Almería; - 2. Llano de la Lámpara I, Purchena, Almería. Drawings not to scale (Breuil, 1935, Figures 67 and 68). Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Photographs: MAN Archive - Susana Vicente Galende (1) and Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (2).

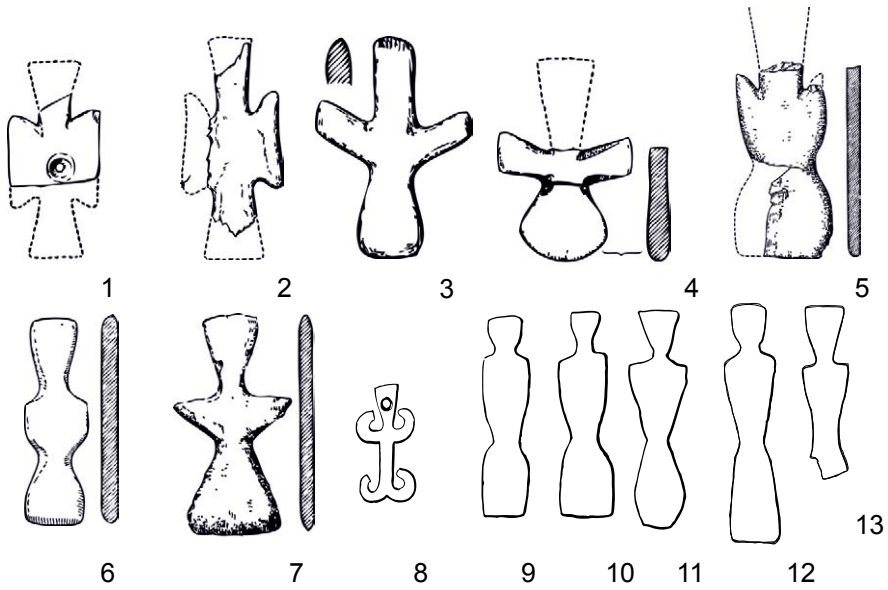


Figure 4.3.5. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). "Almerian idols" in stone, located in Almería: - 1-2. Las Churuletas 3 and Llano del Jautón 3, (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 4. 1: 40 y 6.1: 7); - 3. Llano de Rueda I, (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 2.4: 4); - 4. Barranco de Jocalla 4 (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 5. 1: 11); - 5. Loma de la Torre 3 (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 3. 3: 5); - 6. Las Churuletas 3 (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 4. 1: 39) and - 7. Loma de la Torre 4 (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 3. 2). - 6. "Almerian idols" in bone found in Alicante: - 8. "Anchor-shaped" figurine and - 9-13: tritriangular bone figurines, all (8-13) from the Cova de la Barcella, Torremanzanas (Breuil 1935, Figure 67).

9-13 - that the priest J. Belda, most likely inspired by Siret, had published from the Cova de la Barcella de Torremanzanas, Alicante, under the peculiar description of "female plaque idol, triple axe type" (Belda, 1929, 22). In the West, he points out a similar production in the "Montabrão" dolmen (Monte Abraão, Belas), reported by Correia (1921, Figure 68).

A different representation coming from the same cave in Alicante is what Belda (1931) described as an anchor-shaped idol (anchoriform) [RBD 26] - and that Breuil reproduces in its entirety - Figure 4.3.5: 8-, reconstructing the arms and legs not present in the original -Figure 11.2.1-, symmetrically entwined in omega shape and separated by the asexual rectilinear body.

Apparently Breuil (1935, 124) visited Almería several times to see Siret's collection; Siret showed and commented on the pieces, focusing attention on the phalanges [7] and long bones [8]. Specific questions are raised about the provenance of these phalanges of horses and bovids, and about their production (Breuil, 1935, 125), including the techniques used for their decoration.

> «On an ox phalanx from the Millares, we see two eyes with pupils and, above the superciliary arch, strongly woven eyebrows, and, below the eyes, a pair of interlaced double arches whose meaning of facial tattooing is widely accepted» (Breuil, 1935, 124-125).

He agrees with Åberg in the formal linking of the phalanges with the biconical stone or ivory pieces described by Siret [6], whose shape is reminiscent of decanters -*carafes aplaties*-, a better simile than that of "hopper" for these pieces which are evidently female, when they have sculpted breasts. He deals briefly with cylinders, focusing on the decoration of the idol in the Museo Arquelógico Nacional in Madrid with "star-shaped eyes" - Figure 4.2.1 - and, unlike Correia or Åberg, he will be convinced by Siret that the flattened piece in the Pidal Collection - Figure 15.1.1 - with motifs so similar to the Museum's cylinder, is in the shape of a double axe. He defines the small head of São Martinho-Figure 4.3.2 - as exceptional and unique, a key to understanding the human expression of the cylinders, which in his opinion also evoke the human, even though they are not decorated in any way.

He developed a systematisation of the "Portuguese rectangular plaque idols" [9] (Breuil, 1935, 129-133), which together with the "Almería figurines" would make up the most numerous representation of the Iberian Peninsula. With a different terminology -plaques and bitriangulars- this is a fully valid point today (Bueno, 1992, 2010, 2020a), taking into account regionally different developments as advanced by Åberg (1921, 45).

The plaques, mostly from the West, are characteristic of the corridor tombs, and in some of these collective tombs there are as many plaques as individuals as pointed out by V. Correia (an idea later taken up by G. and V. Leisner and by V. Gonçalves). The funerary plaques are of the best quality, pointing to the fragmentary nature of the finds in places of habitation.

> «According to those I have examined, these plaques had a practical use: the back of the engraved base is indeed very often full of scars and scratches, resulting from the grinding of ochre and mixing it with another substance, such as oil or grease; they were therefore colouring palettes, in the same way as the objects of the same use in the Egyptian civilisation of the Eneolithic period» (Breuil, 1935, 129).

Breuil is in favour of considering these objects as tools related to the processing of colouring, without detracting from their classification as objects with human features,calling them "idols". He distinguishes four groups - Figure 4.3.6 - "idols with cut-out head and arms" (a); "idols with cut-out or engraved head and engraved arms" (b); "idols without arms with cut-out head" (c) and "idols with triangular or rectangular engraved head not cut-out" (d). In addition to these types, there is a group of plaques without a face with geometric decoration that affects the entire surface "not reminding us of the human figure". Again, without mentioning it, there is a certain coincidence with Åberg's approach, assuming that the most common plaques, those without any human features, are mere amulets.

He is one of the first to point out references to the plaques in European Atlantic areas (Breuil, 1935, Figs. 80 and 81) - Figure 3.2.5 -, opening a line of research that has recently increased significantly (Bueno *et al.* 2019a).

In the related field, within the Iberian Peninsula, he recalls a Millares plaque with three pairs of curved lines (Breuil, 1935, 13) -Figure 4.2.3: 12- and the piece with another morphology that resembles a sandal from Almizaraque [RBD 27] -Figure 9.1.2: 27-, whose figure of "8" shape fits into the "female idol tradition", while the decoration resembles that of Portuguese plaques (Breuil, 1935, Figs. 92 and 133). This 25 cm long bone piece was not included in the 1908 text by Siret, who published it first as an object, because of its similarity to esparto footwear (Siret, 1907, Illustration. VI: 1). In later references it is classified on the internet as a "sandal idol" (Red Ceres of the Ministry of Culture).

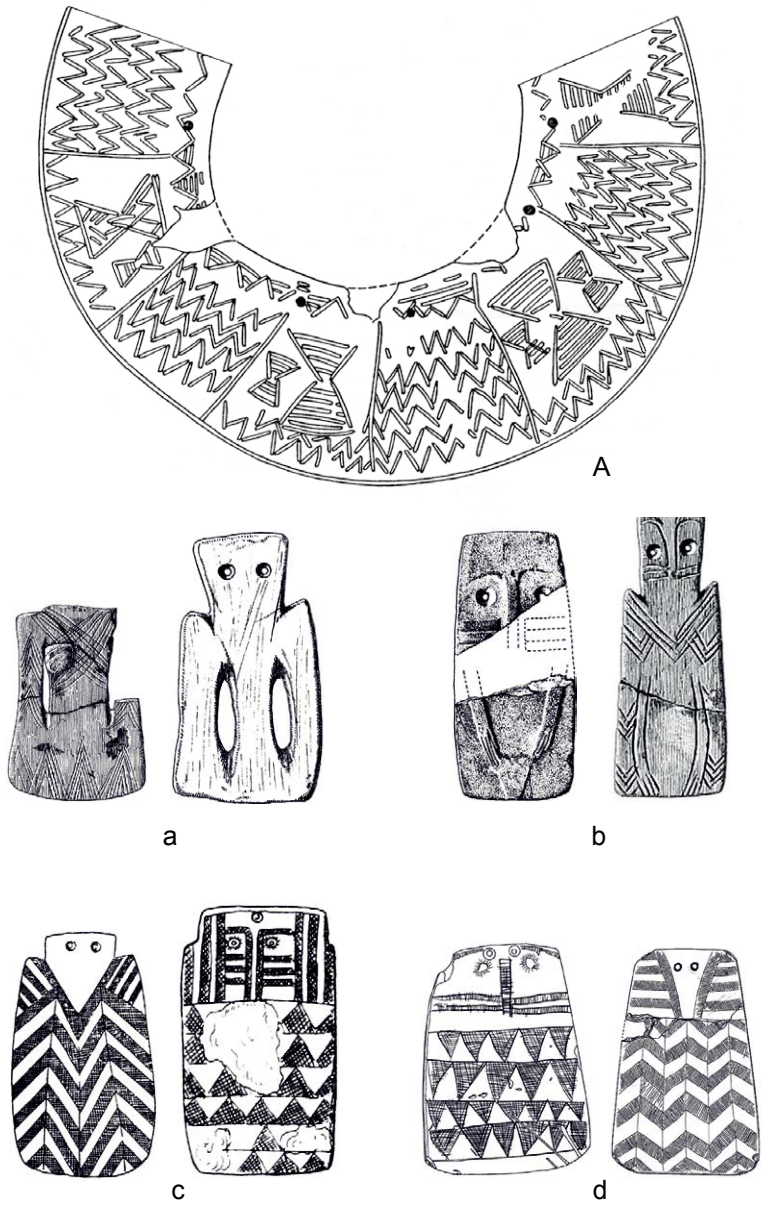


Figure 4.3.6. - 1. Development of the decoration of a vase from Cerro de las Canteras, Los Vélez (F. Motos, 1918). Referenced by H. Breuil, 1935, Figure 63. Taken from Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 96: 11; - 2. H. Breuil's Typology of plaques from his graphic references (except 2nd): - a Idanha-a-Nova, Castelo Branco (Breuil, 1935, Pl. XLV, 3 and Esprit, Cat. no. 173); - b. Garrovillas de Alconetar, Cáceres (Breuil, 1935, Pl. XLV, 1) and Idanha a Nova (Breuil, 1935, Pl, XLV, 4); - c. Alcobaça (Breuil, 1935, Figure 79, 9) and Herdade dos Cavaleiros, Ponte de Sôr (Breuil, 1935, Pl. XLV, 6); - d. Mértola (Breuil, 1935, Pl. XLV, 8) and Portimãos (Breuil, 1935, Pl. XLV, 9). Drawings taken from the catalogue on the Internet Esprit by K. Lillios (numbers 172, 173, 398, 171, 497, 319, 540 and 333).

The crooks [10] are the epigone in the chapter on the objects of Eneolithic artefacts, considering their link with the plaques, as well as with megalithic art. Breuil points out their role in the representations of the menhir statues in France (Breuil, 1935 Pl. XLIII, 12) and in orthostats which are an integral part of the construction of the covered galleries.

4.4. The expanded register: The mid-20th century and the work of Georg and Vera Leisner.

After the difficult war and post-war years in Spain , and up until M. J. Almagro´s compilation at the beginning of the 1970s, the register was significantly expanded with studies and unique pieces, with notable

contributions from Georg and Vera Leisner (1943, 1959) and Vera Leiser herself (Leisner, 1965). Their inventory provides contexts in the megalithic tombs of the East, South and West of the Iberian Peninsula, supporting a repeated and significant association of the figurines. The morphologies are consolidated, with regional variations in the shapes and decorative styles.

Introduced to the Iberian peninsula by H. Obermaier, the Leisners contacted Siret at the beginning of the 1930s (*Sousa et al.* 2021), and produced the first volume of the megalithic tombs of the Southeast ten years later (Leisner and Leisner, 1943). Of the time they spent at his house in Herrerías in 1932, few photos exist. However, their work at that time provided the plans and elevations of the funerary constructions, as well as the series of objects documented by Siret, completing the information published by him in 1908.

Very soon findings in the East were added, such as "the Valencian oculate idols" (Ballester, 1946), a work of bibliographical compilation of the concepts governing figuration (Soler, 2017), as well as a presentation of long bones [8] from the funerary context of the Cova de la Pastora in Alcoy, Alicante. Isidro Ballester counts 25, to which he adds 4 from the Ereta del Pedregal de Navarrés, Valencia - Figure 4.4.1. He points out a particular style with motifs in the form of "ribbons" or horizontal bands painted in reddish tones (Ballester, 1946, 132), differentiating them from the engravings with linear motifs of precise lines from Almizaraque published by Siret -Figure 4.2.5-. With the latter, he associates a fifth engraving on deer antler located in La Ereta - Figure 4.4.1 - with two pairs of eyes, inserted into a decoration where friezes of fine angles and lozenges stand out (Ballester, 1946, 139).

In the 1960s, the first examples of so-called "anthropomorphic idols" were identified [RBD 28] -Figure 9.1.2: 28-, a series representing the nude and proportionate human figure that would prove to be tremendously significant on the Western seaboard (Hurtado, 2008). Of all the scattered productions the first to be acknowledged are the ones furthest east, in the province of Jaén. These are a pair of bone specimens from Marroquíes Altos and from a burial cavity in Torre del Campo. While studying the first one, discovered in 1961, A. Blanco (1962) recovered the second one which had been discovered in 1914 and attributed to Iberian Art (Romero de Torres, 1916), due to its similarity to anthropomorphic bone figurines from Mérida published by P. Paris (1914). The composite nature of the one from Marroquíes Altos -Figure 4.6.2- is striking, as it joins two parts by means of a loop , the face is lost due to a fracture, and it is accompanied by an object in the crossed arms pressed against the chest , which will later be identified in the corpus of materials published by V. Leisner (1965).

Both figurines were interpreted as female (Almagro Gorbea, 1973, 252). In contrast with later ideas about their Eastern origin, A. Blanco linked them to the cylinders of the megalithic tradition of the Southwest, reckoning that there was a process that, at its end, could have been encouraged by some maritime influence (Arribas, 1977, 67).

Finds are more copious on the Western seaboard, confirming the greater number of anthropomorphic figurines in this area. The inventory of Portuguese Estremadura grows as a result of archaeological work in the fortified settlement of Vilanova de São Pedro, Azambuja (Jalhay and Paço, 1945), with a different variety of ideomorphs to that of the Millares (Leisner and Leisner, 1943). In addition to some plaques [9] and an exceptional set of cylinders [14] with simple decoration similar to that of Rotura da Pena cited by N. Åberg (1921, Figure 33) - Figure 4.3.3: 2-.

A 5cm long bone "anthropozoomorphic" figurine stands out [RBD 29] -Figure 4.4.2: 5- (Martins *et* al, 2021, 113) which, without obvious sex, was interpreted as a "lion man" (Paço and Jalhay, 1942), but later suggested to be female (Gómez, 1985, 168). Apparently nude, the legs are together and the arms are crossed over the belly, with a head with realistic features. With no hair but with ears, eyes, nose and mouth, it is a unique sculpture in the whole of the figurative scope of the Iberian Peninsula.

Recently revised (Martins *et al.*, 2021, 221), four small pieces are included in pottery possibly designed to be presented upright. Two of them are fragmented and female as one has a pubic triangle with dots like the Almizaraque anthropomorphic one [1], and the other (also headless due to fracture), because it depicts the breasts -Figure 4.4.2: 2 and 3. Another one is truncated pyramidal or prismatic -Figure 4.4.2: 4-.The head is not distinguished, it has two holes for eyes in its narrowest part , the shape of which is similar to another one in clay found in the same period in Pedra d'Ouro (Paço, 1940); this one does have eyes, facial tattoo lines and breasts [RBD 30]. -Figure 9.1.2: 30-.

On the "Almerian" idols in the megaliths of Huelva. «It is noticeable that all the idols belong to the same type. Their size varies, with small and large idols being found in the same dolmen. The material is regional schist of a bluish-green or light bluish-grey colour. Compared to the idols from Almería, which are made of more solid stones -marble, alabaster, steatite- and thicker, with the body sometimes slightly rounded, the idols from Huelva are thin and completely flat, which is the result of the material itself. They are certainly not imported pieces, but were made on the spot with the available material by a people who brought with them the

Figure 4.4.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Antler (1) and long bones (2-6) with oculate decoration: - 1- 5. Ereta del Pedregal, Navarrés, Valencia; - 6. Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy. Museo de Prehistoria of Valencia. Photographs Archivo Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia (Pascual Benito, 2021 and Soler, 2017).

religious tradition of the Southeast (Leisner, 1952, 87) » (Leisner, 1952, 87).

The links between plaques and bitriangulars can be seen in a plaque from the La Mora Cave, Jabugo, Huelva -Figure 4.4.3.3 -, which was made presented by J. Cabré (1945). Years later, this would be confirmed with the presentation of the plaque from Lapa de Bugio, Sesimbra, located during the excavation of the cave, at the base of a deposit of human bones. Surprised by the decoration, researchers published it in the same year as its discovery (Monteiro, Zbyszewski and Ferreira, 1967), stating that, on its front, the trapezoidal plaque depicts the engraved outline of an "idol plaque" with a prominent triangular head and inside it an anthropomorphic tritriangular depiction with the striking feature of having arms and fingers portrayed.

Apart from giving the authors the opportunity to update the inventory of portable tritriangular representations in the West [25], the coincidence on the same medium of a characteristic element of the "Portuguese dolmen culture" (Bosch Gimpera, 1966) with another of the "Culture of Almería" (Bosch Gimpera, 1969) confirms the close relationship between the two Iberian seaboards .

Figure 4.4.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -2 and 4- and human figures (FH) -1, 3 and 5 in clay. Vilanova de São Pedro, Azambuja (Martins et al, 2021, Figure 6).

> «The discovery of the Lapa do Bugio plaque seems to us to be of great importance as a contribution to a study of the relations, at that time, between the civilisations of the Sado and Lisbon peninsulas with South-eastern Spain, as well as with the Eastern Mediterranean, North Africa and the Near East» (Monteiro *et al*. 1967, 328).

Within the Western area of Spain, plaques [9] are well represented, as the geologist Sos Baynat reports in the Granja de Céspedes collection in Badajoz. He focuses his study on the geometric decoration of a series in which a good-sized one stands out - Figure 4.4.4 - with a body decorated with zigzag motifs, shoulders and a cut-out head.

In it he sees the triangular face with sun-eyes superimposed on the tattoo, framed by zigzag lines which he interprets as a "copious manly beard" (Sos Baynat, 1962, 519). While this feature has since been called into question and the depiction of necklaces has been valued, the description of the body is still valid, decorated with zigzag bands, separated into groups and considered to represent parts of the dress of a person with a cloak with shoulder pads covering the lowered arms.

The decorated phalanges [7] will become more representative in the Western Iberia, surpassing the examples from the Southeast. In addition to the engraved one from São Martinho (Sintra), other finds will be added from Portuguese Estremadura to the Algarve, such as Castro de Olelas (Sintra), Vilanova de São Pedro (Azambuja), Lapa Bulgalheira (Torres Novas), Tojal de Vila Chã (Carenque) or burial 8 from Alcalar (Mexilhoeira). Some have painted motifs, such as the one from the megalithic monument of das Conchadas (Belas) or the ones in the Penha Verde settlement (Sintra). As in the Southeast, there are pieces that only have geometric motifs, São Martinho - Figure 4.2.4 - and others with a face: Alcalar and Torres Novas (Guerra and Ferreira, 1971) are good examples.

Figure 4.4.3. Flattened geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone. Simple (3 and 5) and composite bipartite (1) and tripartite (2 and 4). - 1. Plaque "with cut-out head". Slate. Anta 1 de Cavaleiros, Ponte de Sor, Portalegre; - 2. Tritriangular" figurine. Slate. Anta Grande do Olival da Pega, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 3. Plaque with depiction of a tri-triangular figurine. Drawing not to scale (Monteiro, Zbyszewski and Ferreira, 196). Slate. Necropolis of Lapa do Bugio, Sesimbra, Setúbal; - 4. Tritriangular" figurines. Dolmen of Pozuelo, Zalamea la Real, Huelva; - 5. Oculate plaque with triangular and bitriangular motifs. La Mora Cave, Jabugo, Huelva. Drawing Pérez, Cruz and Ribero, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (1 and 2), Museu de Arqueologia e Etnografia do Distrito de Setúbal (3), Museo de Huelva (4). Museo de Sevilla (5). Photographs: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (1-3) and J.A. Linares 2021 (4) and museum (5).

Figure 4.4.4. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG), bipartite. Plaque "with cut-out head". Slate. Granja de Céspedes, Badajoz. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Photograph. MAN-Susana Vicente Galende.

In the Southwest there is an increase in the number of cylinders [14] with complex decoration (Almagro Gorbea, 1966, 50). They are closely related to the classic piece from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid, cited by Siret. The core of finds from the province of Seville is from open-air sites. Breuil's summary does not include the three exceptional specimens from Morón de la Frontera (de la Mata, 1931) -Figure 6.4.1: 9- and years later the additon of the one from the Cerro de las Vacas de Lebrija, of remarkable size -28 cm long- (Esteve Guerrero, 1961) -Figure6.4.1: 11. The exceptional set includes that of the Museo de Sines, in the Concelho de Aljustrel (Almagro Gorbea, 1966, 54) or that of El Conquero de Huelva (Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 95:5) -Figure 4.4.5-, the first to be located on the map (Díaz, 1921; Vera *et al.* 2010). Many of these pieces remained for years in private hands and were later deposited in museums, which do not always have their geographical reference, as is the case of the cylinder of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional -Figure 4.2.1- or that of the Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba which was added to its collection in the 1960s.

V. Leisner's compiling (1965) reveals the concentration of betyls in Portuguese Estremadura, where they form a characteristic type [13], with a flattened smooth face, linear motifs in bas-relief on the curved surface, and horizontal linear motifs, devoid of bands at the ends and intermediate areas, as in São Martinho or in Carenque, Amadora -Figure 4.4.6-. Sometimes they are decorated all over, completing the basic motif of bands of horizontal lines with bunches of vertical lines and angles, as in the piece from a grotto in Palmela cited by Breuil (1935, Figure 70) -Figure4.4.6-.

In this figurative expression, the face can be observed in a different way to that of Folha das Barradas collected by Correia -Figure 4.2.7-, showing semicircular sculpted eyebrows similar to those that converge in an embossed "V" in the pottery production -Figure 4.3.3: 1-. This is the case of the piece located in the dolmen of Casainhos -Figure 4.4.6- with tattooing of the cheeks by means of elongated, vertical lines, and with a headdress of parallel lines filled with oblique lines that change direction alternately, as is common in the decorative structure of the maritime Bell Beaker.

Another regionalisation is noted in the Algarve, with the documentation of betyls with dots [22], adding to the piece from the Museum of Faro cited by Correia, two from the Museum of Lagos -Figure 4.4.7-. Regarding their identification, an erratum in the figure captions of the article of their presentation persists in Almagro's monograph (1973, Figure 17 and 91-92). As a result of a recent revision (Parreira and Moran, 2021), they are correctly seen as black greywacke plaques of flattened oval section, with parallel grooves at the ends, and a band of dots on both faces, or on one, as observed in the one from Serro do Moinho, Bensafrim, the other face of which has a linear motif in the shape of a "spider's web" (Viana, et al. 1953, 107-108). In addition to these two , there is a third one of a more elongated and asymmetrical shape located in Lajes, Luz de Lagos with a concentric motif on one side made with dots and on the other bundles of lines forming a "VV" bringing to mind the female sex -Figure 4.4.7: 2-.

In symbolic pottery [18], similar records to those of Los Millares are found in vase 14 from Anta Grande de Olival da Pega, Évora (Leisner and Leisner, 1951) -Figure 4.4.8-; a presence that was confirmed a decade later, when the exceptional anthropomorphic vase

Figure 4.4.5. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG). Cylinder in limestone with complex oculate decoration. Cabezo de El Conquero (Huelva). Museo de Huelva. Photograph: Salvador Delgado Aguilar.

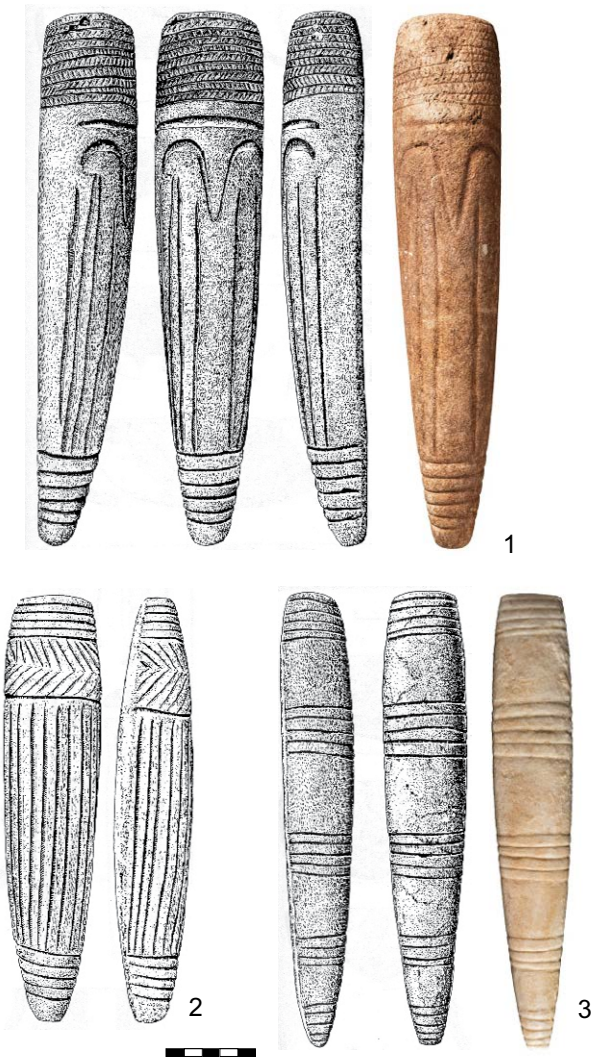


Figure 4.4.6. Truncated cone-shaped geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) ("decorated betiyls"). Limestone. - 1. Casaínhos, Loures, Lisbon; - 2. Gruta de Palmela, Setúbal; - 3. Necropolis of Carenque, Amadora, Lisbon. 1 and 2 Museu Geológico, Lisbon; 3. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Drawings in Leisner, 1965, Taf 23:78; Taf. 94: 7; Taf. 60: 29. Photographs: ADF/ DGPC-José Paulo Ruas.

Figure 4.4.7. Trapezoidal geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) ("flattened section betyls"). Greywacke. - 1. Lajes; - 2. Cerro do Moinho. Drawings not to-scale by Viana, Formosinho and Ferreia, 1953, Figures 10 and 11. Museum of Lagos Photographs: R. Soares. In Parreira and Morán, 2021.

from the megalithic tomb Monte do Outeiro, Aljustrel (Viana *et al.* 1961) -Figure 4.4.8- was discovered. The face has eyebrows, eyes and broken lines of tattooing as large as those detailed in the Millares repertoire (Martín and Camalich, 1982), showing at the bottom the pubic triangle like the anthropomorphic figures of Almizaraque [1] -Figure 4.2.1- and Vilanova de São Pedro [29] -Figure 4.4.2: 2-.

> «Vessel of idolatrous form with incised ornamentation, consisting of the image of eyes with eyelashes and eyebrows, facial tattooing and a female attribute on the front (...) This vessel appears to be unique in Portugal.
> According to our observations, we are in the presence of an idolatrous vessel with similar decoration, at least in the eyes, facial tattooing and female sexual attributes to others from Southeastern Spain in Almería, but of local production» (Viana, Ferreira and Andrade, 1961, 250).

The lunulae or crescents characteristic of Portuguese Estremadura, are added in V. Leisner´s inventory (1965); they appear in Praia das Maças, Sintra (Leisner *et al.* 1969, 87-88), in the necropolis of Cabeço da Arruda, Torre Vedras, or that of Bautas, Amadora -Figure 4.6.3- as "crescent-shaped idols" [RBD 31], or as part of the relief decoration of the of Folha das Barradas betyl - -Figure 4.2.7- (Ferreira and Trindade, 1954: 34). Nowadays associated with ornaments on the menhir stelae of Évora, there are also examples from recent excavations (Valera, 2010).

Figure 4.4.8. Symbolic pottery from Western Iberia. - 1. Vase with tattooed face and female sex. Monte do Outeiro, Aljustrel, Beja; - Pottery fragment with incised decoration. Anta Grande do Olival da Pega, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Museu Geologico, Lisbon (1) and Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (2). Photographs: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. Remounting of the Olival de Pega piece by Ana Margarida Gata Simão -MNA-.

4.5. Pilar Acosta´s typology of the "idols" of schematic art.

Since the proposals of the close relationship between two-dimensional and three-dimensionality that Siret gathers from the previous tradition, especially from Portuguese authors, Breuil's work contains the first systematic summary of schematic art in the Iberian Peninsula and constitutes Pilar Acosta's direct source. The influence of her typology of painted "idols" in the portable versions later described by M.J. Almagro Gorbea (1973), constitutes a compact reference that presides over a large part of Iberian works until practically the end of the 20th century.

In the volume on *La pintura rupestre esquemática en España* (Acosta, 1968, 67-89), she deals with the "idol" and "stelae" motifs as a whole. Without defining the concept of "idol", it is not clear why she separates "idols" (chapter III of her book) from "human figures" (chapter I), merging types as human figures such as "anchor-shaped" or "cruciform" which other authors class as "idols" within portable items . She takes up aspects valued by Breuil such as the position of the shelters in their environment, the location of the motifs painted in the cave walls, the painting technique, the colouring and changes brought about by the alterations of the passage of time, and the size of the images (Acosta, 1967, 11-15).

The painted expressions, always less rigid and of greater variety, would have their best parallel in the portable "idols" and in pottery decoration. Her most useful contribution is to include the different typologies in maps, establishing a geographical distribution of the motifs of the shelters that can be compared with that of the portable "little idols" (Acosta, 1967, 73). This is a relationship between pieces and panels, distinguishing six types of rock idols: oculates, plaques, segmented, triangular, barbell shaped and tri-lobed (Acosta, 1967,

Figure 4.5.1. "Idols" in rock art "idols" (Acosta, 1967, Figures 1, 4, 7, 8, 9 and 11).

18). Two of these, segmented and tri-lobed, are hardly representative, and her commentary focuses on the rest, which is as rich as it is varied.

In the description, similarities are noted which, in modern language, would indicate identities, such as the parietal oculates of the Eastern seaboard with eyes, eyebrows and tattoo lines -Figure 4.5.1: A- with the motifs of the phalanges and long bones, more characteristic of the Eastern Iberia; while in the West the cave oculate depiction is more akin to that observed in the plaques -Figure 4.5.1: B-, characteristic of the Atlantic seaboard. However, she herself would subject this statement to critical revision, suggesting that the Western productions could also have been inspired by the bone representations of the Southeast (Acosta, 1967, 29). This hypothesis, not explicit in her text, would be strengthened by the discovery in the West of pieces such as the long bones, which at that time were only considered to be typical of the Eastern seaboard. An updated review of the classical typologies of idols in parietal art (Barciela, 2020) - Figure 13.1.4 - increases

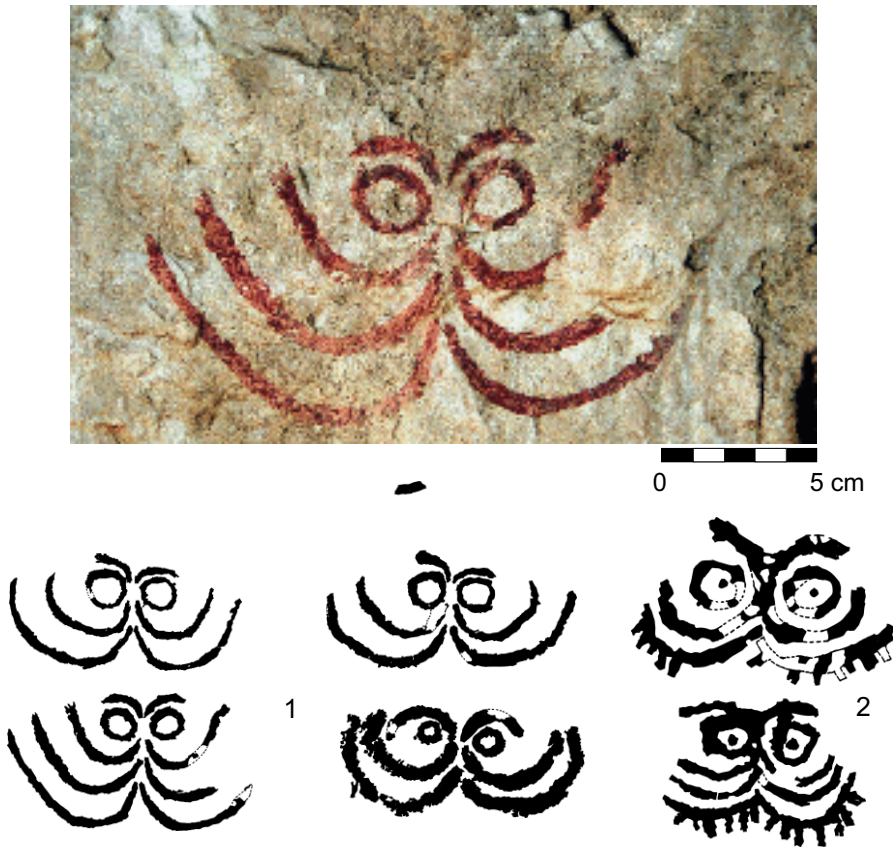


Figure 4.5.2. Oculate cave paintings. - 1. Cueva de la Diosa Madre (Cave of the Mother Goddess) and - 2. Abrigo Grande del Collado Guijarral, Segura de la Sierra, Jaén. Tracings not to scale of Navarrete, 1967. Retouched photograph by Javier López Payer.

Acosta's references , compressing the number and extent of some versions in Eastern Iberia.

There are pictorial representations of plaques [9], rectangular or shield-shaped with no sign of the head, and others that do have a head and shoulders (Acosta, 1967, 31). Painted plaques, like the portable items, appear mostly on the Western seaboard (Acosta, 1967, 35).

In rock art, the "triangular" shape (Figure 4.5: C, D, E) is very successful, with images of one, two or three triangles, one triangle being fewer. The researcher accepts Siret's interpretation of the bitriangle as a sexual representation or as reminiscent of an axe (Acosta, 1967, 41). Of course, not everything is so clear-cut because there are sequences of horizontal triangles that are difficult to interpret in this typology, unless they respond to the decorative rhythm that characterises pottery decoration or that which is common in megalithic decorations and decorated plaques (Bueno, 2010, 2020). In terms of symbolism, the best parallel to rock art is the incised triangular representation of the symbolic pottery characteristic of Los Millares - Figure 4.2.2 - which links them to deer and oculates (Acosta, 1967, 43).

The bitriangular human representation [2] is an enormously suggestive compendium, confirming the representativeness of the figurative type that Siret considered basic. Its arrangement on its own, in conjunction with others, linked to zoomorphs, with arms, carrying instruments or associated with suns, is evidence of the success of the form of the clothed human figure.

Influenced by the Mycenaean parallels of the tritriangular expression [25], the appendages of the flattened figurines of the dolmens of Huelva (Leisner and Leisner, 1952) are seen as raised arms - Figure 4.4.3. In others there is a silhouette that suggests folded arms , as shown in one from Abrigo Grande de Las Viñas de Alange, Badajoz (Acosta, 1967, Figure 9: 5; - Figure 6.2.5, 4th, 2nd row-).

The scheme of two or more geometric elements also finds a development in rock art with the so-called barbell "idols" (Acosta, 1967, 58-66), considering as a

reference motif two circles joined by a bar -Figure 4.5: F-. In addition to the basic motif, others are determined, without the central bar, with the addition of circles, the combination with triangular motifs or the addition of arms or upper limbs in the form of a cross. The result is usually a figure with a circular base, with variants in the upper section of the development of the motif (addition of arms) and the head (circular, triangular). She notes that some of them have parallels in the portable repertoire of circular elements, such as those from El Garcel [3], cited by Siret, or the flattened ones from the tombs of the *Culture of Almería* [4], thinking of those with a circular base, such as the one from Arteal (Siret, 1908, Illustration I:13), the one from the record of Los Blanquizares de Lébor de Totana -Figure 12.1.3- or the natural shapes that join two spherical bodies that the Belgian engineer [17] also pointed out.

Going beyond Acosta's corpus and as a key contribution to linking the human face on the wall of the shelters with the portable media, mention should be made of the Cave of the Mother Goddess in Collado del Guijarral, in Jaén, with faces with eyebrows, eyes and tattoo lines.- Figure 4.5.2.2 - identical to the repertoire of portable art, or to that of symbolic pottery exemplified in Los Millares or in the vase from the Sepulcro de Monte de Outeiro (González Navarrete, 1967)

4.6. The "Hispanic Bronze I idols". María José Almagro Gorbea´s typology.

A year before Acosta's publication, M. Almagro Basch (1966) deals with "idols" in a small publication where he establishes 11 types of "idols";these will remain in M. J. Almagro Gorbea´s classification (1973) with a different numerical listing. The work starts with the presentation of the so-called idol *of Chillarón* (type XI), in Cuenca, an egg-shaped stone [RBD 32] -Figure 9.1.2: 32- with an anthropomorph sculpted on each of its faces. In an attempt to contextualise this object, M. Almagro offers a review of the shapes that characterise the figurines, defending the oriental origin of all the manifestations grouped together as *Hispanic megalithic idols* (Almagro, 1966, 20-8).

He points out pieces of very specific dispersion, on the Mediterranean seaboard: those known as El Garcel (type I) [3], and those made on long bone (IV) [8]; and in the West: the cylinders (VI) [14], and the plaques (VII) [9], of which there are examples in the Southeast. In both areas there are cruciforms (II) - including different types such as the marble ones from Almería [4] or the so-called "anchor-shapes" in bone [26] -, phalanges (III) [7] and betyls (V) [12] [13]. As unique objects he places the tree of life of San Bartolomé de la Torre (IX) [RBD 33] -Figure 9.1.2: 33-, the anthropomorphs in ivory from Jaén (X) [28], and those of his type VIII, a ensemble of several in which he includes the female figure in stone from Siret [1] or "venus of Almizaraque", a piece which shares the portrayed sex with the bitriangular figure from the Cueva de la Pileta referred to as the "venus of Benaoján" (Giménez Reina, 1941) [2] -Figure 7.1 1- and the prismatic clay figure from Vila Nova de São Pedro, with depiction of the pubic triangle (Jalhay and do Paço, 1945) -Figure 4.4.2: 2- [30]. After revision, it is not in itself a type of piece (Martins *et al.* 2021), but a fragment of an upright earthenware figurine.

Moreover, the effort of chronological sequencing that he proposes for the different types of "idols" of the Iberian Peninsul and even of the Canary Islands proves futile due to the use of distant eastern parallels .

> «Let us finally see what chronological conclusions we can draw from this typological classification of the shapes offered by the megalithic idols of the Iberian Peninsula, once we have established their dispersion and established (...) the external parallels of these simple plastic representations of the divinity....
> Type II (cruciform) is also very ancient in the Aegean, but we can relate it to the specimens found in Troy II (2400 to 2300 BC). It spread westwards and reached the Canary Islands, whose variant within the same type as the idol from El Arteal must be related to Troy I. This type II was very frequent among the cave art creations. Thus, it would appear among us as an early type of this culture, but then it lasted for a long time, creating very late variants, such as the branch-shaped idols of Llano de la Lámpara de Purchena and those mentioned from Blanquizares de Lébor and Monte de la Barsella» (Almagro Basch, 1966).

In the 1970s, M. J. Almagro Gorbea published the most successful typology for three-dimensional representation in a voluminous monograph. She classifies the *Hispanic Bronze I Idols*, including forms that evoke the human figure and others that are symbolic objects. Although in her text she mentions intermediate classifications, the main support for her classification is the article we have just summarised, developing the types described in it and introducing some more.

Focusing solely on three-dimensional figuration, M. J. Almagro developed 15 types, naming them after the site where they were documented -El Garcel-, according to their morphology with respect to a mechanical device -hopper-, according to previous denominations, -Betyl, plaque...- or according to the nature of the object - phalange, long bone...-, without arguing for a typology of its own. Although she considers all the pieces to be cult objects, she does not place the word "idol" before all those she classifies, which suggests that other objects are classified together with human figures - crooks, lunulae... - This distinction is not entirely

Table 4.6.1. Correspondence of the standard list of "Hispanic Bronze I Idols" (Almagro, 1973) with those listed in the classification of L. Siret (1908) *, and others of the RBD indicated between [], present in the bibliography prior to the publication of M.J. Almagro.

DENOMINATION ALMAGRO (1973)	**PREVIOUS DENOMINATION SIRET (1908) * and later ones**
Type I "The Garcel".	[3] *Figure 1: "Ancient Neolithic Idols". "Sandal or Violon shape".
Type II "cruciform idols" (Variants A/C/E)	[4] *Illustration:. I: "Adze - Idols". In the shape of a cross
Type II "cruciform idols" (Variant G)	[26] Anchor-shaped (Belda, 1929)
Type II 'Cruciform idols' (Variant F)	[25] Idols on bone sheet. "Triple axe" (Belda, 1929).
Type III: "Betyl idols".	[12] *Illustration:. XII: "Betyls and columns". Figure 2 and [13] Ill: X: decorated truncated cone-shaped stone pieces
Type III, variant (E): "artichoke".	[24] Pinecones or acorns (Apollinario, 1896)
Type III, Variant C: "with decoration of dots".	[22] Betyls with dots (Correia, 1921)
Type IV: "cylinder idols".	[14] *Figs. 4 and 6 Stone "Cylinders".
Type IV, variant D	[16] *Figure 3 - "Double-bladed axe". Pidal Collection
Type V: "hopper idols".	[6] *Ill. III: "Idols of stone, horn and ivory". Pyramid-shaped torsos with a beret
Type VI: "phalange idols".	[7] *Illustration. IV: "phalange idols".
Type VII: "idols on long bones".	[8] *Illustration V and VI: "Engraved (long) bones".
Type VIII: "plaque idols	[9] Illustration -VIII: "Engraved and sculpted schist funerary plaques".
Type IX: "Batons and crooks".	[10] *Illustration IX: "Engraved schist staffs".
Type X "lunula	[31] "Crescent-shaped idols" (Ferreira and Trindade, 1954).
Type XI: "Axe-shaped type".	[15] *Figure 25 and Ill: XI: " Votivas adzes".
Type XII "anthropomorphic idols".	[28] Anthropomorphs (Blanco, 1962)
Included in Type XII "anthropomorphic idols"	[1] *Figure 6. Female statuette
Included in Type XII "anthropomorphic idols"	[23] St. Martinho Head (Correia, 1921)
Included in Type XII "anthropomorphic idols".	[30] Upright anthropomorphic figurine with a pubic triangle (Jalhay and Paço, 1945)
Included in Type XII "anthropomorphic idols".	[29] Anthropozoomorphic bone figurine (Jalhay and Paço, 1945).
Type XIII "idol of San Bartolomé de la Torre"	[33] Tree of Life (Almagro, 1966)
Type XIV "aberrant idols".	[2] *Figure 14 "double triangle". Sum of masculine and feminine: symbol of generation. [17] *Figure 9. Stone in the form of two spheres
Type XV: 'Egg-shaped idols'.	[32] Egg-shaped (Almagro, 1966)
not considered	[5] *Illustration II "Stone statues".
not considered	[11] *Illustration IX "Almizaraque Horn".
not considered	[18] *Figs. 12, 13 and 14; Ilustrations XIII, XIV and XV. Symbolic ceramics
not considered	[20] Stelae (Correia, 1921)
not considered	[27] Almizaraque Sandal (Breuil, 1935)

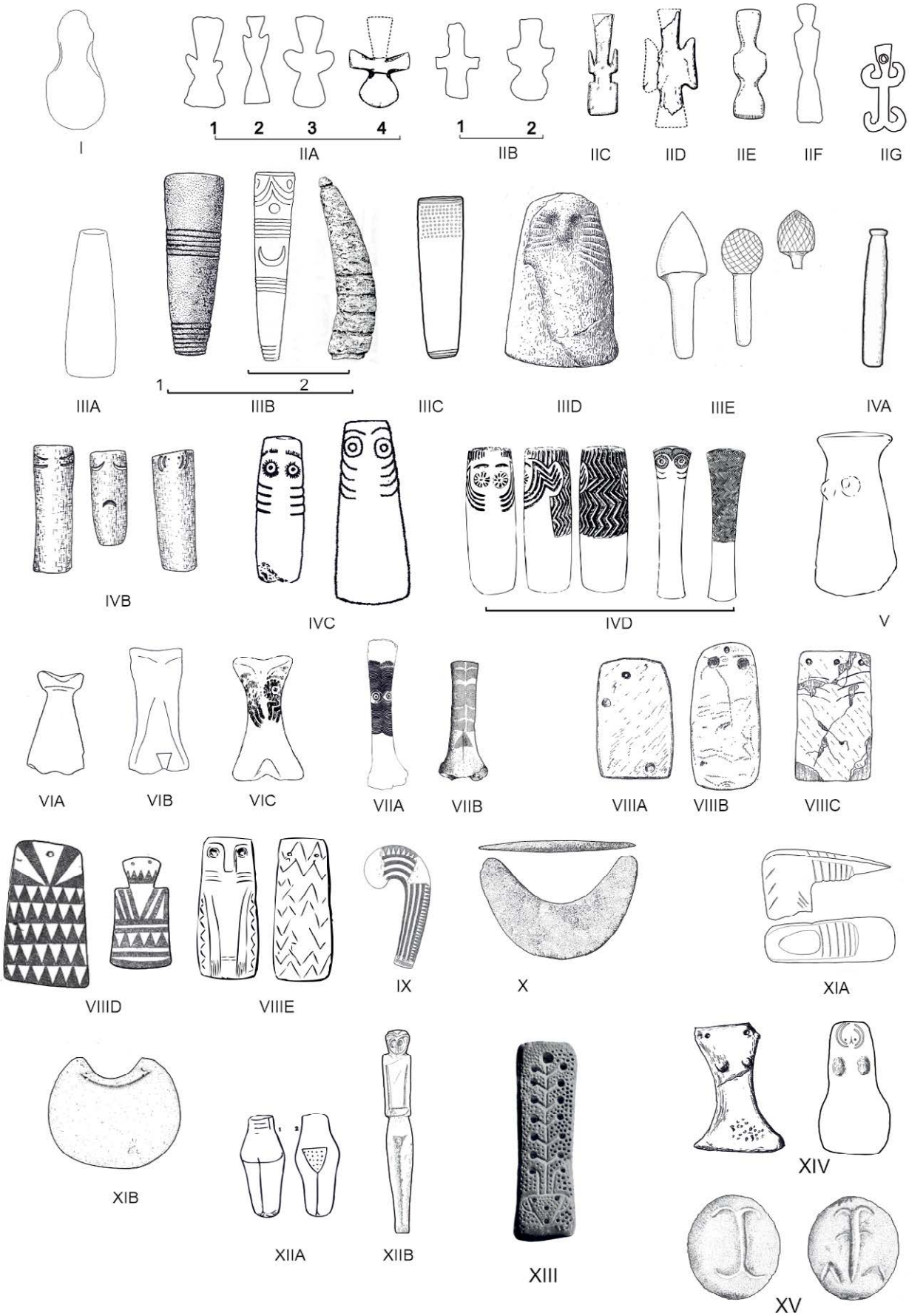


Figure 4.6.1. Typology of the "Hispanic Bronze I Idols". Assembled from the drawings in M. J. Almagro Gorbea´s book 1973.

clear as it is considered within the meaning of "betyl idols", a variant with the denomination of "artichoke idols", which refers to sculptures in the shape of this vegetable, impossible in prehistoric Iberian times. Previous bibliography identifies it as a pine cone, due to its similarity to the pine's strobilus, and more recently they are assessed as representations of acorns (Bueno *et al.* 2016a).

Some types are very heterogeneous, with different shapes, which makes it necessary to distinguish very different variables. This is the case of cruciform idols and betyls. Being a really extensive group, most of the pieces of the former fit into the morphologies referred to above [4] [25] [26], with two variants to be considered in the RBD. One for the flattened forms with wing-like appendages, made of stone, from the funerary contexts of Llano del Jautón 3 and the Churuletas de Purchena [RBD 34] -Figure 9.1.2: 34- and another for the strictly cruciform ones [RBD 35] -Figure 9.1.2: 35-, with a rectangular body and the arms outstretched in the form of a cross like those that also appear in the same record of the Churuletas and in other nearby tombs such as Llano de la Rueda or La Atalaya (Almagro, 1973, Figure 5), to which we can add a sandstone manufactured piece from the tomb of Trigache, Loures, with a perforation in the head (Almagro, 1973, 45 and Fig. 4: 19).

As for the betyls, she adds concepts from the Leisner´s repertoire that had been overlooked and which have subsequently attracted renewed interest in the bibliography, as is the case of the polished ones, which are included in the "simple betyl" variant. This is an undecorated version without the truncated cone shape that defines it (Almagro, 1973, 63), but they are described as pieces close to the axe concept (Almagro, 1973, 70), and are exemplified in the series from Cabezo de Arruda 1, Torres Vedras (Leisner, 1965, Taf. 4; Almagro, 1973, Fig. 9). They are elongated pieces of rectangular or trapezoidal morphology, in most cases of rectangular section [RBD 36] -Figure 9.2: 36-.

Another significant piece is the one from the Cova da Moura, Torres Vedras, (Leisner, 1965, 14) -Figure 4.6.2- included in the decorated betyls and described as "Betyl idol with a quadrangular body, flat on the back and slightly semicircular on the front" with the detail that "the lower part of it ends in a very narrow point 5 cm long, which must have been used to drive the idol into the ground" (Almagro, 1973, 88). This "point" is what has subsequently allowed the element to be related to the objects with a handle [RBD 37] (Figure 9.1.2: 37) carried by some anthropomorphs [28] (Soler, 2017, 301).

A piece of poorer workmanship documented at Perdigões, catalogued as a "command staff", allows us to determine its presence in the first half of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Valera, 2020, Fig. 5).

In the series of betyls erect phalluses must be pointed out[RBD 38] Figure 9.2: 38, collected in figure 12 of her book with the footnote *Portuguese betyls undecorated and phallic in shape:* Palmela, Setúbal -Figure 4.6.2: 2- Praia das Maças, Sintra (Almagro, Fig. 12: 4; Leisner *et al.* 1969, Plan. G: 83), Carenque, Sintra (Almagro Figure 12: 5; Leisner, 1965, Taf. 60: 27) and Cabezo de Arruda 2, Torres Vedras -Figure 4.6.2: 1- correcting the positioning of some of them in accordance with the anatomical reference.

Even with this characterisation, the descriptions of the pieces from Palmela (Almagro, 1973, 76), Praia das Maças or Carenque, do not explicitly mention the phallic form, nor is there an entry for the most obvious piece from tomb no. 2 in Cabezo de Arruda, described briefly as "limestone betyl in the shape of a phallus" (Almagro Gorbea, 1973, 72, 74 and 80).

The main objective of this monograph was the elaboration of a body of *idols,* as well as the collection of references to the contexts where they were located. A compendium of figurines was proposed, with information on their geographical dispersion. However, from this praiseworthy presentation of data, a standard list based on a hierarchical ordering of attributes was not achieved, nor was an analysis of the sample as a whole carried out that would allow for an in-depth analysis of different aspects such as distribution, or the presence of the figurative expressions according to the archaeological sites (Bueno, 1992, 575). The greatest effort was put into arguing the oriental origin, and in trying to meet the difficult and impossible challenge set by her predecessor (Almagro Basch, 1966) of a chronological ordering of the Hispanic figurines from the distant parallels of Asia Minor, Cyprus and Greece. This line coincides with Acosta's work on parietal typologies.

The figurines as a whole represented a single divinity, female and oriental. The typological variety was a consequence of the fervour and ingenuity of those who brought megalithic culture from the East to the Iberian Peninsula.

> «The propagators of the megalithic culture were an extremely religious people who created a very diverse and abundant typology of idols to satisfy their spiritual concerns, which in essence always represent the same divinity or superior goddess, mistress of life and death, of fertility and resurrection, a divinity that in Eastern cultures we call "Great Mother Goddess» (Almagro Gorbea, 1973, 11).

The most recent research was no longer in favour of this interpretation and the author herself was aware of this. She introduced a chapter entitled "Present

M. J. ALMAGRO´S TYPOLOGY (1973) -Figure 4.6.1 - 1.

Type I, "El Garcel". Of a lithic nature, it takes its name from the site in Antas, Almería. Oval shape, flattened section. Two variants, A: two cutouts in the centre and B: two cutouts in the upper third.

Type II, "cruciform idols". It includes elongated lithic or bone pieces with the upper and lower appendages to indicate the head and body and the two lateral ones to indicate the arms. It comprises 7 morphological variants, not all of which resemble a cross. A: elevated position of the cross-shaped appendages, less developed than the longitudinal ones; B: elongated, rectangular arms; C: arms "extremely long and pointing upwards"; D: broad arms in the manner of "spread wings"; E: arms "very broad, but not very protruding and marked". For the definitions of variants F and G the criterion changes, with the general morphology prevailing. F: tripartite character of the form in stone or bone "representing the head, trunk and lower limbs of the idol"; G: "anchor-shaped idols".

Type III, "betyl idols". They are made of stone (except for variant D), with those decorated with "incisions" (or rather, grooves) in the West and the plain ones in the East, which characterise necropolises such as the one at Los Millares. They are defined as elongated elements with a conical (or rather, truncated cone-shaped) section, with 5 variants: undecorated pieces (A) and those with decoration (B-E). B: "with engraved decoration", specifying two series (I and II) depending on the complexity of the decoration; C: with stippled decoration; D: "Comporta" type, in earthenware; E: "with artichoke head".

Type IV, "cylinder idols". They are made of limestone, baked clay, bone... Homonymous morphology. Variants depending on the presence and complexity of the decoration. A: undecorated, (a: with a widening in the centre, b: with a groove at the end, c: simple cylinder); B: simple decoration (tattoo and occasionally eyes, hollowed out or moon-shaped); C: intermediate decoration; D: complex decoration. A includes mainly bone artefacts, the rest being lithic. The face is expressed in C and D. C: well-detailed eyes with "the pupil, eye sockets, eyelashes and eyebrows" and lines of facial tattooing culminating in "pronounced zigzags on the lateral faces of the idol"; D: adds the representation of hair to the features of C. Due to an affinity in decoration, it includes non-cylindrical pieces in D [16].

Type V, "hopper idols" - biconical morphology: "conical body ending in a head". Manufactured from limestone, marble, bone and ivory. Presence on some lithics of protuberances that "show the breasts of the megalithic divinity".

Type VI, 'phalange idols'. Variants depending on the presence and complexity of the decoration. A: undecorated; B: simple decoration (sexual triangle, hair or facial tattoo); C: rich engraved and painted decoration ("eyes of the megalithic divinity", hair, sexual triangle, "goddess' dress with zigzags and waves").

Type VII, "idols on long bones". It can be seen that the specimens from the Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy, (B) have a simpler decoration than those of the "Almizaraque type" (A) (eyes, incurved lines, triangles, lozenges, zigzags...).

Type VIII, "plaque idols". Mostly in slate or schist; also in bone and terracotta. Variants depending on the absence (A) or presence and complexity of decoration (B, C, D). Rectangular" in shape (in reality they are mostly trapezoidal), indicating that D is the most complex. Variant E includes anthropomorphic reliefs (sculptural plaques).

Type IX, "Slate batons or crooks". She considers, as did Siret , a group of plain ones to include the sample from Los Millares and another of decorated ones with incised motifs on one or both faces, which includes examples from the Western seaboard, so similar in their manufacture, raw material and decoration to the plaques.

Type X, "lunulae" or "semicircular plaques". Made of stone, in the shape of a moon. Plain objects or with linear or geometric decoration, perhaps intended to be worn as a breastplate or necklace.

Type XI, "axes and axe-shapes". She considers the "stone axes of votive character"
(A) and the stone axe-shaped elements (B) to be halfway between the lunula and the axe.

Type XII, "anthropomorphic idols", representations of the human body, "without reaching the degree of schematization seen in the other types". The partial (A) or total (B) representation is the criterion chosen to differentiate variants (in fact, even the most complete ones lack details such as hands and feet). They constitute a heterogeneous group, where human figuration is expressed in a different way due to the different sizes and, above all, different material, as they include figurines made of "slate, marble, bone and also terracotta".

Type XIII, "El ídolo de San Bartolomé de la Torre" (Garrido and E. Orta, 1964), a lithic prism-shaped object with engraved geometric decoration, the motif previously considered to be the tree of life stands out (Almagro 1966).

Type XIV, "aberrant idols". It includes a few pieces of a different nature, either made of stone or manufactured in clay for aesthetic reasons. They are "bad imitations".

Type XV, "egg-shaped idols". It brings together a group of flattened lithic pieces with this morphology and characterised by grooves, although it should be noted that not everyone agrees with this cult meaning, thinking that they are tools such as maces or sharpeners.

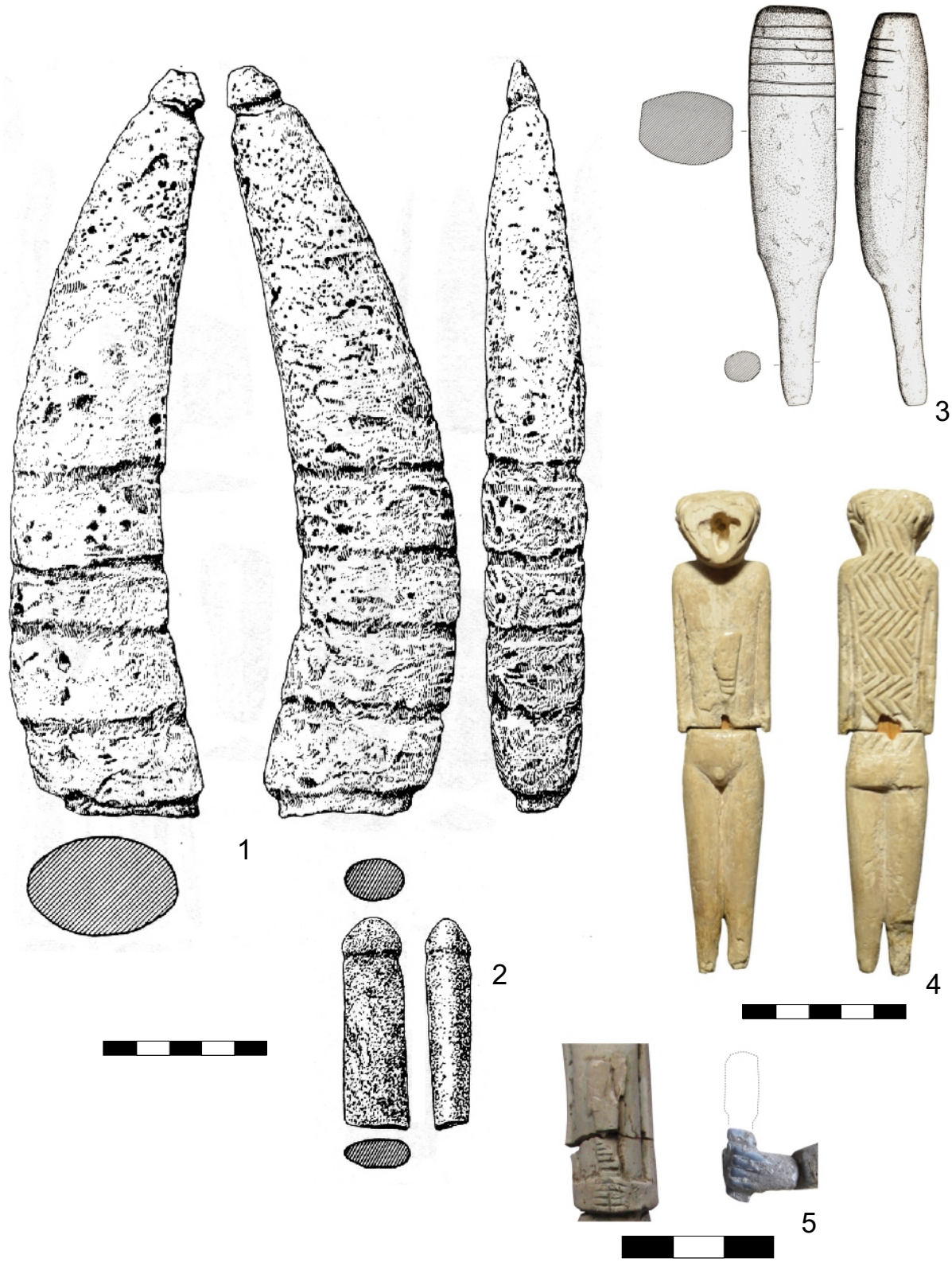


Figure 4.6.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone 1-2, lithic ideomorphic object (FX) -3- and human figure (FH) in bone -4-. - 1-2 phallic-shaped "Betyls" from Cabezo de Arruda (1), Torres Vedras and Palmela (2), Setúbal (Leisner, 1965, Taf. 7: 7 and Taf. 97: 94); - 3. "betyl with point" or handle from Cova da Moura, Torres Vedras collected in Valera, 2020, Fig 5: 4; - 4. Male human figure with object. Bone. Marroquíes Altos, Jaén. - 5. Detail of a human figure from Perdigões (Figure 8.1: 7), carrying an object, (Valera, 2020, Figure 5). 1. Museum of Jaén. Photo (1) Teresa Ximénez de Embún.

Table 4.6.2. Table of numbers (pieces and fragments) by type of "Bronze I idols" and their distribution in the Mediterranean and Atlantic seaboards of the Iberian Peninsula. Total numbers obtained from the compilation of data elaborated by M.J. Almagro (1973). Compiled by the authors.

TYPE	DENOMINATION	NO.	%	East	West	Annotations
I	The Garcel	7	0,3	7		
II	Cruciform idols	90	4,2	74	16	
III	Betyl idols	218	10,1	146	72*	(*) 70 of exclusive variants, including decorated ones
IV	Cylinder idols	319	14,8	-	319	
V	Hopper idols	49	2,3	49	-	
VI	Phalange idols	208	9,6	198*	10	(*) Calculation estimating undecorated ones
VII	Idols on long bone	43	2	43	-	
VIII	Idol plaques	1153	53,4	111*	1042 **	(*) almost all plain (**) most of them decorated
IX	Slate staffs or crooks	32	1,5	2 *	30 **	(*) plain (**) 29 decorated
X	Lunulae	12	0,6	-	12	
XI	Axes and axe-shaped	7	0,3	-	7	
XII	Anthropomorphic idols	12	0,6	4	8	
XIII	Idol of San Bartolomé De la Torre	1	0,04		1	
XIV	Aberrant idols	4	0,2	2	2	
XV	Egg-shaped idols	5	0,2		5	
		2160	100	636 (29,4%)	1524 (70,6%)	

state of Megalithic Culture studies in Spain and new problemas arising from C-14 chronology", in which she included a list of radiocarbon dates compiled by M. J. Almagro Gorbea (1970, 1971 and 1972); here the greater antiquity of the dates of Western megaliths (e.g. Orca dos Castaneiros, Vilanova de Paiva) was appreciated with respect to those provided by sites on the Eastern seaboard such as Almizaraque or Los Millares (Almagro Gorbea, 1973, 327- 333).

The information gathered made it possible to assess aspects that were not taken into account in this monograph, such as the territorial scope of some types, and their coincidence in certain areas. The calculation of numbers of items would have provided a vision of figuration in which the Western Iberia stands out in number and morphology (Table 4.6.2), something which, obviously and with the support of Portuguese dating, would contradict the idea of a primitive reception of forms and concepts on the Mediterranean coast of the Iberian Peninsula.

After M. J. Almagro´s work, there will be no more summaries on Neolithic and Chalcolithic portable figuration. The so-called "idol-plaques with hands" [9] (Ferreira, 1973) will be the subject of a specific study, highlighting this formula as evidence of regional workshops (Bueno, 1988, 1992), or as a typological entity in its own right (Gonçalves, 2021, 153). Although there are some engraved on schist, such as the one from Idanha-a-Nova, recognised in the nineteenth-century bibliography (Leite de Vasconcellos, 1897) - Figure 4.3.3: 5 - most of them are thicker than the schist plaques , have a simple rectangular or trapezoidal shape, and a motif

Figure 4.6.3. Ideomorphic Object (FX) -1- and Geometric Anthropomorphic Figurine (FAG) -2-, both in stone. - 1. Lunula, Necropolis of Bautas, Amadora. Drawing not to scale (Leisner, 1965, Taf. 59: 17); - 2. Plaque from Anta do Couto do Vale do Magro, Crato (Ferreira, 1973, Figure I: 5). Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (1); Museu de História Natural, Universidade do Porto, Porto (2). Photographs: ADF/DGPC- José Paulo Ruas (1) and Esprit Catalogue 840 (2).

in bas-relief on the stoneware, ideal for sculpture. The hands resting on the lower abdomen or, more clearly, on the female pubis, with the exception of Couto do Vale do Magro, Crato -Figure 4.6.3-, which O. da Veiga Ferreira interpreted as an erect phallus (Ferreira, 1973, 236), the series would reflect an expression of fecundity, linked to the Goddess cult.

> «The plaques represent a cult of fecundity, a female sexual triangle or mons pubis and an indication of "phallus» (Ferreira, 1973, 238).

The publications up to the end of the 1970s, led by of M. J. Almagro Gorbea´s monograph, are direct heirs to the sources, historiography and interpretation of the first evaluations of Cartailhac, Leite de Vasconcellos, Siret and Breuil, among others. As a result of the historicist versions rooted in diffusionism, the figurines were an argument for the eastern links, which became the majority interpretation of the origins of recent Iberian prehistory, until long after the publication of Renfrew's volume (1973) in which, with dates from C14, the eastern hypothesis for the origin of megalithism was relegated.

Chapter 5
Human Shapes for Social Research

5.1. Building societies. Iberian Historiography between the 20th and the 21st century.

From the 1980s onwards, several theoretical transformations took place in Iberian prehistoric archaeology (Lillios, 2020). The transfer of the management of archaeology to the Autonomous Communities in Spain generated a great deal of field activity with more rigorous protocols for accessing research projects. A young generation took up the ideas and practice of both new archaeology and processualism and landscape archaeology, integrating structures, territories and objects in the framework of the origin of inequality.

In this context, the figurines are *items* with social, gender and identity information. This does not imply the abandonment of religious hypotheses, but rather, in most cases, an added value to the more classical perspectives inherited from the 19th century. In fact, an in-depth reading of the course of research from that time to the present reveals the same turn that has marked the rest of the interpretation of the past: the return to classical theories through post-processualism, which has revived diffusionism and religion as the driving force behind the social complexity of recent prehistory in Europe. Figurines are useful objects in these perspectives, expressing iconographies of high visual impact and trajectories of broad diachrony.

Throughout this time, typologies lose prominence in favour of analyses that highlight the context of these pieces, their associations, their territorial impact, their different raw materials or their chronology. Fortunately, ideas about the conversion of some forms into others are sidelined, as the sites provide chronologies that demonstrate the coexistence of morphologies that were previously thought to be derived from one another. Mixed figurations with features that suggest contact between people from different areas are observed (Bueno, 2020b; Soler, 2020). The concept of portable items facilitates this expansion, with elements that can be likened to pendants that appear far from the area of success of their morphology. A good example is the Granada plaque from El Cortijo del Canal -Figure 5.3.2-.

With some delay, the works of M. Gimbutas (1974) reach the Iberian Peninsula research, where the figurines are assessed as a tremendously varied and complex ensemble. It is becoming unconvincing that they should be exclusively related to the expression of deity (Ucko, 1996, 301). On the contrary, they are valued as social *items* that could express authority, symbolise relationships between individuals; or serve as narrative objects for people to understand, or rather to accept the world they happened to live in, being ultimately a good resource to make mechanisms of social manipulation and negotiation more effective (Bayley, 1996, 295).

> «Research into social products traditionally referred to as symbolic, ideological, religious, etc., (...) has been approached from very different angles: as an elusive subject whose access was unclear but that it was necessary at least to "organise", as a history of art and styles without social content, according to the presence and absence of "exotic" items that implied long-distance contacts, and more recently and due to the contribution of some Anglo-Saxon authors, as objects expressing prestige, power or status. In most cases, the aim was not to provide a coherent explanatory model of the society under study, but to make generalisations by highlighting features of quantity and quality. This way of proceeding disregards the fact that the productions and depictions of ideas and social consciousness are from their origins directly linked to material activity and that they are a condition emanating from their very social reality " (Escoriza, 1991-92,135).

At the Seville meeting in 1990 -The *Chalcolithic under debate*- the difficulties involved in including all these manifestations under the umbrella of religion were expressed (Bueno, 1995, 125). In the face of this, the use of terms such as "figurine" or "figure" started to make headway, with the term "idol" surviving due to the weight it had acquired in the research tradition (Bécares, 1990). Some accept its use without accepting its literal meaning (Hurtado, 2008; Maicas, 2010) and others openly dispute it (Castro and Escoriza, 2011).

> «I must confess that the definition of "religious" seems to me to be inadequate to understand or explain a whole series of manifestations of a plastic nature that should encompass various aspects or motivations in the daily life of the people who make the first metal.

> Perhaps the model to reach an explanatory hypothesis for each of these elements would be to assess their association with a specific archaelogical context, analyse their trajectory through the pre-Copper phases and, ultimately, treat all of these expressions as just another cultural element to understand the Chalcolithic period in Iberia». (Bueno, 1995, 125).

The theoretical and methodological changes in this phase of the research do not affect the morphological definitions of ideomorphic objects, the use of the expression "idol" and the names of the forms in M. J. Almagro´s monograph remain in almost all the texts, with some additions of types and with the absence/ omission of the less sustainable ones (Bueno, 1992, 2010).

The approach to the production and distribution of figurines in this more "secular" context goes hand in hand with the progress made in the knowledge of the social formations of the Final Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. Their symbolic scope is measured in terms of the social value of egalitarian formations immersed in a process of hierarchisation, of varying degrees depending on the territory, whose consolidation coincides with the decline of figurative expression. In any case, this is not a uniform interpretative change.

The register of the figurative expressions is growing considerably, but its study is not considered as a priority in research that, focussed on the theoretical framework, has a very long to-do list. From the 1990s onwards, the avalanche of data has come from a huge involvement in settlements, necropolises and extensive archaeological areas, increasingly managed by a kind of corporate archaeology that carried out projects of a magnitude unimaginable in the archaeology of universities and museums until the third quarter of the 20th century.

The figurines are one more *item* for the recognition of the processes that are contrasted from the study of walled settlements, extensive pit habitats, multiple burial necropolises in caves and megaliths of different entities, and a variety of objects and organic evidence subject to analysis that contemplate different aspects of the productive economy in the time frame of metallurgy.

At the forum held at the Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid in December 2009, motivated by the findings of "cylinder idols" - Figure 6.4.1 - in the settlement of the Orden Seminario de Huelva (Cacho *et al* -coor-, 2010), under the title *Eyes that never shut. Idols in early peasant societies,* new perspectives for the social valuation of ideomorphic objects that have traditionally been recognised as "idols" were established. Without ruling out a sacred significance, concepts such as the cult of ancestors, the sense of identity of local groups, social control or gender differentiation begin to have a prominent place; all of them in a more human than divine key, where they can be valued as a resource for the transmission of ideas over generations, as well as other more mundane conceptualizations such as those that open the door to the possibility that some of these expressions were toys.

Two aspects stand out in this period, the significant increase in South-western records and the tendency to specify explicit codifications in particular territorial areas to demonstrate the presence of workshops, with their corresponding distribution (Bueno, 1988, 1992, 2010; Hurtado, 2010). At the same time, the chronologies extend backwards, placing the plaques at the beginning of the 4th millennium cal BC onwards, valuing the wide diachrony of some of these typologies that would coexist with the Bell-beaker deposits, vessels with which they share very similar geometric codifications (Bueno, 2010, 76-77). Recent research ratifies these time frames, making Iberian figurines one of the best indicators of the transversality and persistence of Neolithic symbols during the Chalcolithic (Bueno, 2020b, 214; Valera, 2020).

To generalise a lot, it is the research groups in the South that advocate more social interpretations. An interesting transformation in recent years extends social and gender interpretations, while reviving religious interpretations by framing them in post-processual approaches (Andrade *et al.* 2021; Bueno, 2020a; García *et al.* 2020; Gonçalves, 2021; Martínez *et al.* 2020; Soler, 2020; Valera, 2021).

Almost reaching the first quarter of the 21st century, there is no doubt about the synchrony of the different expressions of Iberian postglacial art at its peak (4th-3rd millennium cal BC), coinciding with the most important emergence of the figurines. However,there is also no doubt about a more ancient circuit associated with the ideology of those who played a leading role in the productive societies (Bueno *et al.* 2007a). Much remains to be done, defining nuances in the sequence of these iconographies, specifying the connectivities they reveal with more compact data, an in depth study of the technical links, establishing with rigour the circuits of raw materials used for their production and many other aspects of what we value as an archaeology of prehistoric art in which decorated objects are as material as the rest of the cultural products (Bueno and Bahn, 2015).

If the list at the end of the third quarter of the 20th century (Almagro Gorbea, 1973) includes human figuration and sacred objects on the same interpretative

Figure 5.1.1. Location, detail of the excavated area and contents of the pits UE 3027 (left) UE 3370 (right) from the settlement of Orden Seminario, Huelva. The limestone ideomorphic elements of cylindrical and truncated cone shape stand out. Photos Airgermá and J.A. Linares (Linares and Vera, 2021).

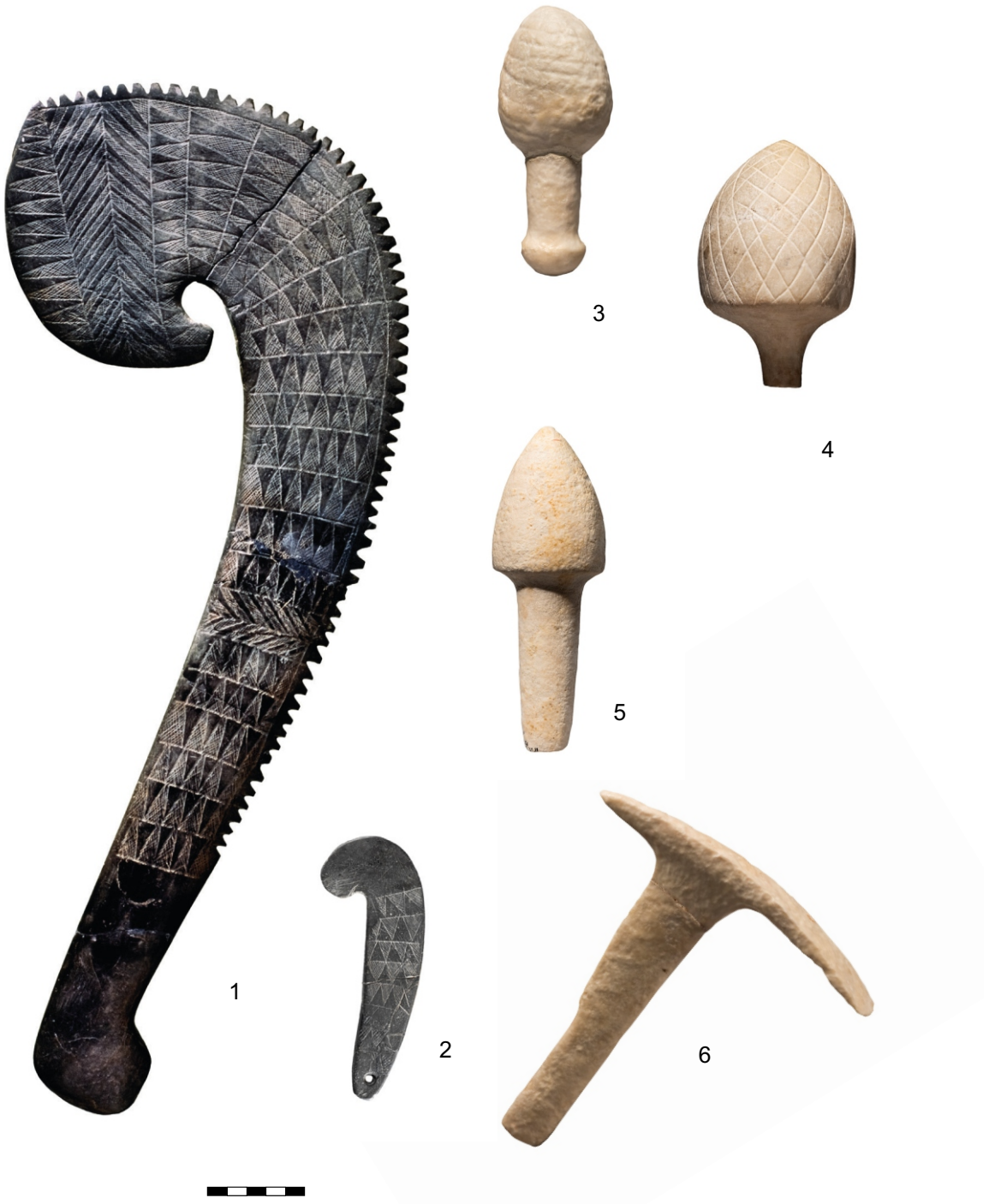


Figure 5.1.2. Lithic ideomorphic artefacts (FX) - 1 and 2. Crooks, Schist. Anta 4 da Herdade das Antas, Montemor-o-Novo, Évora and Anta 1 da Herdade do Passo, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 3 – 5. Acorns. Limestone. Necropolis of Carenque, Amadora, Lisbon (3); Necropolis of São Martinho, Sintra, Lisbon (4 and 5); - 6. Adze. Limestone, Necrópole das Baútas, Amadora, Lisbon. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs: MNA- Antonio Ventura (1) and ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (2-6).

level, the pattern observed in 21st century research is to argue for the separation of anthropomorphic figurative representation from zoomorphic figures and decorated objects.

The trend is established by V. Hurtado (2008) in *Ídolos, estilos y territorios* where he picks up on the idea that there are "too many idols" (Bueno, 1995) and examines identity interpretations in greater depth (Bueno, 1992). Hurtado points out that the categorisation of idols includes elements whose distribution is very limited to Portuguese Estremadura and the Alentejo - "*crooks*", "*axe-shapes*", "*pine cones or artichokes*" and *"lunulae*"-, suggesting their symbolic ritual value is restricted to these areas, with the specific case of the crooks due to their interpretation as a symbol of power (Hurtado, 2008, 2).

The author does not define what an "idol" is, but oncen the term has been stripped of its etymological meaning except for its classification as a "symbolic object", he focuses his study on the geographical dispersion of expressions that are clearly human or with anthropomorphic features such as eyes or facial tattoos -plaques, phalanges, long bones- (Hurtado, 2008, 3 and Illustration I), *de facto* confining the term to anthropomorphic figurines.

In the more than four decades since the anthropomorphic expressions from La Pijotilla were presented (Hurtado, 1979, 1980), studies have provided details of morphotechnical series, in geographical areas or at sites, some of which are of great interest due to their outstanding collection of figurines. Separate pieces have also come to light, in some cases with unprecedented morphologies or made from high-value materials, such as the gold sheets with oculates -Figure 6.5.2 and 14.4.2.2.

5.2. Territorial identities. Gender identities. Social identities.

The codification of human images is a powerful argument for including them as social expressions, sometimes with very prominent territorial scales as is the case in some areas of the European continent (Bueno and Soler, 2021c; Hofmann, 2020; Palaguta, 2020, among others).

Sexual characteristics, dress, hairstyles, the presence of technical systems and local workshops, or the use of shared referents on a larger and smaller scale, among other issues, have been linked to gender identity (Gimbutas, 1974; Tringham, Conkey, 1998; Talalay, 2012; García *et al.* 2020; Gero, Conkey, 1991; Martínez *et al.* 2020; Martínez, Lopez, 2020; Robb, Harris, 2018; Sotirakapolou, 2020).

In the case in question, the archaeology of the body provides references for considering both external and internal characteristics (memory, knowledge of belonging) in order to define identities. That the representation of the body forms part of a social vision is a hypothesis that is reinforced by a look at the small bodies we are concerned with and their difference from other images, as a way of expressing identities and explaining gender or age (Sánchez Romero, 2008; Stoddart, 2006).

In Iberia, this type of approach began to emerge in the 1980s and gained momentum in the 1990s along different lines. On the one hand, the one which proposes territorial identities by linking these objects to information on provenance, family ties, lineage and others, especially social ones. On the other hand, gender identity as a basic reference for the study of the role of women in recent prehistory (Bueno, 1988, 1992, 2010, 2020a,b; Bueno *et al.* 2016a; Escoriza and Castro, 2011; Hurtado, 2008; García Rivero and O'Brien, 2014; Lillios, 2008 and 2020; Sánchez Romero, 2009; Valera, 2020; Soler, 2020).

The proposal of territorially-based identities is focussed on the repertoire of anthropomorphic articles, and on the outstanding inventory of decorated plaques, that number close to 4000, the largest of all Iberian typologies. Concentrated in the Southwest of Portugal, the plaques also reveal the social power of one of the richest megalithic areas in Iberia. Workshops with pieces whose raw material, shape and production can be easily traced, as in the case of the Crato-Nisa-Valencia de Alcántara figurines with arms (Bueno, 1988). Arguing possible origins in this repertoire, based on the analysis of their codified geometries (Bueno, 1992, 2010), reveals the wide spread nature of what we call classical plaques. Horizontal sequences of filled in triangles are the most repeated pattern in the plaques, but also in other types of figurines, in the megalithic media, in the stelae and later in the Bell-beaker vessels. Reworking this hypothesis, they have been interpreted as heraldic devices (Lillios, 2008), a proposal criticised because phylogenetic analyses do not support it (García Rivero and O'Brien, 2014).

The bitriangulars are now viewed from this identity perspective, reinforcing the position of the Southwest of the Iberian Peninsula in the expression of identities, as is the case with the anthropomorphs, or with the cylinders (Soler, 2020). A great symbolic cohesion with identical contents is expressed in raw materials and diverse forms in compact ensembles that denote their own interpretations. We can attribute the long bones to the Southeast , in addition to the range of bitriangular and tritriangular shapes, while the decorated spatulas with the earliest direct dates of all the records are from inland (Villalobos *et al.* 2020).

Figure 5.2.1. Excavations in the Ciudad de la Justicia. Part of the enormous complex of the urban site of Marroquíes Bajos, in the sub soil of the city of Jaén. - 1-2. Aerial and ground level view¸- 3. Female human figure with smiling expression (Barba Colmenero, 2010). Whole in Figure 8.1. Photographs: Narciso Zafra de la Torre and Vicente Barba Colmenero.

The diversity of positions in different areas of Perdigões points to a very high social component in the typologies and raw materials used, which seem to approach specialisations. This is the case of the anthropomorphic ivory figurines that are found in cremations, but not in the rest of the masonry tombs of the site (Valera, 2020, 238). Their emergence in the middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC connects with exotic materials in rich sets of offerings, standing as the objects most determinant of class as far as we know (Valera, 2020: 241). For the time being, all the documented ivory ones are in the Southwest.

The manipulation of figurines in megalithic territories and their position in tombs, megaliths, caves, moat enclosures and fortified settlements, proves their prominent social role in the fabric of recent Iberian prehistory. The use of prestigious raw materials reinforces the hypothesis of their social value, associating them with the events of displaying outstanding ornamental materials of exotic origin that marked European megalithic relationships (Murillo *et al.* 2019 b; Schumacher and Banerjee, 2012). Their strong link to large sites of social negotiation at the most advanced moments of these records certifies that "the human body was an active element in the social transformations that were taking place in the Chalcolithic" (Valera, 2020, 242).

A brief summary of the studies and interpretations of the last part of our historiography can be obtained from the published works already quoted (Bueno and Soler, 2020a, 2021d, e). The discussion is no longer focussed on typologies, but above all on the range of data we can extract on the social, economic, class and gender situation of the societies that produced these *items.* Without relegating the religious significance that is still resorted to (García *et al.* 2020; Martínez and López, 2020), and with the prominence of the oriental Mother Goddess no longer to the forefront, two aspects distinguish the Iberian records. On the one hand, the multiplicity of forms of a codified expression with a long trajectory (at least from the 5th millennium to well into the 3rd millennium cal BC), unprecedented in Europe, and on the other, the key role of Iberia in the configuration of iconographies and symbols in the rest of the major and minor human images of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic (Barroso, 2020; Bueno *et al.* 2019 a, b; Bueno and Soler, 2021c; Scarre, 2020, 174).

5.3. The "impact" of the Malagón "idol" and La Pijotilla series. V. Hurtado´s typology.

The first reference of research carried out in democracy in Spain and Portugal (since 1975) is the publication of the "idol" of El Malagón Cullar Baza, Granada, which endorses an indigenist interpretative model, and the progress made with the presentation of the series of pieces from La Pijotilla in Badajoz. The search for parallels in the East is proven to be useless after its publication. The study of this human figurine [28] - Figure 5.3.1 - made of ivory, establishes in detail the arguments that confirm its Iberian roots and evolution. Arribas (1977), following Blanco's proposal in his publication of the figurines from Jaén, associates them to the decorations on the cylinders, drawing attention to their masculine character. Arribas' work consolidates the beginning of a new perspective for viewing these pieces and along with the documentation of the *items* from La Pijotilla, first, and Perdigôes later, lays solid grounds for an Iberian interpretation of the figurines.

> «The well-founded hypothesis of ivory originating in the Maghreb region of Africa now allows us to associate our statuette with the two figurines from the province of Jaén and to include them within an indigenous artistic world which, from the betyls, through the cylindrical oculate idols, reaches its highest expression in these figurines from Jaén and Granada» (Arribas, 1977, 74).

A. Arribas´ work is at the forefront of researchers´ new concerns, with an awareness not only of the need for improved methods and enriched interpretations, but also for the development of discourses that follow the methods of social sciences. It can be said without hesitation that his study marks a turning point in the way of understanding the figuration that characterises Chalcolithic societies. Capable of importing African ivory for this production, whose archaeological context, a hut, is also taken into consideration. The documented human body is a special piece that begs interaction. The absence of a head, for which there is a hole, would make it interchangeable, recalling a system of different uses for these pieces that are known of in other European areas: headless workshop productions would be particularised for each use.

He later included a second figurine found at the same El Malagón site [RBD 39] - Figure 5.3.2 - in a deposit associated with the construction of the wall (Martínez and López, 2020: 278-279). His commentary suggests a new perspective regarding relations with the Mediterranean.

Made of alabaster and with the hands on the breasts (Hurtado, 2008, 7), it is different from the ivory, bone or lithic series of human figurines exemplified by the ivory figurine from the same site [28], to which it has recently been associated, considering it part of a group of "naturalistic anthropomorphic figures" (Martínez and López, 2020, Fig. 6. 10).

Formally, it combines the plastic concepts of other figurines such as the anthropomorphic one from Almizaraque [1], showing the pubic triangle

Figure 5.3.1. Male Human Figure (FH) from El Malagón, Cúllar Baza, Granada ivory. Museo Arqueológico de Granada. Photograph: Wikipedia commons. Drawings of the piece and reconstruction alternatives (Arribas, 1977).

exaggerated in size and the two legs together; resolving the upper part, giving volume to the sculptural scheme of the plaques [9], with the head and arms cut out like eyelets - type IVA in P. Bueno´s classification (1992) -. On the back, the hair can be seen and below it a recess towards the buttocks, suggesting that she would be wearing a garment in the form of a "bodice" that allows the breasts to be seen, which are touched with hands that are not detailed, forcing the position of the forearm. This position has led to it being interpreted as a representation of the "mother goddess common throughout the Mediterranean and the Near East" (Martínez and López, 2020, 279). The piece is exceptional in the Iberian ensemble and presents interesting

Figure 5.3.2. Human figures (FH) in stone: female in stone (1) and head (2); Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG) bipartite composition (pendant) in shell in the form of a 'cut-out plaque' (3). - 1. El Malagón, Granada; - 2. Los Millares, Bastion IX, Fortín I, Almería; - 3. Cueva del Cortijo Canal, Granada. Inset: Late Neolithic flat statuette from Sardinia from Porto Ferro-Sassari, taken from Paglietti, 2020, Figure 10.2. Museo de Almería (2); Museo de Granada (1 and 3). Photographs Martínez and López, 2020, Figures 2: 8; 6:6 and 6:10.

references in the postures of some Cycladic records, which are also known from Sardinia (Paglietti, 2020: 348).

V. Hurtado´s work on La Pijotilla, Badajoz, is another reference in the process of change in the interpretation of the figurines. He began his career striving to present a typology (Hurtado 1978, 1980 and 1981) for the pieces from La Pijotilla. In his first contributions, he assumes the figurine as an indigenous production (in the terminology of the time), and differentiates it from decorated tools and ritual objects. Among the former, he points out the "egg-shaped idols" [32] (1978, 358); and as an example of ritual objects, he highlights a

"betyl" with a distal recess, which may have been a mere support. He also expresses the conviction that some pieces would have the same meaning -in the case of the cylinders-, regardless of whether or not they had decorative features (eyes, eyebrows, tattooing...), thus showing the importance of the shape, and therefore of the typology (Hurtado, 1978, 359).

> «The interpretation of the megalithic religion is complicated by the variety of objects that we assume to be cult objects because we cannot find a practical purpose in them; some of these, taken for idols, would be no more than ritual pieces which, in order to give them a coherent meaning, should be placed in a clear archaeological context» (Hurtado, 1978, 358).

The difficulty of sexual definition is widespread in these pieces, but the anthropomorphs [28] are the group with the clearest information in this respect. Hurtado reproduces the most widely accepted view, according to which the female representations are more abundant and older, while the male ones would be related to the social advancement of male figures who monopolised power in societies of budding inequality.

> «Women assumed a role of primary importance in the social organisation of the settlement, which was reflected in religion, but gradually gave way to men, as can be seen from the appearance of male statuettes» (Hurtado, 1978, 361).
> «The appearance of the male god is a phenomenon similar to that which developed in Eastern civilisations, where he took on the role of the goddess's advisor, subordinated as a necessary element in procreation, but also implied the recognition of men's own activities as their power was increasing» (Hurtado, 1978, 362).

Even without a clear archaeological context, the finds from La Pijotilla were an opportunity to draw up a typology in view of the convergence in the record of different figurines (Hurtado, 1980). This truly exceptional ensemble would be enriched by excavations at the site. The portable productions from the site reinforced the role of the West, providing pieces which until then had been associated with the Southeast. This is the case of the truncated biconical lithic figurines [6] or the phalanges [7]. A detail that was later confirmed by the archaeological contexts of Perdigões (Valera, 2020).

Types VII and VIII of his classification become characteristic of Spanish Extremadura. The former give a typological entity to the shape that Siret collected presenting the piece from the Pidal collection [16] -Figure 15.1.1.1-. In the previous classification, it was included as a variant of the cylinders (Almagro Gorbea, 1973), but Hurtado characterises them as a group of lithic artefacts in which there is room for oculate pieces of different sizes and different decorative complexity. However, the similarity of these flattened pieces with the cylinders [14], leads him to assume that the flattened pieces are imitations of the cylinder representations (Hurtado, 1980, 181), such as the one in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional -Figure 4.2.1.1. Regarding the question of the regionalisation of both forms, he will return to the subject within the new interpretative framework (Hurtado, 2008).

TYPOLOGY V. HURTADO (1980) -Figure 5.3.3-

Type I: "betyls and elongated pieces" [12] or truncated cone-shaped stone artefacts in limestone; Type II: truncated biconical shaped pieces in stone and clay with or without protruberances [6]; Type III: flat and elongated rectangular or triangular stone plaques [36]; Type IV: "cylinder idols" [14]; Type V: "idols made of animal phalanges or stone imitations of them" [7]; Type VI: "idols called plaques"[9]; Type VII: occulate "idols" in stone of flattened rectangular shape with central narrowing [16]; Type VIII: "idols" with "marked anthropomorphization" [28]; Type IX: lithic "idol" in the "schematized human figure" shape [RBD 40].

Other forms not related to human figuration are the crooks (Type X) [10] lithic, plain and coarser than the Portuguese decorated specimens; a stone artefact recorded as "artichoke, pinecone or palm blossom" (Type XII) [24]; egg-shaped elements with grooves [32], which in another text are considered mere tools - Hurtado, 1978, 358 - (Type XI) and zoomorphic representations [19] produced in clay (Type XIII), showing the presence at La Pijotilla of a fragment corresponding to a bovine head.

The work at La Pijotilla precedes the validation obtained in the records of the nearby site of Perdigões, located in Reguengos de Monsaraz. The documentation of the famous moat enclosure of the Alentejo territory of Évora, which concentrates one of the largest megalithic complexes in Europe (Leisner and Leisner, 1951), resolves fundamental questions. To be sure, Iberian records do not only have funerary associations, but also present contexts as domestic as European ones, whether these are valued as ritual or not.

The symbolic interpretation of Perdigões has revealed contemporaneities of typologies between at least 3400 and 2200 cal BC, and episodes of fragmentation and reuse, which allow us to approach the complexity of

Figure 5.3.3. V. Hurtado's typology for the "idols" of La Pijotilla, Badajoz. Highlighted, types VII and VIII. Drawings not to scale, Hurtado 1980 and 2010. Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz. Photographs of materials to scale: Eva Rocamora.

the uses of the figurines from new perspectives (Valera, 2020, 2021).

Moreover, the chronologies provided for some of the classical typologies: bitriangulars, phalanges, etc. are older than those of the Southeast. Almagro Gorbea's inventory already pointed to the prominent role of the Southwest at a time when it was not thought to to have one (see chapter 4 and Soler, 2020), Perdigões validates this leading role and proposes a wealth of nuances unique so far in European records. Its diversity could be related to the locations in the enclosure: tombs, ditch deposits and other deposits (Valera, 2020; 238), greatly enriching what was hitherto assumed for these records.

Chapter 6
Progress in the Knowledge of Geometric Shapes In the Iberian Figurines

Since the late 20th century, research of figurines in the Southeast has been decreasing in intensity. At the same time, the notable increase in archaeological documentation from the West has brought a change in the quantitative weight of these records.

This position is also explained by the change of paradigm relegating megalithism in the Southeast as the origin of megalithism in the Iberian Peninsula. Recent years have begun to "rekindle" these records with updated analytical applications that allow us to undertake the discussion of the chronology of elaborate funerary rituals (Aranda *et al.* 2017, 2020; Molina *et al.* 2020), adding data from collective cave records in the rest of the East (Soler, 2002; 2020a). It is precisely within the framework of the new studies in this region where social interpretations and structuralist analyses of Iberian projection have been argued (Soler, 2020b), opening lines of resarch concerning of the social role of the figurines.

In the Northeast, the archaeological documentation in caves from the Neolithic (Edo *et al.* 2016), in mines (Bosch, 2020) and in megaliths, bolsters the idea of connectivity with the rest of the European records and, most particularly, with the data from Southeast France and Northern Italy (Bueno, 2010, 76; Bueno *et al.* 2005a; Guilaine, 2022).

The significant increase in Western records comes from funerary contexts in caves and megaliths, but also from interventions in moat enclosures and fortified enclosures. This archaeological documentation has not only contributed to highlighting the weight of Western inventories, but also to questioning the origin of figurines, megaliths and other expressions related to societies on the road to hierarchization. It is in the Southwest where knowledge has greatly progressed, although in recent years the Northwest has seen an increase in the number of portable and parietal inventories, opening up lines of research with a projection to the European Atlantic region.

Throughout the West there is a succession of classic typologies from this geographical area, such as plaques, or pieces supposedly associated with the Southeast, but with older chronologies in the West: bi- and tritriangulars, phalanges..., as well as types with a great predominance in the Southwest, such as anthropomorphs. Another development is to be found in the Northwest, where the presumed absence of this type of record began to change due to the interpretation of the quartzite or granite portable artefacts found outside some monuments. The current situation is that stone versions are more widespread than was thought in the Southeast, as well as in monuments in the West where they form part of complex funerary scenarios, with deposits of human figures both inside and outside the monuments (Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2022a; Fábregas *et al.* 2020; Sanches *et al.* 2021).

6.1. Northeast Iberia.

The concentration of figurines in the Southeast and East is clear, while the Northeast, along with the rest of the northern area of the Iberian Peninsula is ranked lower in number and presence of this type of artefact. However, there are at least two remarkable ceramic pieces, the Gavá vase from the Can Tintoré mines, dated to the 4th millennium cal BC - Figure 10.1.1 - and the figurine from Can Sadurní, -Figure 10.1.2-, a burial cave dated to the 5th millennium cal BC, both mentioned in Chapter 3. The close relationship of the former with anthropomorphic vases from Southern Iberia and, more specifically, with the way of representing the pendant or the sun-eyes, stands out. Its hollow interior shape is similar to a fragment decorated with a sun-eye from the Casa Montero flint mine in Madrid (Figure 10.1.1), dated to the second half of the 6th millennium cal BC (Bueno and Balbín, 2009).

The Can Sadurní figurine, with breasts and light geometric engravings possibly representing clothing, fits in with continental styles, although some Southern Iberian cruciform figurines, naturalistic and in clay, are similar, such as one from La Pijotilla (Martínez *et al.* 2020, Figs. 5 and 17).

An inventory of rectangular plaques with smoothed surfaces and perforations, one or two, in their upper part, reproducing the shape of the Alentejan plaques, has been known since the second half of the last century [9]. The first inventory by Ana Mª Rauret (1965) placed them in the Eneolithic period as evidence of arrivals from the Eastern Mediterranean. It includes pieces from sepulchral caves and megaliths, insisting

on their concentration in megalithic areas reaching the Southeast of France. They have been described as smooth plaques in raw materials from the schist family, although the stones are more varied. Some have geometric decorations, such as the fragment from the Burriac mountain (Rauret, 1965, Illustration I), or the more complete one from the Cova del Bosquet in the Serra de Prades (Vilaseca and Prunera, 1956) - Figure 6.1: 3 - a burial cavity where human bones were found, although they have not been dated. On yellowish limestone from the area, a series of incised wolf's teeth are clearly drawn, which stand out against the white background of the raw material. A possible belt with decorations of short, vertical lines running parallel to each other gives way to other series with the same motif. Its formal relationship with the plaques can be assumed, as with the representations of megalithic statuary where belts are usually part of the clothing (Bueno *et al.* 2005a). The plaque from Cova Negra in Sant Pere de Ribas has a prominent head on a rectangular body on which engravings seem to be visible. J. Tarrús has documented smoothed plaques in Can'Isach, assessing chronologies of the end of the 5th and beginning of the 4th millennium cal BC for these objects, which he proposes to relate to make-up palettes, given that traces of mineral dyes have been detected on some of them, specifically two ochre balls on a plaque from the dolmen of Sothc de la Gardie in the Gard (Bosch, 2010, 32).

The update of the evidence in Southeast France reaffirms the role of smoothed rectangular plaques in megaliths in this area and in Catalonia. Technology and the study of possible remains of pigments in the dolmen of Saint Eugène (Vaquer, 2019) has confirmed that sometimes these plaques (palettes) form sets of more than ten pieces of different sizes and shapes. They are carefully made and show traces of friction work, although it has not been possible to ascertain if the pigment is contemporary.

The totality of plaques suggests a relationship with those from the Southwest, at least in the aforementioned cases with geometric decoration, and it is reasonable to suppose they are related to the plain Southwestern ones that comprise a considerable amount of the information obtained in recent years (Bueno, 2020b).

Another type of piece suggests links with the Southern Iberia. This is the case of the clay piece from the Cova dels Encantats in Serinyá, which is kept in the Museu de Girona. Maluquer interpreted it as a copy of the "artichoke-type" objects with the lower appendage missing. Also from a collective funerary context, its incised engravings are clear.

The peculiar bitriangular [2] of the Timba del Barenys, in Riudoms -Figure 6.1: 1-, was documented in a collective

Figure 6.1.1. Bitriangular, Timba d'En Barenys, Riudoms, Tarragona; - 2. "Idol" from Montmeló, Cal Metge, Barcelona (Bosch, 2010, Illustration III); - 3. Decorated plaque. Cova del Bosquet, Mont-ral, Tarragona. Museu d'Història de Riudoms (1), Museu Municipal de Montmeló (2) and Museu d'Arqueologia Salvador Vilaseca, Reus. (3). Photographs: 1 and 2. J. Bosch (2010). 3. Museu d'Arqueologia Salvador Vilaseca.

burial that took advantage of a pit in this settlement. Two children and a woman had been deposited next to the piece. Perhaps the two children in the tomb are represented by each of the triangular bodies with open arms joined in the central area. The design of the body, the workmanship on bone and the type of carving are

in the range of the pieces from the South, but here C14 places it at the end of the 5th millennium cal BC (Miró 1994: 49). New evidence of the antiquity of the figurines.

Also included among the influencial pieces from the Southeast is the so-called Montmelo idol, Cal Metge -Figure 6.1: 2-. Like the previous one, its chronology is between the 5th and 4th millennium cal BC. Its simple shape could even be coincidental, but its documentation in a pit full of pottery seems a convincing reason to at least assume it is part of the ensemble, even if it is natural.

The small human figures from Catalonia show close links with those from Southeastern France, as might be expected, but also connections with the Southwest and Southeast Iberia. These figurines are few but nonetheless important in understanding the connectivity of the megalithic stelae in the area, also suggesting ancient chronologies of typologies more recently dated in the South.

6.2. The characteristic figuration of the East of the Iberian Peninsula: Southeast and East.

A decade after the presentation of the Pijotilla typology,T. Escoriza proposes in Las Angosturas a standard list - *flat idols in bone* (type I), *oculate idols on long bone* (II) [8], *conical or "horned" idols* (III), *betyl idols* (IV) [12], *hopper idols* (V) [6], *phalange idols* (VI) [7] and *El Garcel idols* (VII) [3] (Escoriza, 1990, 96) - which is very different from that of the site at Badajoz. Much fewer in number, the register is made up of elements that are significant on the Eastern seaboard, presented according to their material and morphology, maintaining previous denominations except in some cases (I and III). The author is a pioneer in restoring the technological approach highlighted by Siret, commenting on the motions necessary for the production of the objects according to their material, lithic, bone, clay or shell (Escoriza, 1990, 96), within the framework of the "social formation" of Los Millares (Escoriza, 1991, 92).

> «With regard to the production techniques used to make these pieces, they are as follows: for idols made on stone, after roughing, sometimes chiselling or hammering is carried out to distinguish parts or to mark notches. Later, most of the pieces are polished and then rubbed with strips of leather or sinew.
> For idols made on bone, the piece has usually been cut and later the surface has been smoothed by rubbing against an abrasive surface.
> The idols made on phalanges, mainly of ovicaprids, cervids, bovids, etc., tend to have smoothed surfaces and in some cases they have been filed. The idols made in clay have simply been modelled by hand and their surfaces are also smoothed. The piece made on shell has simply been cut, although it seems to be unfinished» (Escoriza, 1990, 96).

The *conical idols* [RBD 41] -Figure 6.2.1.1 - in previous bibliography collected as "horn idols" (Spindler, 1971) or "andirons" (López Plaza, 1975), were the subject of a discussion about their characterisation as ideomorphs (Marques, 1994) or as elements of everyday use linked to household activities (Cardoso, 1992). These objects present symbolic decorations, as is also the case with other conical clay media such as the variant of betyls with a *"comporta-type"* face (Almagro, 1973), confirming that symbolic expression reaches everyday objects (Martínez, *et al.* 020, 142-144), as is also proposed for elements such as the loom weight from the Perdigões record -Figure 6.5.2-.

The term "flat idol" includes the tripartite bone versions [25] determined by a pair of notches from the Cueva del Cerro del Greal, Iznalloz (Pellicer, 1957-58, Fig. 5) or from the Cueva de la Carada, Huescar -Figure 6.2.1: 6- as a sample of a record that has been expanding considerably in recent years (Martínez and López, 2020). Others are bipartite in bone, being defined by a single pair of notches like those of the habitat of Gor (Escoriza, 1990, Fig. 2), or lithic, like the "hanging idol" from the settlement of Ciavieja, El Ejido, Almería -Figure 6.2.1-.

It also includes an oculate variant on a thin, elongated bone or ivory sheet that is revealed at Los Millares and Las Angosturas (Escoriza, 1989, 1990 and 1991-92), and then formed a series - "oculates on stone plaque" (Maicas, 2010, 119) [RBD 42 (Maicas, 2010, 119) [RBD 42]- which includes a piece found in the most recent face of the outer wall of the Los Millares settlement (Arribas *et al.* 1981, Fig. 6: d) and four others -Figure 6.2.2- from forts 1 and 5 of the same archaeological area (Molina and Cámara, 2005; Hurtado, 2010, 160). The shape also appears in other habitation sites such as Terrera Ventura, Tabernas (Gusi and Olaria, 1991, Fig. 178.1), Almizaraque (Maicas, 2010, 119) and El Tarajal, Níjar (Martínez and López, 2020, 274), as well as in Martínez Santa Olalla´s private collection (Maicas, 2010, 119). The singularity of an ivory piece found in Los Millares fort 5 (Martínez and López, 2020, 274) stands out for its curved shape and the placing of a perforation near the bottom -Figure 6.2.2: 1. It shares this feature with other elements such as the oculate bone plaque located in the West, in the record of the Fonte Quente settlement, Tomar in Ribatejo -Figure 6.2.2-, this suggests that, if the object was worn, the face that characterises it would be shown upside down. It has been proposed that the location of these specific pieces in a defensive context that is supposedly reserved for men reveals the importance that this type of symbol would have in a group linked to the elite (Martínez and López, 2020, 276).

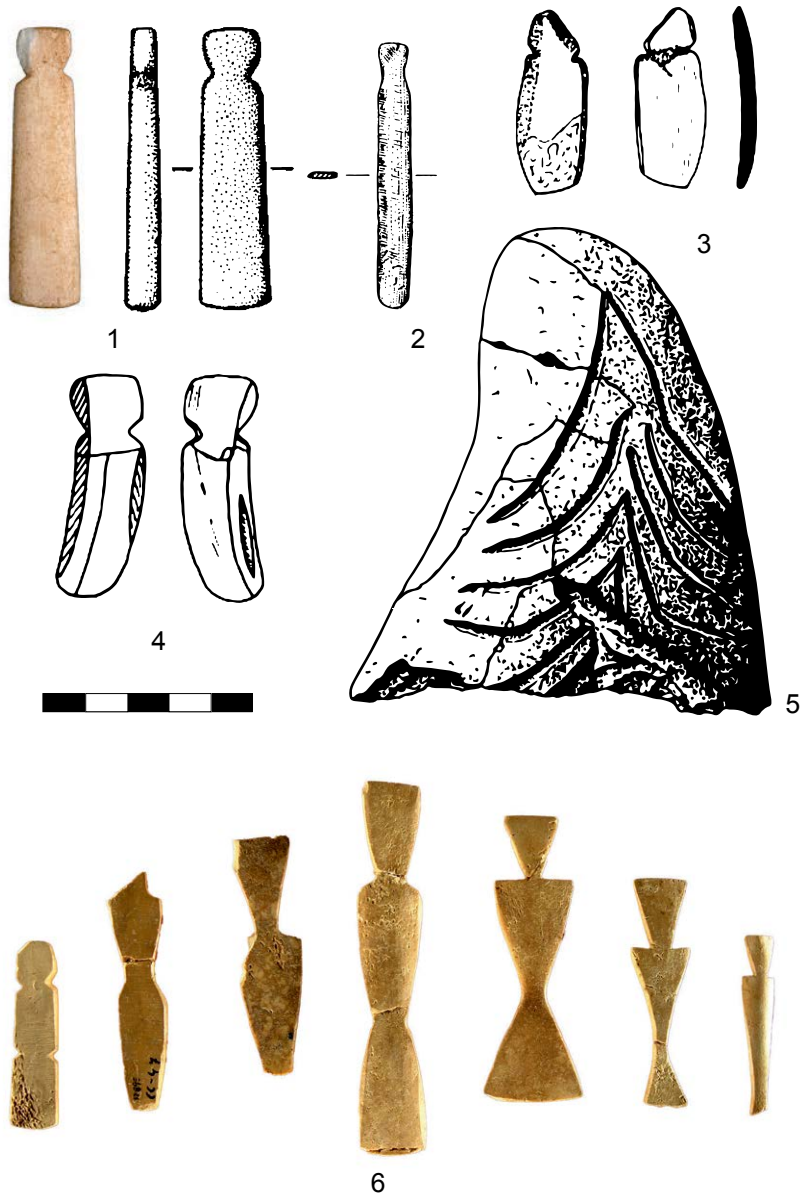


Figure 6.2.1. - 1. 'Hanging idol' from Ciavieja. Stone. El Ejido (Carrillero and Suárez, 1989-90, Figure 9); - 2. 'Hanging idol' from Las Angosturas. Bone. Las Angosturas (Escoriza, 1990, Fig. 2); - 3-4). Anthropomorphic pendants in bone: El Trasvase and El Capitán, Lorca, (Ayala, 1985, Figure 4); - 5. "conical or horned idol" or andiron, Las Angosturas, Gor, (Escoriza, 1991-92, Figure 2). In photo, - 6. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG), flattened tripartite ("tritriangular"), Carada Cave, Granada. Museo de Granada. Photographs. Martínez y López, 2020 and 6. Graphic collection of the IAPH, Photo M.A. Blanco de la Rubia in García et al. 2020.

"The analysis of the evidence recovered from the two phases of fort 1 allows us to propose that specialised work was carried out in salt processing, copper smelting and teaching and learning how to carve flint arrowheads. Therefore, we can agree that these are socio-economic tasks linked to the transmission of knowledge and status, specifically the promotion of elite leaders, in an attempt to legitimise differential access to know-how, the management of strategic raw materials and the production of valuable artefacts. In this framework, the appearance of idols is highly significant because it suggests that these practices were "ritualised" and masked by religious beliefs" (Martínez and López, 2020, 276).

Although some of these elements are made on sheets extracted from long bones, the series differs from those

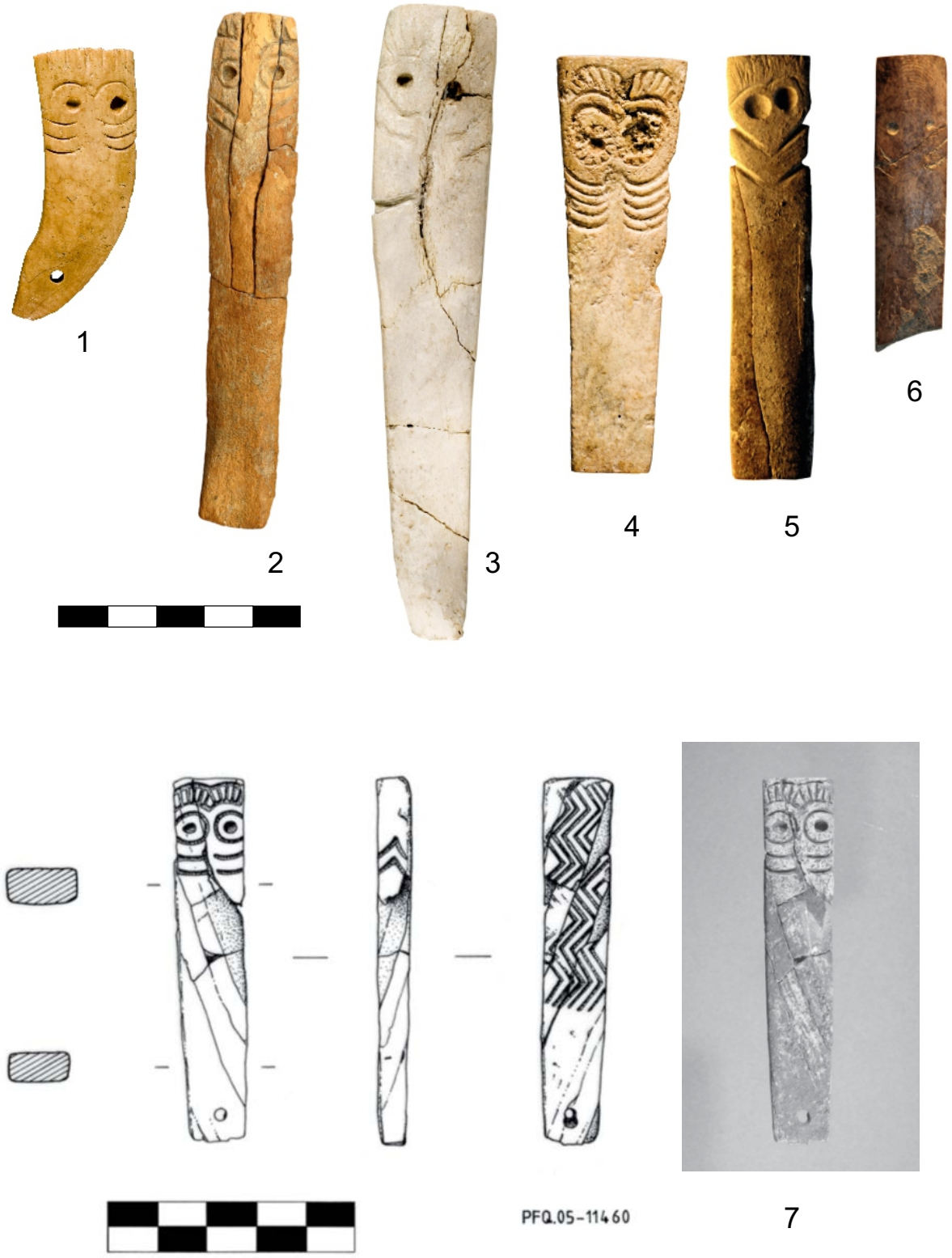


Figure 6.2.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Oculates on bone (1-4 and 7) or ivory (5 and 6) plaques. Flattened rectangular figurines (5-6), trapezoidal (2-4 and 7) and curved (1). - 1-4. Los Millares. Forts 1 and 5; - 5-6. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 7. Fonte Quente, Tomar, Santarem (Salvador and Ferreira, 2008, Figures 2 and 3). Museo de Almería (1-4), Era- Archaeology, Lisbon (5-6). Photographs: Manuel Ramos Lizana, Museo de Almería (1- 4) and 5-6, A.C. Valera 2020.

made with whole bone [8], finding more decorative similarities with the stone cylinders from the Southwest [14] and related flattened pieces [16] (Hurtado, 2008, 6; Maicas, 2010, 119), due to their tattooed face on the front and hair on the back. In Portugal, in addition to Fonte Quente, similar pieces have been documented in Perdigões -Figure 6.2.2-. The presence of these decorations similar to the cylinders towards the Vera river basin has been interpreted as a "frontier" between the long bone productions fully characteristic of the East and those on a bone sheet more in keeping with the Western style (Maicas, 2010, 132).

R. Maicas deals with the ideomorphs, breaking them down according to the organic or inorganic material of their media. With regard to the oculates on long bones [8], and like in the Valencian series (Pascual Benito, 2010), she observes the radius as the main medium in the Siret collection, especially in Almizaraque, with few examples produced on other bones - rib, femur, tibia and perhaps humerus - (Maicas, 2010, 125-129). She interprets it as a characteristic workshop ensemble as it presents whole pieces and raw material (Maicas, 2007), with the exploitation of bones from ovicaprids, cows and horses, pointing out as new some signs of the elimination of engraved decoration, as is the case in some Portuguese plaques. Those with only one epiphysis may have been recipients in the form of cases (Maicas, 2007, 237), in the light of the findings of cylinders with "plugs" from the Orden Seminario de Huelva. In terms of decoration, it follows the tripartite scheme -supra ocular, ocular and infra ocular band- of the study of the idols from El Fontanal de Onil, Alicante (Soler, 1985), to determine that like those from the Valencian Community, the most common motif is infra ocular.

The most characteristic decoration of the Almizaraque group -Figure 6.2.3.3 -, mottled with geometric and linear motifs, is reminiscent of textile production (Jordá and Blázquez, 1978; Maicas, 2010, 128). The repetition of lines framing the eye area suggests, from the study of oculate cave paintings, that they are the expression of faces wearing masks (Ruiz López, 2006, 384). This decorative hallmark points to a group in the Vera basin that is figuratively different from the Millares (Martínez and López, 2020). However, it is not possible to speak of uniformity in the ensemble of eighty long bones found in Eastern Andalusia (Martínez and López, 2020), with examples of simpler decoration being identified in Cuevas del Almanzora, such as those of the *Pastora* del Levante variant (Soler, 2017, 355; Soler, 2020, 309). This variant includes specimens from Murcia (San Nicolás, 1986) and others from Almería such as the one from Las Angosturas (Escoriza, 1989, Fig. 2: 2) or the one from Abrigo de las Nogueras, Santiago de la Espada, Jaén (Martínez and López, 2020, Fig. 3:7) -Figure 10.2.1. Its material and state of preservation make it exceptional; it is one of the two discovered in the habitat of Eras del Alcázar, Úbeda, manufactured on lynx femur (Lizcano *et al.* 2009), with a decoration in which signs of polishing engraving, cutting and painting can be identified, -Figure6.2.6-.

The technological approach is particularly relevant in the case of phalanges [7], offering a new interpretative framework. First of all, their occurrence is modified, suggesting that those bones that do not show any modification should be considered merely as wildlife remains, which should the lower recent counts where this type prevails over the figurative expression (García Pérez *et al.* 2020). Thus, the unmodified phalanges found in a habitational context such as Almizaraque may be pieces collected for later use as ideotechnic artefacts or as handles, as we know from those found in the funerary context of Almizaraque 3 (Maicas, 2010, 121-122), a function also proposed for truncated bi-conical morphologies, referred to as hoppers "tolva" 6].

> «The "hopper" from the Southeast were made of alabaster, limestone, ivory or bone. We believe that, as in the case of the phalanges, they may have different functions and in fact at least two ivory ones from tomb 40 at Los Millares correspond to a handle, probably of a metal awl. This is not the only case taken into account. Other pieces have been considered ideomorphic objects when they can actually be considered part of tools» (Maicas, 2010, 121).

On closer inspection, the decorated phalanges, preferably made on the bones of hunted animals - deer or horses - show the use of the medium in an anatomically inverted position (proximal epiphysis downwards). This results in a stable object, in some cases with an abrasion treatment that could lead us to consider that these objects would find their true meaning when shown standing upright (Maicas, 2020, 295). They are the result of the intention of marking the sex or expressing the face (Maicas, 2010, 123). The pubic triangle appears on specimens from Los Millares, Cueva del Agua, Terrera Ventura or Cabecico de Aguilar de Mojácar.

In the 21st century, oculate, painted and/or engraved phalanges are a minority in the Southeast. To the oculate examples described by Siret -Millares 7, Almizaraque and Hoya de los Castellones -Figure 4.2.4-, we can only add one example in El Olivar (Piñar, Granada) -not very clear- and another in Marroquíes Bajos, with the particularity that the frieze is painted with a black pigment with incised eyes and pupil (Martínez and López, 2020, 270 and Fig. 2.9). With these numbers and in the face of the greater identification of the oculate

a

Figure 6.2.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Oculates on long bones located in Almizaraque, Almería. Museo Arqueológico Nacional. Photographs -a- Siret (1948) and -b- R. Maicas 2020, Figure 8.

phalanges in the West, it is difficult to maintain the proposal that continues to make the Southeast their place of origin (Martínez and López, 2020, 270). The piece from the habitat of El Juncal de Getafe, Madrid, with ochre pigmentation (Martínez Calvo and López Jiménez, 2021), suggests possible extensions of these records in the near future.

Some undecorated phalanges have a groove in their upper part, which quite possibly corresponds to some trace of use (Maicas, 2010, 121). Others, even without decoration, have modifications that may be linked to the intention of making a symbolic object. Natural morphological features are softened or others are intensified and abraded to achieve the "long neck" of some of these pieces, as confirmed by West Perdigões (Valera, 2015), where the abrasive action perforated the bone, revealing the spongy tissue (Maicas, 2020, 295). Others have some mesodistal incision, or have been drilled.

The intense workmanship of these productions gives rise to intermediate types recognised as "hopper-phalange", something already proposed by Siret himself, who considered the truncated bi-conical forms to be imitations of other bones (Siret, 1908, 85-87). The drilling work is highlighted in a specimen from Los Royos de Caravaca de la Cruz, Murcia, whose holes were once interpreted as indicative of the "goddess's costume" (Ayala, 1985, 23 and Illustration I).

In relation to the formal canon for differences in size and the prevalence in the records, the author proposes other possible significance for the undecorated modified phalanges: toys, or amulets as documented in the Inuit (Maicas, 2010, 122). Also considering data from distant geographical areas, it has been proposed that they could be considered as dolls or amulets to stimulate female fertility, valuing the presence in some of them of the triangular motif that is related to the pubis. The holes appearing in the spongy tissue of what has been identified as the pubic area have been associated with the action of inserting hair (Martínez and López, 2020, 271 and Fig. 2:9 and 10). In this sense, the idea of the object as part of a changeable or dynamic figuration is very noteworthy (Maicas, 2020, 295-296). Due to their bi-triangular shape, the phalanges can synthesise the human figure (Soler, 2017: 329-330), or they could form part of a composite anthropomorphic figuration. So, as is the case in cave paintings, to this basic form - represented in the portable artefacts by these bones, the truncated biconical productions [6] or the lithic torso found in Almizaraque [1] - parts are added to complete the human expression: head and extremities.

In contrast to what is observed in the West, lithic productions, with the exception of undecorated betyls [12], are few in the area, recovering the "stone statues" [5] proposed by Siret, emphasising that one of these artefacts - 6.7 cm long - made of grey alabaster with a conical shape and a groove to separate the head presents, with some doubts, the face with small eyes and another one the characteristic tattoo lines (Maicas, 2010, 117-118) -Figure 6.2.4: 3-. There is no comment on the upper embossment, which divides the head in this type of production -Figure 6.2.4: 2- and which, at least in the oculate one, could suggest the hair. However, this groove opens the door to the possibility that we are dealing with phallic representations, which is more evident in the "more rudimentary" Bronze Age artefacts (Siret and Siret, 1890: Lam. 14, 18, 23, 34) that the author comments on, as well as the Portuguese parallels which, as we have already seen, are explicitly included as part of the betyls (Almagro, 1973).

Other authors have referred to these figurines as a variant of "schematic anthropomorphic figures", forming a group of pieces with a transversal groove, considering objects separated in two parts like those mentioned above, or in three as in the case of the alabaster piece located without archaeological context in Cerro de la Chichillla, Rioja, Almería (Martínez and López, 2020, 277) [RBD 43] - Figure6.2.4: 4-.

Research by R. Maicas confirms the importance of the Almizaraque sculpture [1] by recovering a second unpublished one from the collections of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional -Figure 6.2.4: 5-. They show the body down to the waist, which leads her to suggest that they could be combined with other pieces like the Malagón anthropomorph [28] (Maicas, 2020, 294). She also discusses as ideomorphs other stone artefacts from Siret's list, such as the figurines of the "El Garcel type" [3] -Figure 6.2.4: 1-. There is careful manufacture in only one case -the one that Siret reproduces in the centre of his illustration 30 of *La España Prehistórica* (Siret, 1891) -, the rest of the prodution included in the type -located in Almizaraque, El Arteal or Llano del Jautón (Almagro, 1973)- are heterogeneous, without ruling out that they had a practical and not an ideotechnical use (Maicas, 2020, 293; Martínez and López, 2020, 265).

In the inventory of symbolic representations from Eastern Andalusia (Martínez and López, 2020), the limestone cut-out plaque pendant -58 mm long- stands out. - from Cortijo del Canal, Albolote, Granada [9].

-Figure 5.3.2- with shoulders and a perforated triangular head, the eyes, barely visible, marked with a shallow incision (Navarrete *et al.* 1999-2000, Fig. 12). It is a benchmark of the extent of Western influence, as is the anthropomorphic head sculpted in stone from Los Millares fort 1 -Figure 5.3.2-. Its presence situates the easternmost location of the so-called "anthropomorphic idols" [28] (Hurtado, 2008, Illustration IV).

Figure 6.2.4. Lithic pieces from Almeria: possible lithic ideomorphic object (FX) -1-, geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone -2-4 and 6- and human figure (FH). -5-. - 1. Unworked oval stone with narrowing in the middle ("El Garcel idol"); - 2-3. Truncated conical with transversal groove, Almizaraque; - 4. Volumetric tripartite. Cerro de la Chinchilla; - 6. Flattened tripartite ("tritriangular"), oculate and with suggestion of sex, El Tarajal; - 5. Upright human figure, partial, Almizaraque. Museo Arqueológico Nacional (1-3 and 5). Photographs Archivo MAN - Ángel Martínez Levas (1-3 and 5); 4 and 6 Martínez y López, 2020.

Of a different nature, the truncated biconical pieces [6] play a prominent role in the Millares, and can be seen in other Almeria sites such as Rambla de las Pocicas -Figure 11.2.1 and 12.3.2.2. With a differentiated metric range of 1.4 and 10.3 cm, they are made of stone, predominantly alabaster, bone, ivory and even shell and clay. Of the ivory ones, the Asian origin of one specimen analysed is recalled (Schumacher and Banerjee, 2012: 292), which gives them added value. As in the case of the phalanges, not all of these artefacts are ideo-technic elements, but rather part of objects, such as handles, which would explain the longitudinal perforation of some specimens. As for the colouring, it is interesting to note the honey-coloured primer or coating that can be found on some of these pieces, probably to emulate some other more difficult to obtain material, such as ivory, or skin colour in the case of white stone artefacts (Maicas, 2020, 293).

Due to their number, nearly seventy, and their variety, it is proposed that they originated in the Southeast (Martínez and López, 2020, 272). However, they are also to be found on the Atlantic seaboard, and are present in the ensemble of ideomorphs from the Orden Seminario (Vera *et al.* 2010) or the Pêra, Faro ensemble -Figure 4.3.3- the name of which is given to these very productions in Portugal, where the technical quality of the undecorated alabaster type is quite remarkable (Cardoso, 2002).

Colouring is a feature to be taken into account in the whole figurative ensemble, not only in terms of pigment losses but also due to the difference of raw material within the same set, as is pointed out in the case of the equal sample of flattened stone figures [4] from burial 3 at Los Churuletas, Purchena, where the same number of pieces produced in grey schist and in marble or white limestone are recorded (Maicas, 2020, 297).

The flattened stone pieces that Siret related to adzes [4] are separated from the bone pieces manufactured on bone sheet [25] according to their material, production and regional location (Soler, 2017, 310). Following this

criterion, the term "Almerian" is chosen, as proposed by Breuil, to circumscribe the lithics linked to the *Rundgräber* type burials published by the Leisners (1943) made of limestone and schist and, to a lesser extent, marble, alabaster and talc (Martínez and López, 2020, 267).

Of varying size, 3-13 cm (Maicas, 2020: 292), they present a huge variety of shapes that suggests different attitudes, including orants (Escacena, 2011-12; Martínez, 2016), taking as prototypical that of Tíjola (Escacena and Flores, 2019, 121) -Figure 4.3.4- and others with the same condition -Figure 11.2.1: 8-, an ivitation to identify them with shamans (Martínez and López, 2020, 269), without ruling out gender differences, taking into account the proposal that values the different shapes of the proximal area -triangular, rectangular, oblong or circular- (Figure 4.3.5). In view of this varied morphology, its significance could offer a broader interpretative picture than that of prayer. The size of the head in relation to the rest and the position of the arms, deduced or interpreted when not expressed, because the orientation of the objects is not always certain (Maicas, 2020, 291), may be due to the intention of conveying attitudes: of authority, magical or totemic, of gestural communication or serenity (Soler, 2017, 310), and even of dance, a common attitude in pieces of the same type painted in the open air. Some circular based figures, such as the one from Barranco de Jocalla -Figure 4.3.5- or the one attributed to Blanquizáres de Lébor -Figure 12.1.3- could represent pregnancy, and when the expression has more than one pair of arms, such as the one from Llano de la Lámpara I -Figure 4.3.4- it could possibly signify a link between different identities (Soler, 2017, 310), as has been proposed for the branch-shaped figures in parietal art.

Another issue is to consider that the position of the arms allows for their temporary stylistic arrangement (Martínez and López, 2020, 267), which seems difficult, taking into account their link to tombs of the so-called *Almería culture* (Acosta and Cruz, 1981), of probable successive burial, excavated and with many difficulties in the study of their precise contexts.

On the other hand, the staging of polished artefacts deposited in the West (Bueno, 2010), adds different reasons for evaluating axes as ritual objects (Martínez and López, 2020, 267). In one case, these hypotheses fit into the generalised absorption of anthropomorphic contents by everyday objects as another mode of agency (Bueno, 2020b), on the other hand the use of cult objects would increase religious evidence that is difficult to contrast.

A piece found in a patch of ashes exhumed during a land development carried out by tractors at the site of the Barranquete settlement (Martínez Muñoz, 1987) is added to the list of gynecomorphic expressions. In later publications, this piece is cited as being from Tarajal (Martínez and López, 2020). It is a tritriangular flat slate [RBD 44] - Figure 6.2.4 - with incised pubic triangle, as well as two parallel lines to mark the waist and neck. The "eyes" are marked by perforations. The large, semicircular shape of the head and the indication of the pubic triangle are features that distinguish it from other flattened tripartite expressions [4] [25].

The assertion of the sex in this case leads to the idea that not all of them are in themselves feminine. However, the position of the pubis, which is low for this morphology, is striking. Its position at the very bottom is consistent with that observed in the clay one from Vila Nova de São Pedro [30] (Figure 4.4.2:2) and that of the phalanges [7], suggesting that they represent a part of a figure and not its whole.

So far, none of the lithic artefacts described have been found in the East. A boundary has been traced in the Region of Murcia for the spread of megalithic constructions with a more diversified register than that of the Valencian Community, they includes pieces already referred to in this section and others that endorse the peculiarity of an area that is a frontier. In a recent summary (Soler, 2020b), the oculate figurine from the Cueva Sagrada de Lorca stands out in this inventory of peculiar objects, unique [RBD 45] -Figure 6.2.6-, due to its shape and its raw material, wood. With a flattened section, it is a small, fractured piece , 4 cm long, which makes it impossible to reconstruct its morphology with certainty. The preserved piece has a pseudo-rectangular silhouette, biconcave on its larger sides and probably biconvex on the smaller ones. The shape is reminiscent of *sandal-shaped* pieces [27] - although here the contacts between the larger sides and the smaller preserved side end in a point - and also in the pyrography decoration with a sharp tool on one side only. There are sun eyes and below them is a frieze of geometric motifs – lozenges crossed by vertical lines - over the entire surface (Ayala, 1987, 18 and Fig. 2A). Its discovery in a careful context of the individual grave goods of a young male attests to the importance of the symbol, unfortunately found in an irregular excavation.

Other unique examples are those with painted anthropomorphic oculate motifs, without any formal modification to the medium [RBD 46], a series recognised in the stone -Figure 6.2.6- and the scapula found in the settlement of Huerta de San Vicente de Lorca (Sánchez *et al.* 2006, 515 and Figs. 6 and 7). Both are found in direct contact with a grave burial.

As for lithics, it has been questioned whether the piece from Totana (Figure 12.1.3) really belongs to

Figure 6.2.5. Above: - 2. Tracing not to scale of the panel from Las Viñas, Alange, Badajoz (Martínez, 2002), with bitriangular and tritriangular anthropomorphic motifs, highlighting in red the pair of central figures. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG), flat, tripartite ("tritriangular") in bone: - 1. Terrera Ventura, Almería; - 3. Ereta del Pedregal, Navarrés, Valencia; - 4. Necropolis of Carenque - Gruta I, Amadora; - 5. Praia da Samarra, Sintra; - 6. Cueva del Castillejo del Bonete, Terrinches, Ciudad Real; - 7. Los Castillejos, Montefrio, Granada; - 8. Abrigo de Cerro Ortega, Villanueva de la Fuente, Ciudad Real; - 9. Abrigo del Tobar, Létur, Albacete; - 10. Les Jovades, Cocentaina, Alicante; 11. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Museo de Almería (1), Museo de Prehistoria Valencia (3), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (4-5); Museo de Ciudad Real (6 and 8); Museo de Albacete (9); MARQ, Alicante (10) and Era-Arqueologia, Lisbon (11). Images: Museums (3), José Manuel Sáiz (1 and 10), ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (4-5), 7: M. Altamirano 2014, Figure 16; 6 and 8: L. Benítez de Lugo, 2019, Figure 10 and 12; G. García Atiénzar (9) and A.C. Valera (11).

the Blanquizares ensemble, and the possibility that it comes from a site in Almería has been considered (Soler, 2020b).

area, the works of J.Ll. Pascual (1998, 2010) are a reference. He includes in the group of idols or "anthropomorphic figurations made of very diverse materials that represent the human body or part of it with a considerable degree of schematism", pointing out that they offer neither the abundance nor the variety of other regions. He considers seven groups: *oculate idols on long bones* (A) [8], *flat idols with lateral* recesses (B) [25], bi-lobed *idols of natural stone* (C) [17], *anchor-shaped idol* (D) [26], *partial anthropomorphic idol of Pastora* (E), *trapezoidal stone plaque idols* (F) *and Cendres plaque* (G) (Pascual, 1998, 179).

In stone, the list includes elements whose anthropomorphic character is doubtful. Not classified as an "idol", the one from the Cova de les Cendres, Teulada, is a *unicum* linked to the Ancient Neolithic, which, because it is fragmented, has a triangular morphology. We have already commented on the plain plaques in the section on the Northeast, and it cannot be ruled out that some, like the one from Pastora, were a palette for the manipulation of ochre (Llobregat, 1962) - Figure 11.1.2-.

Acknowleged as a "partial anthropomorph" [RBD 47] -Figure 12.1.4 - an object that was interpreted as a pendant (Pericot, 1951; Soler, 2002, 343) was recovered, placing more value on the perforation that characterises the piece found in the Cova de la Pastora in Alcoy in reddish stone. This unique piece was identified decades ago as a "partial female expression" (Ballester, 1949, 61) with an Egyptian parallel (Pericot, 1951). Its striking proximity to some Upper Palaeolithic pieces is a factor we cannot fail to mention. Like the anthropomorphic figurine from Almizaraque [1], it depicts the body from the waist downwards, with no indication of the feet. The reproduction of the legs pointed in an inverted "V" and their colouring are features that, in portable items, are only consistent with the anthropomorphic ceramic figures from Valencina de la Concepción, Seville (Soler, 2017, Fig. 7.18) discussed below - Figure 7.2.

The bone artefacts refer to the main types of the area, where there are no lack of parallels in rock art for the "anchor-shape" characterisation, which has not increased since its mention in the Cova de La Barcella de Torremanzanas -Figure 11.2.1- and the Blanquizares de Lébor de Totana -Figure 12.1.4-. J.Ll. Pascual gives morphotechnical entity to the "flat idols with lateral notches", developing a variety of shapes-one pair (type I) or two pairs (type II) of notches- (Pascual Benito, 1998, 190).

The pieces with a single pair of notches located at one end (Ia) or in the centre (Ib) correspond to a smaller and more diversified shape pattern. Some of them, such as those found in different sites in Lorca -El Chorrillo, El Capitán or El Trasvase (Ayala, 1984-1985 and 1985) -Figure 6.2.1-, or the shell from Les Jovades, Cocentaina (Pascual, 1998, Fig. III.195: 1), are less similar to anthropomorphic representations (Soler, 2020b), and could be included in the scope of decorative elements, being considered as pendants.

Those with two pairs of "notches" make up a group known by others as "violin or flat" (Soler, 2002; Barciela and Hernández, 2015), very present in funerary contexts in the provinces of Valencia, Alicante and the Region of Murcia (Soler, 2017 and 2020b), which qualifies the original concept of tritriangularity [25]. On closer inspection, almost all the pieces with two pairs of notches have a triangular head and the body expressed by a pair of rectangles (IIa) or a pair of converging triangles (IIb), with a third variant of elongated and narrow pieces (IIc) where the head is not always expressed -Figure 6.2.5: 1 and 3.

As we have seen, all these dressed figurines -Figure 4.3.5- were catalogued as feminine (Breuil, 1935), "icons of the Great Goddess" (Llobregat, 1966, 86), now from the analysis of the shapes we can glimpse the possibility, never explicit, of establishing gender differentiations. Taking into consideration two figurines from the Cova d'En Pardo, Planes -Figure 12.1.4- and the cave paintings from the Penya de l'Ermita del Vicari, Altea -Figure 1.2.1-, it has been suggested that the more elongated and stylised pieces with a slight narrowing of the body could be male figurines, while those with a slightly wider proportion and more accentuated hips are female (Barciela and Molina, 2015, 69). The male bodies would be more rectangular, as detailed on the anthropomorphic figuration of the same rock panel (Barciela and Molina, 2015, 73) or in the couple identified in the centre of the tracings of the Abrigo Grande del Cerro de las Viñas de Alange (Acosta, 1968, Figs. 7: 9 and 10) -Figure 6.2.5-.

Although their conceptual relationship with the Almerian lithics [4] is undeniable, the proposal that the bone artefacts derived from them, originating in the Southeast (Martínez and López, 2020, 269) is difficult to prove with the data we have, given the geographical extent and the ancient chronologies in the Southwest and East (Soler, 2020b).

The oculates on long bones [8] (Figure 6.2.6) are confirmed as the majority figuration in the Valencian Community (Pascual, 1998, 2010; Soler, 1985, 2002, 2017), where a well-defined variant -*Pastora* (Soler, 1985)- is almost exclusive and extends throughout the

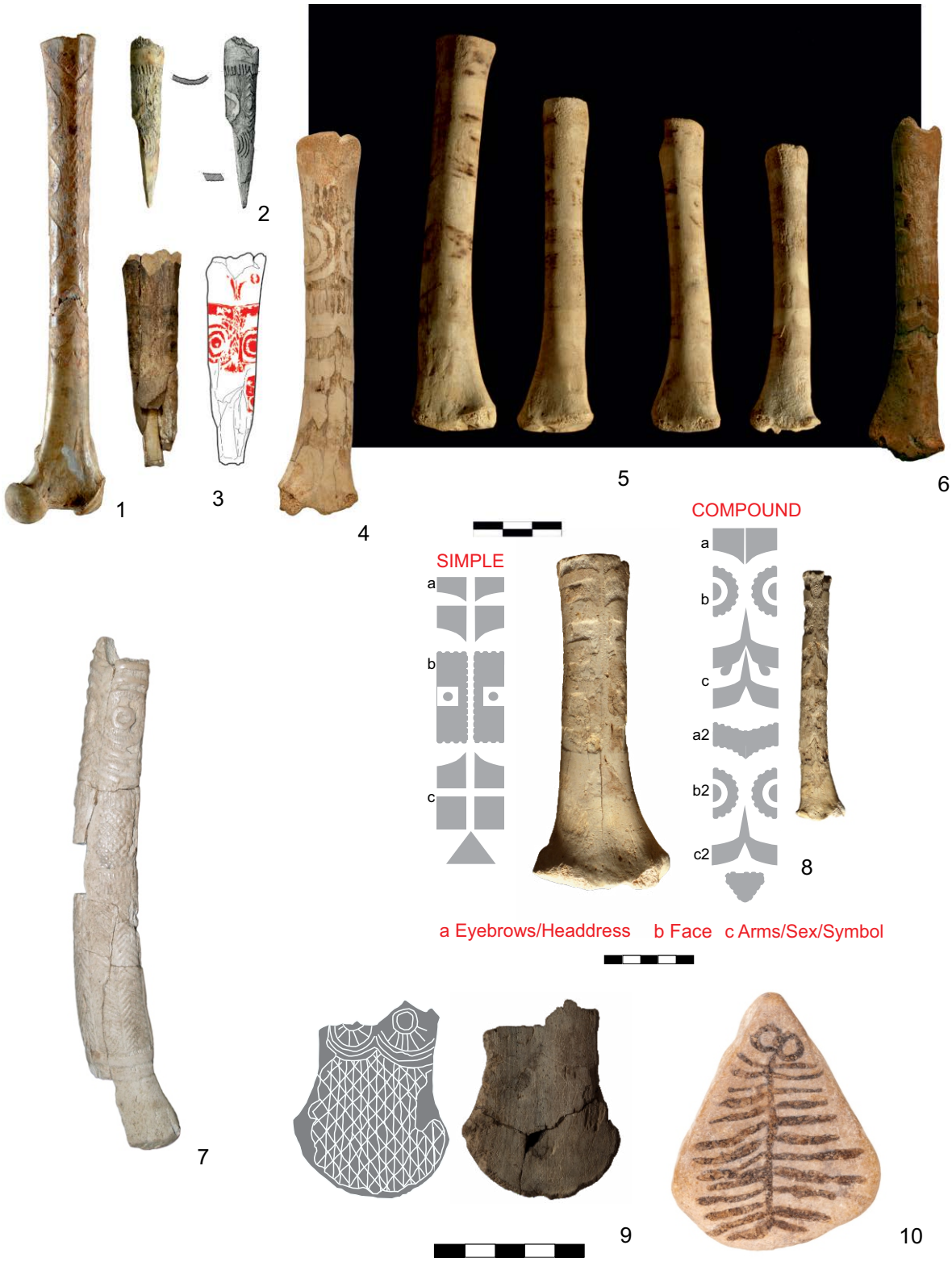


Figure 6.2.6. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -1-9- and ideomorphic object (FX) -10-. Oculates on long bones from Alicante, Murcia, Madrid and Jaén: - 1. Eras del Alcázar, Úbeda; - 2. Fuente La Mora, Leganés; -3. Cova del Penyó, Xaló; -4. Cova de Bolumini, Alfafara; - 5. El Fontanal, Onil; - 6. Avenc dels dos Forats, Carcaixent; - 7. Los Royos, Caravaca de la Cruz (horn); - 8. Decorative diagrams of two oculates from the Cova de La Pastora, Alcoy (Soler, 2017 and images of two of them); - 9. Wooden oculate, on bipartite flat figure, Cueva Sagrada, Murcia; - 10. Stone with painted anthropomorphic figure, Glorieta de San Vicente. Lorca. 2. Museo Arqueológico Regional, Madrid; 3. Museu Arqueològic i Etnogràfic, Soler Blasco, Xàbia; 4. Museu Arqueològic Camil Visedo, Alcoi; 5. MARQ, Alicante; 6 & 8. Museo de Prehistoria, Valencia. Photographs: 1. F. Nocete and R. Lizcano; 2. M.A. Núñez; 4. Museo de Alcoy; 5. MARQ; 6. J. Ll. Pascual; 9. Museo de Lorca and 7 and 10. José Manuel Sáiz.

Region of Murcia (San Nicolás del Toro, 1986) and, as mentioned above, Almería and Jaén.

Their increase is noted in habitats and above all in funerary ensembles, with a trickle of publications of finds (Pascual, 2010, 81-86). Their distribution does not go beyond the Júcar river, with the exception of two pieces located in the Cueva de las Mulatillas, Villagordo del Cabriel (Molina and Pedraz, 2000), which should be reviewed. Finds include 25 pieces very close to the main group of the Cova de la Pastora (Figures. 4.4.1 and 6.2.6) and 14 pieces in the same region of Alcoià, El Fontanal de Onil (Soler, 1985) -Figure 6.2.6-. Other information has been recovered from the La Marina area as a result of illegal excavations carried out in the 1990s in a huge number of archaeological sites (Soler, 2017b). They have been located in six caves, the Cova del Barranc del Cáfer, Pedreguer and Cova del Penyó de Xaló stand out, with 10 and 8 pieces respectively (Soler, 2017) - Figs. 6.2.6, 10.2.2 and 15.2.2.2.

The technological approach reveals that they are mostly made on ovicaprid radii, therefore they constitute a group originating more from livestock than from hunting, many of them having the distal epiphysis cut out (Pascual, 2010, 92). Hunting is not ruled out, as there are some artefacts on Pyrenean goat bones, which is in line with the identification of equid bones in the Almizaraque series (Maicas, 2010).

The identification of signs of cordage in a specimen from the Cova del Barranc del Càfer in Pedreguer (Benito, 2017, 372) -Figure 10.2.2-supports the portability of these figurines. Its position at the proximal end indicates that the motif would be inversely displayed a feature already noted in the piece on the bone sheet from Los Millares fort 5 [42] -Figure 6.2.2.2.

The motifs are made by applying a reddish pigment, identified in a sample from El Fontanal as a mixture of clay and ochre, potassium aluminium silicates and hydrated iron hydroxyl (Spain, 1985). They are simple creations -with a single pair of eyes- and other composite ones -with two pairs of eyes- (Bernabeu, 1981), although it had been thought that a single piece showed the eyes and the breasts (Jordá and Blázquez, 1978, 121). The identification of three pairs of eyes in Barranc de la Parra 5 from Pedreguer, in a specimen from the Almizaraque series and in the piece on feline bone from Alcázar de las Eras, Úbeda (Soler, 2017, Figs. 7.28: 18 and 13; 7.39: 14), opens the way to the concept that more than one identity can be located on a single piece.

The decorative syntax established from the El Fontanal series (Soler, 1985) reveals differences that could be conceptual in the Pastora variant, with pieces that have the facial area entirely painted in the manner of a facial mask, often fringed, detailing the sockets using an absence of pigment technique; and those that have no eye expression, resorting to a half ring or semicircle for its representation -Figure 6.2.6: 8 and 11.2.2.2-. In the supraocular area, headdresses are identified and in the infraocular area, bands that express tattoos or arms and other base motifs that are an indication of the unique nature of what each bone represents (Soler, 2017, 347- 352). On the other hand, the similarity between elements that make up a single series, such as those of El Fontanal de Onil or Pastora de Alcoy, places value on the synchronous production of these figurines by a few hands, making it easier to understand their presence as of a sign of deposition, something that is of great relevance in order to understand their disposition in cavities long used for diachronic burials (Soler, 2017, 358-359).

No more examples have been added to the oculate variant with two pairs of eyes found in the Ereta del Pedregal de Navarrés -Figure 4.4.1- which, due to its affinity with the most characteristic one from the Almería settlement, is classified as the *Almizaraque Type* (Soler, 1985). With the former, the mottled decoration of geometric motifs is only identified to the north of Almería in the piece from Los Royos, Caravaca de la Cruz (Ayala, 1981), made like the one from La Ereta on a deer antler -Figure 6.2.6-.

The dispersion of this type of long bone oculates and their variants, more than with Los Millares, indicates close contact between the Vera river basin and the lands of Murcia, Alicante and Valencia. The concept expressed by these and the flattened pieces in bone [25] is found to be spread inland according to the development of the research, as can be seen in the series of oculates on long bones from the Cueva de Juan Barbero de Tielmes, Madrid (Martínez Navarrete, 1984) -Figure 10.2.3- or the tritriangulars cut out on sheets at sites in Terrinches, Ciudad Real -Cueva del Castillejo de Bonete and Abrigo de Cerro Ortega (Benítez de Lugo, 2018)- and Letur, Albacete -Abrigo del Tobar (García Atiénzar, 2010) -Figs. 6.2.5 and 11.2.1-. This dispersion makes it easier to understand the significant disposition of the oculates on long bone [8] in Extremadura and of the flat tritriangulars on bone [25] in Portugal, where they are acknowedged as "Almerian" (Monteiro *et al.* 1967), in the 21st century their localisation in Perdigões stands out -Figure 6. 2.5-.

6.3. Plaques and "tritriangulars" in Western Iberia

Decorated plaques are the main expression of figurines in the Southwest in general and in the Alentejo in particular. Their presence or absence, their shapes and decorations have been the basis of diverse typologies and interpretations, which in the second half of the 20th century began to highlight social and identity

information and links between supposedly distant typologies.

Since the proposals of Horta and Bubner (1977, 114) these expressions are integrated as an identifying element of the Southwestern megalithic culture, accepting the Leisners´ assessment based on the materials from Reguengos de Monsaraz. In this phase of the research two aspects characterised the decorated plaques: an extended geometry tending towards the trapezoid/rectangle and a chronological sequence that would place the most sculptural ones in the final phase of these expressions (Leisner and Leisner, 1951).

In the 1990's, P. Bueno's typology established an interpretation of provenance / link with specific territories of the Alentejo, based on their geometry and decoration of the pieces (Bueno, 1988, 1992). Some of the previous proposals are then synthesised, proposing observations such as the height of the specimens, the existence of workshops and organised distribution in order to approach a more social view of these productions. Their synchrony and the presence of similar decorative patterns in geometric shapes and different raw materials, makes shape and colour the identifying elements of these pieces (Bueno, 2010). Last but not least, an approach to their meanings cannot be made without considering the contexts that offer richer elements of analysis than the predominant idea since the Leisners: that each plaque was associated with a corpse.

Classification of Decorated Plaques (P. Bueno 1992) -Figure 6.3.1-

Leaving aside the crooks, Bueno (1992) organises the ensemble into two main groups: A Anthropomorphic plaques and B Trapezoidal plaques. Contrary to what previous authors had suggested, we should not look for an evolution from the abstract (type B) to the sculptural (type A) or vice versa, but rather the coexistence of both expressions. Being contemporary, the lesser presence of sculptural works in the register can be attributed to their very specific location between Crato-Nisa and Portalegre.

Coarser quartzite pieces are added (Bueno, 2010, 48-50), like some pieces from the Southeast and, above all, like the records on quartzite and similar stones from the Northern Iberia. The documentation of this types of pieces in the open areas of the megaliths adds another link between them, revealing visible positions of sculptural images that may have functioned as ancestor exhibits.

Their presence beyond the Alentejo supports the capacity for connectivity not only to Andalusia and the Southeast, but also to the North. Production through

A. Anthropomorphic plaques:

1. With cut-out or engraved head and shoulders, undecorated.
2. With cut-out head and shoulders or engraved with geometric decoration.
3. With cut-out or engraved head and shoulders and human physical attributes.
4. With cut-out or engraved head, shoulders and arms, undecorated.
5. With cut out or engraved head, shoulders and arms with geometric decoration.
6. With cut out or engraved head, shoulders and arms and human physical attributes.

B. Plaques with trapezoidal silhouette

1. Plain
2. With the eyeball pointed out.
3. With a reserved area and geometric decoration.
4. With a prominent head and geometric decoration of horizontal bands filled with triangles with geometric latticework.
5. With the head area prominent and bands filled with wolf's teeth.
6. With the head area prominent and bands filled with horizontal bands of geometric latticework.
7. With the head area prominent head and vertical bands filled with triangles with geometric latticework.
8. With the head area prominent and vertical bands filled with wolf's teeth.
9. With the head area prominent and bands filled with geometric latticework.
10. With the head area prominent and checkerboard decoration.
11. With the head area not prominent and geometric decoration of horizontal bands filled with triangle with geometric latticework.
12. With the head not prominent and geometric decoration of horizontal bands filled with wolf's teeth.
13. With the head area not prominent and horizontal bands filled with geometric latticework.
14. With the head area not prominent and vertical bands filled with triangles with geometric latticework.
15. With the head area not prominent and vertical bands filled with wolf's teeth.
16. With the head area not prominent and vertical bands filled with geometric latticework.
17. With the head not prominent and checkerboard geometric decoration.

Figure 6.3.1. Above. Typology of decorated plaques from the Alentejo (Bueno, 1992). Below, geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Simple trapezoidal plaques with incised decoration (1) and incised, bas-relief and painted decoration (2 and 3). In 2 the arms are convergent; in two (2 and 3) the eyes coincide with the perforations, expressing eyebrows and nose. - 1. Lapa da Galinha, Alcanena, Santarém; - 2 and 3. Dolmen of Trincones, Cáceres. Museu Nacional de Arqueología (1) and Museo Arqueológico de Cáceres (2-3). Photographs: ADF/DGPC - José Paulo Ruas (1) and R. de Balbín (2 and 3).

workshops with a local or regional scope (Bueno, 1992, 577 and 596) has been confirmed by subsequent research (Calado, 2006; Lillios, 2020, 193; Gonçalves, 2021, 155). This hypothesis proposed a craftsmanship with specialists in production and distribution and the determination of user groups on the road to social inequality.

> «I have tried to explain the differences observed in the decoration which, in general, has been considered as a chronological argument. The diversity is based on the more explicit (almost sculptural) or more symbolic -almost abstract- figuration of the human being. In their iconography, we can recognise a series of compositional rules that indicate the need to characterise the figure, either through specific attitudes: arms and hands in front of the body, or through specific decorations: profusion of necklaces, or with clothing whose figuration is characterised by more geometric models.
> In other words, we are dealing with anthropomorphic figurations that follow a rule, despite their variety, and it is this rule that allows us to speak of standardised representations and, in this sense, of a single general intention, applicable to both the most sculptural and the most abstract forms» (Bueno, 1992, 596).

Their features should be related to other anthropomorphic expressions such as the stelae and menhir statues, recovering the idea of parallelism between the plaques and the stela of Peña Tú, Vidiago, Llanes (Bueno and Fernández Miranda, 1980); or that of Tabuyo del Monte de León (Almagro Basch, 1972), similar in the contour of the engraving to that of Crato -Figure 4.3.1-, or to the group of menhirs of the Sejos hill, in Cantabria (Bueno *et al.* 1985); monumental elements which, like the Alentejan plaques, show an iconography in which geometric decorations stand out (Bueno *et al.* 2010). Similarly, based on what is observed in Peña Tú, it is suggested that some plaques were painted, such as the one from Mamaltar de Vale das Fachas, Viseu (Bueno, 1992, Fig. 27) something that has more recently been confirmed in other cases (Bueno *et al.* 2019b).

The similarity of all these elements that evoke the human extends the geography of the concept, so the plaques leave their mark beyond their original territory. On the other hand, the funerary aspect of the portable repertoire accounts for the close relationship of anthropomorphic representations with burial rituals, arguing that the plaques are a veritable sign of identity of the megalithic phenomenon in the Alentejo (Bueno, 2020b).

The research process connects the chronological framework of the plaques with the diachrony of Iberian megalithism, from its beginnings in the 5th/4th millennium cal BC, although as with other symbolic elements with Neolithic roots, its peak in the late 4th and early 3rd millennium cal BC is clear (Bueno, 2010, 39). The plaques could have taken on different meanings such as identity, heritage, gender, age, or status; or, as some recent data suggests, be transformed over the time of their use. Not only is the variety of contexts a fact, but some specimens were re-engraved, used fractured and in a different position within the different areas of the megaliths and even between megaliths from the same necropolis or from other necropolises, as has also been observed in the anthropomorphic pieces from the Northwest Iberian Peninsula (Bueno, 2020b, 203-204).

The social expression to which their faces can refer is mythical because it evokes outstanding characters that endure in the oral narrative maintained by the community, showing its strength with its link to the star (Bueno, 2010: 40-41). This does not mean that human evocation is not extensive. The sets of plaques are conceived as repositories of memories of ancestors with different identifications according to gender and age.

> «The plaques have been interpreted as references to the Mother Goddess, especially in cases where the presence of "sun-eyes" has been documented (Andrade, 2015: 1546). Nowadays, the anthropomorphic images on different media, and in different contexts of Iberian and European Recent Prehistory, suggest multifunctional meanings. It should be added that the gathering of pieces in different sizes points to possible gender and age differences, as proposed in other records of Iberian and European figurines (Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2010b; Valera, 2015; Heyd, 2007). This is not to deny the presence of female figures, but to value the presence of male figures, as well as the role of characters of different ages: young people, children and adults. This interpretation is more in keeping with the displays of families, lineages and ancestors that seem to emerge from their repeated documentation in ensembles» (Bueno, 2020b, 213-214).

The data obtained from archaeological excavations in funerary contexts allows us to consider a double purpose of this type of object: "amulet-plaques" and "stele-plaques". The former are those that are linked to individuals, pointing to the equation one plaque / one deceased person already articulated by G. and V. Leisner (1951) at its peak in the first half of the 3rd millennium BC (Bueno, 2010, 55). The plaques also played the role of visible stelae associated with deposits that, in addition to other plaques, included objects. Most notably,

polished objects. The study of deposits is an advance of the research of the second decade of the 20th century, which alerts us to the multiple causes that can justify the appearance of these *items* in funerary contexts, in view of the different gestures and forms of deposits in the long history of the funerary function of the monuments that host them (Bueno, 2020b, 208).

> "We can assure the production of complex ritual gestures that include the symbolic syncretism between the weapon or object of work - the axe - and the anthropomorphic images. In the same way that the close connection between dagger forms and human images has been confirmed in European prehistory" (Bueno, 2010, 61).

The deposits show an evident prominence of sculptural plaques and quartzite forms that may have been painted. They have been documented at the entrance to the chamber or monument, forming a collective offering that may have been delimited by clay walls, or placed on clay or wooden "altars", if we take into account their obvious order and grouping. Their association with polished objects reveals funerary practices recorded in Western Europe, more concretely in the Iberian Peninsula with the joint deposit of this type of tools (axes, adzes, chisels...) and sculptural plaques, as documented in the Anta da Horta, Alter do Chão, Portalegre (Oliveira, 2006) -Figs. 11.4.2 and 14.2.1- and in the dolmen of Trincones I, Alcántara (Bueno *et al.* 2007b) -Figures. 6.4.2 and 14.2.1, 2007b) -Figures. 6.3.1: 2-3; 11.4.2-, enhancing the ritual sense of the monuments, reinforced by the motifs engraved and painted on the orthostats, as in the case of the sun eyes identified in Trincones I (Bueno, 2010, 55-61).

They are interpreted within a broad spectrum which, without passing over the religious aspect, presents different sizes and media, making the megalith a place of ancestor worship, as in addition to the deposits of human bones, altars and external areas have been identified. This hypothesis reaches a new dimension with the excavation of veritable ceremonial centres such as La Pijotilla or Perdigões, where the discovery of this type of objects of an identitary nature stands out (Bueno, 2020b, 204); but also with the documentation of significant funerary scenarios, as in the case of Montelirio, in Seville, which confirm the complexities of the devices that make them up.

The old idea of linking the decoration of plaques with textiles (Hernández Pacheco, 1916) gains strength by incorporating the information from the megalithic decorations. The geometric syntax of the decorated plaques and other types of figurines is a reflection of the clothing of those they recall: cloaks worn by the ancestors, which in reality were embroidered or painted, perhaps with special fabrics such as linen or wool. The remains of the clothing of the women buried at Montelirio confirm this relationship. The ankle length clothing includes hoods or elaborate headdresses, which according to the presentations on orthostats, plaques and some ceramics would be filled in with bright colours, essentially red, black and white, like the dresses from Montelirio (Bueno, 2010, 70). Its imprint persists in the incised Bell-Beaker ware, generally dark in colour (like the plaques) and with a very similar decorative syntax that sometimes has white inlays and traces of red paint (Bueno, 2010, 72).

K. Lillios' typology is part of a social anthropology proposal whose most operative result is the construction of an *online* catalogue -Esprit -*Engraved Stone Plaque Registry and Inquiry Tool*- a breakthrough ahead of its time (Bueno, 2006) and which is still being updated today. It is, in fact, one of our best sources of information on these pieces.

Lillios (2004b, 2008, 64 and 2008b, 51-72; 2020, 195-196) locates the decoration as well as the morphology of the media. These would be simple or composite when they have a cut-out top (head, in the references of other authors who are more concerned with the anthropomorphic evocation of the whole). She distinguishes a majority or classical type -Classic- (I) with a bipartite decorative structure and a second, less numerous type -*Transitional*- (II) with a single motif developed over the entire surface of the plaque. Both leave an undecorated triangle where the perforation is located. The plaques in the shape of a polished tool -Hoe- (III), of composite morphology, and others with a simple silhouette -*Unipartite*- (IV) are characterised by a uniform decoration -Figure 6.3.2-.

The plaques with a rug-like decoration - *Rug* (V) - reserve a large undecorated space in the decorative frieze, framing it with a border. The *strappy* ones (VI) are composite panels with a decoration dominated by triangular motifs and oblique, downwardly converging strips (staps).

In the "biomorphic" plaques, she points out two groupings according to the greater or lesser complexity of the decoration: *Biomorphic simple* (VII) and *Biomorphic whiskered* (VIII). The examples she provides of the former refer to pieces of simple or composite morphology, being figures showing eyes, nose, and those with arms, hands and pubis that were previously collected by O. da Veiga Ferreira (1973). The second includes the "whiskers" which for others are tattoo lines. The greater complexity of the "*whiskered*" plaques is due to a geometric decoration characterised by triangles and chevrons, and what she considers to be "tassels" on the back of the plaque.

Figure 6.3.2. Above. Plaque typology according to decoration, K. Lillios 2020, Figure1; Bottom. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Simple trapezoidal oculate plaques: -2. Anta 2 da Herdade da Comenda, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; -3. Dolmen 2 de los Gabrieles, Valverde del Camino, Huelva. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa (2) and Museo de Huelva (3). Photographs: ADF/DGPC - José Paulo Ruas (2) and María Klauss (3).

Her description, had she opted for a more anthropological significance of the decorative ensemble, might have considered the presence of braids hanging from an upper decorative frieze, which could be considered a headband, if not the hair itself - Figure 6.3.3: 4.

Two more types are added to the list: those with an imprecise decorative style (IX) -*Style Variants*-, which could be the result of a learning practice linked to children (Lillios, 2008b, 72), and a group of recycled pieces -*Recycled*- (X) made up of a few examples so fragmented that make it impossible to classify them in depth (Lillios, 2004b, 138).

The author has proposed a "heraldic" interpretation of these figurines as material testimony to a lineage.

> «As is often the case with textiles, I would like to suggest that the primary function of slate plaque design was to communicate membership

Figure 6.3.3. Above. Decorative frameworks, (V. Gonçalves): - 1. components of the decoration of a simple plaque (Gonçalves, 2004a, Figure 1); - 2. Plaque with an asymmetrical geometric decoration or "crazy plaque", Ribeira de Odivelas (Gonçalves, 2003, Figure 8) and - 3. Plaque with two decorative syntaxes or 'hybrid plaque', Anta 1 da Herdade do Xarez, Reguengos de Monsaraz (Gonçalves, 2006, Figure 2. Below. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): simple plaque (4) and bipartite composite or with a prominent head (5-7). - 4. Anta de Cabacinhitos, Évora (Gonçalves, Pereira and Andrade, 2005, 45 and Figure 75); - 5 and 6. Anta da Marquesa, Marvão, Portalegre; - 7. Dolmen of Vega del Peso, S. Vicente de Alcántara, Badajoz. Missing piece from the Museum of Évora (4), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (5-6) and Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (7). Photographs: 4. cat. Esprit, 646, V. Gonçalves; Archivo MAN- Ángel Martínez Levas (7) and ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (5-6).

> of a social group. I now want to test the idea that Iberian plaques were heraldic, a kind of material mnemonic that records lineage status. The regular structure of the plaques, the uniqueness of each plaque, the unambiguous character of many of their components and the relatively small number of decorative elements point to such a coded communication system» (Lillios, 2002, 142).

The most critical voice with regard to K. Lillios' ideas is that of V. Gonçalves (2021, 157), who also develops his approach to these representations within an inventory and research project - *Placa Nostra* - generated and promoted by the Universidad de Lisboa (Gonçalves 2004a, 66-70). In it, he establishes an approach in which idealistic parameters prevail, linking these productions to a religious creed, and a structuralist analysis of the decoration, which in the absence of a general monograph, is exemplified in specific cases.

> «If I ever put this series together in a book, it would be logical to dedicate it to André Leroi-Gourhan, who infuenced my first years of university teaching. The conversation I had with him in Paris in the summer of 1972, or the reading of *The Religions of Prehistory* (the preface of which he wrote in the Portuguese edition), contributed greatly to the successive references to pragmatism in the interpretation of the magical-religious subsystem of different societies, and to the appeal to good taste and common sense, which I sometimes make in perhaps the most polemical passages that I write» (Gonçalves, 2004B, 166).

The geometric decoration that fills the surface, based on triangles, rectangles or squares, horizontal or vertical lines or zigzags, and which follows a series of patterns, in the two parts - head (cut out or not) and body - differentiated by a geometric element or 'separator' -Figure 6.3.3-The framework can be completed with a specific area marking the bottom part of the decorative friezes. For its layout and organisation, the artesan uses auxiliary resources such as horizontal or vertical lines that frame the motifs (Gonçalves, 2003, 141; 2004a, 51-52). However, on many plaques there are no motifs that allow the head to be clearly differentiated from the body, the former being recognised in any case by the morphology of the piece, by the presence of a triangle centred with the apex facing downwards, or by the arrangement of perforations (Gonçalves, 2004a, 56).

Pieces with disordered or dissymmetric decoration - the *crazy plaque* syndrome - elude the different patterns, which is interpreted as a transgression of the standardised principle, perhaps due to the abandoning of symbolic precepts, the craftsman's lack of skill or the exploration of new decorative possibilities (Gonçalves, 2003, 131). Another exception to the generic decorative pattern is the so-called *hybrid plaque*, which presents two main motifs in immediate sequence in the frieze that forms the body or head of the piece (Gonçalves, 2006a, 29). This is the case of one from Anta 1 da Herdade do Xarez, Reguengos de Monsaraz, where the body is made up of a double frieze, one composed of squares and another of zigzagging bands -Figure 6.3.3: 3-.

According to the research tradition followed by the author, the plaque is one of the anthropomorphic forms used to represent the Goddess, which does not prevent him from including in its decoration motifs of different meanings, such as the fish and the net, which he identifies in the ensemble preserved in the artificial caves of Aljezur (Gonçalves, 2004C, Fig. 53).

The *Placa Nostra* project has revealed numerous specimens in detail and has delved deeper into the wealth of anthropomorphic representation. Of the cut-out plaques, he points out perforations resembling eyes, sun eyes, necklaces below the neck, "X" motifs in the same position and female sex (Gonçalves *et al.* 2014, Figs. 30 and 32), indicated by a triangle or by two vertical lines - in the case of the one from Couto do Vale de Magro, Crato -Figure 4.6.3. He does not consider the lower engraving of the latter to be a phallic image but a feminine one referring to the sexual labia (Gonçalves, 2004b, 170).

He has written several articles and monographs on the subject. For example, the documentation of the 29 specimens from the funerary site destroyed in 1971 at Monte da Barca, Coruche (Gonçalves, 2011); or the study of the Anta de Cabacinhitos plaque in Évora - Figure 6.3.3 - with sun eyes, a pencil-shaped nose and hair tied back in a plait on the back, which sadly disappeared from the collections of the Museo de Évora (Gonçalves *et al.* 2005, 45 and Fig. 75). A plaque, which in his opinion would be more recent than others, as he assumes that there is a previous tradition that incorporates the face coinciding with the development of metallurgy. This argument also applies to the decorative frieze of the tritriangular anthropomorphic 'Almerian idol' motif (Gonçalves, 2004a, 56; 2006b, 203). The most recent data obtained in the archaeological context of Perdigões (Valera, 2015) provides older chronologies for these forms in the same territory of Reguengos de Monsaraz. Likewise, the "sun eyes" have a long trajectory since the early Neolithic productions described in a previous chapter.

As the Leisners (1951) had done before, he delves deeper into the relationship of the plaques with the "Almerian idols" [25], adding new cases - Figs.6.3.4 and 11.1.3- to that of Lapa do Bugio de Azoià (Monteiro *et al.* 1967) -Figure 4.4.3-, consolidating the idea that different

linked identities can coexist in a single medium, in his hypothesis of deities, once he outrightly rejects that the objects could represent ancestors or lineage lines (Gonçalves, 2006a, 40). The *Mother Goddess* (Gonçalves, 1989 and 1999), was sometimes accompanied by the "young god" represented by the "Almerian idol".

> «From almost the earliest times of the study of engraved schist plaques, plaques with motifs commonly but erroneously called anthropomorphic (more correctly: theomorphic, because, despite their human appearance, they refer to a divinity) have had special treatment (...).
> In 1970, at the beginning of my career, I interpreted the two Bugio figures as representations of a young God, well known in Mediterranean mythologies (Zeus is a young god, but there are others, earlier ones). The young God is a figure that emerges from a Mother Goddess, but acquires strength of its own, given context and opportunity. In the ancient magical-religious complex of engraved schist plaques, appearing late and probably coinciding with the cut-out plaques»" (Gonçalves, 2006b, 171).

He compiles plaques published by Leisner where he identifies tritriangles in the decoration. He differentiates between those with faces and tritriangulars aligned in the main frieze -Mértola and Lapa do Bugio plaques with seven and four figurines respectively -Figures. 11.1.3 and 6.3.4: 1-. In the study of the first one, he interprets the lines of triangles at the base of the decorative frieze as an argument of the feminine character of the oculate representation, the Goddess, considering that the anthropomorphs are representations of the repeated image of the "Young God".

> «The feminine character of this plaque is underlined by the latticed triangles with the apex downwards, the explicit indication of the sex of the Goddess. But the seven extraordinary band-like representations of the Young God show the syncretic character of this extraordinary ensemble. The depictions, which might suggest an Alentejan singing scene, are in fact, due to the regularity and symmetry achieved by the right arm of the first and the left arm of the last one, a symmetrical representation of a staging of figures of the same divinity. Therefore, they do not seem to be the image of a group of different characters, but the repetition seven times of a single one» (Gonçalves, 2006b, 192)

He adds two examples with the cut-out of a head standing out within the decorative frieze - Anta 1 do Paço de Aragão -Figure 6.3.4: 3- and Lapa do Bugio -Figure 4.4.3: 3-. The second includes a tritriangular with arms within the aforementioned cut-out. A third set he describes non oculate plaques with one - Anta 2 da Mitra -Figure 6.3.4: 2- or more aligned tritriangulars, detailing 16 in a plaque from Campo Maior of which only a sketch is preserved and 67 in the one from Anta de Herdade dos Galvões, Alandroal (Gonçalves, 2021, 161-162 and Fig. 4) -Figure 6.3.4: 4-.

He also finds noteworthy the discovery of a stoneware plaque in Anta de Cabacinhitos, Évora, with a (lost) cut-out head, presumably triangular in outline and a narrowed body (Gonçalves *et al.* 2005, Fig. 20), like the bone and lithic productions considered to be more typical of the Southeast. Be that as it may, without this feature, it is clear that the triangular head of the cut-out plaques is reminiscent of the triangular figurines [4][25] that are recognised in the West as "Almerian".

The update of the inventory of the "tritriangle" flat elements [25] comes from the research at Perdigões, where five of these pieces are located as a deposit at the bottom of a pit - Pit *12* - and a sixth in *Hipogeo 1,* contexts dated to the second half of the 4th millennium cal BC (Valera, 2012, p. 24). They are the same as those from the East, which also have the same chronology (Soler, 2017, 314). Four of them have a shape similar to those of the variant of "triangular bodies" and another two to that of "parallel edges forming long and narrow bodies" -Figure 6.2.5: 11-, of J. Ll. Pascual´s typological classification of (1998, 186). Within this affinity, the Perdigões tritrianglars are separated from the series from the Valencian Community by the proportion of the triangle that suggests the thorax with respect to the one that suggests the skirt, offering a greater development of the shoulders that in one case are shorter and slightly raised, as in the rest of the Portuguese specimens that A. Valera (2012, 24 and Figure 1) compiles, pointing out their production in stone -Anta Grande de Olival da Pega, Reguengos de Monsaraz -Figure 4.4.3:2- and in bone in different funerary sites in Portuguese Estremadura: Lapa do Bugio, Praia de Samarra, Necrópolis de Carenque -Figure 6.2.5: 4 and 5-, the dolmens of Monte Abraão and Casaínhos; and in the Spanish specimens located in the monuments of Pozuelo de Huelva -Figure 4.4.3:4-.

There is some disagreement as to whether the rectilinear segments adjacent to the head should be considered as "shoulders" or "arms". If we look at the representation of the tritriangular engraving on the Lapa de Bugio plaque - Figure 4.4.3: 3 - there is little doubt that the arms are clearly developed by means of long engraved lines that start from the shoulders and end in hands or fingers. Some portable figurines show these segments raised, at an acute angle to the head - Figs. 4.4.3:1 and 4.4.4-. In the case of the cut-out head plaques, they are regarded as shoulders (Gonçalves, 2004b, 178; Gonçalves, 2021, 152), while in the case of the tritriangular ones from El Pozuelo -Figure 4.4.3.-

Figure 6.3.4. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): simple trapezoidal (1-2 and 4) and rectangular (3) lithic plaques with tritriangular engraved motifs (1-2 and 4) or with plaque silhouette with prominent head (3): -1. Lapa do Bugio, Sesimbra, Setubal (Cardoso, 1992, Est. 46); - 2. Anta 2 da Mitra, Herdade da Mitra, Évora (Gonçalves, 2006 B, Figure 17); 3. Anta 1 do Paço de Aragão, Montemor-o-Novo, Évora (Gonçalves, 2006 B, Figure 14); - 4. Anta de Herdade dos Galvões, Alandroal, Évora (Leisner and Leisner, 1959, Taf. 34, 2: 14 and Gonçalves, 2021, Figure 4). Museu Municipal de Sesimbra, Setubal (1), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (4), Museu de Évora (2-3). Photographs: Esprit, 541 - R.Soares (1), Gonçalves, 2021 (2) and Esprit, 246 and Gonçalves, 2021 (4).

they are interpreted as arms, which has led us to consider them as expressions of "orants" (Escacena and Flores, 2019).

On the other hand, the tritriangular framework can be seen in the Southwest on a greywacke piece with a flattened section, not sexed but with a widened and marked "hip". It has irregularly perforated sun eyes, engraved under an incised line, which evokes a diadem (Morán, 2016; Parreira and Morán, 2021, 295). Found in the excavation of a domestic context in the village of Alcalar, Portimão (Moran, 2018, 175), it resembles the Almerian lithic from El Arteal, included in M. J. Almagro´s El Garcel type (1973, Figure 1: 4) [3], classifying it as a "flat idol with a prominent head" [RBD 48] - Figure 14.4.1.

Finally, the flattened stone expression reaches other small-format figures in Perdigões, where an oval figure with notches in the upper body can be seen [RBD 49] (Figure 9.1.3: 49).

Apart from the portable type, the tritriangulars among the decorative motifs of the aforementioned plaques,

collected by Gonçalves, an also be observed in parietal art (Soler, 2017, 310) and in megalithic art. The images painted on the orthostat -C1- of Anta de Pedralta -(Valera, 2012, Fig. 8, after Shee Towhig, 1981), in Viseu in Northern Portugal, are added to the one engraved on an orthostat of the dolmen of Pozuelo 4 in Huelva (Bueno *et al.* 2017), or to those on the walls of rock-art sites located in Galicia (Comendador, 2022, Fig. 28), or in Cádiz, in the case of the Cueva de las Mujeres or Ahumada and in Puerto Palacios (Acosta, 1968).

6.4. Cylinders, betyls and other related figurines in Western Iberia.

In the 21st century, V. Hurtado (2008) examines the dissemination of figurines in greater depth, focusing on anthropomorphs [25] and cylinders and related items characteristic of the Southwest. He places the flattened variant at La Pijotilla [16] (Figure 5.3.3: VII), in a specific region, the Guadiana basin. This variant contrasts with the wider diffusion of the cylinders [14], a group that includes some shape differentiations (Hurtado, 2008, Illustration II), and which took on a new dimension after the publication of the Orden Seminario de Huelva ensemble (Vera *et al.* 2010) -Figure 6.4.1: 9-.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, the contemporaneity and coexistence of different typologies has been readily accepted, which in the case of the cylinders is specified in the Southwestern territory with the decorated plaques (Hurtado, 2008, 4-6). They are not representative of the same territory, nor do they reach in any case the same number of specimens. In contrast to the plaques that are generally dark and more confined to the Alentejo, the cylinders are made from light-coloured materials and with a three-dimensional and highly differentiated proportion (Hurtado, 2010, 140).

From the decoration he lists the variants in limestone and marble that are most prevalent in specific territories. The simplest (variant 1) -two dots for the eyes and/or curved lines for the facial tattoo- are characteristic of Portuguese Estremadura -Figure: 1-4- . The cylinder from Moncaparacho, (variant 2) -Figure 11.1.5- characterises the productions of the Algarve, considering with it specimens from Faro -Figure 12.1.1-, Salir and Leziria. However, its features -slightly truncated cone shape, facial tattooing, sun eyes (with eccentric strokes) and eyebrows with transversal strokes- can be found in pieces located in Porto Torrão (Ferreira de Alentejo), La Pijotilla (Badajoz) and Valencina de la Concepción (Seville) -Figure 6.4.1: 10-.

The third and fourth variants show a wider distribution, including the Guadalquivir valley. Cylindrical pieces or slightly widened in the centre with eyes with radii inscribed inside the circles, eyebrows and facial tattooing (variant 3) and another more elaborate one, well illustrated in the examples from Morón de la Frontera (Seville), or El Cerro de las Vacas (Seville) which adds hair to the above, representing it at the upper end and on the back down to the middle of the piece (variant 4) -Figure 6.4.1: 9 and 11-.

The flattened pieces from La Pijotilla [16] -Figure 5.3.3: VII-, constitute variant 5, assuming all the features that characterise the most ornate cylindrical expressions (variant 4), with broad knitted eyebrows filled with transversal and parallel lines. They only appear in the mid Guadiana basin, in different settlements in addition to La Pijotilla, where around twenty have been counted.

> «Stylistic analysis and geographical distribution can therefore be useful in establishing territorial indicators, as has been shown in primitive tribal societies (Hodder, 1982). In our case the oculate idols feature a symbol that has a common meaning throughout the Southwest, but this is stylistically represented or interpreted in different ways according to different geographic regions. It is possible that there may be a conscious purpose in this differentiation with the intention of marking a territorial identity. This seems to be the case when one observes the number and concentration of examples made in the same "style" in a specific area, and the fact of locating another example characteristic of another region does not invalidate the hypothesis, on the contrary, since it demonstrates knowledge of other forms of representation and insistence on depicting the symbol according to a certain style that is specific to it and with which the communities of that territory identify themselves» (Hurtado, 2008, 5).

Territorial analysis uncovers new perspectives and the objects that are called "idols" are more successful in some areas than in others, as in Portuguese Estremadura, where the sample of cylinders from Vila Nova de São Pedro is reviewed (Martins *et al.* 2021). In contrast to the Southwest of Spain, those with simple decoration predominate, many of them of smaller format with the eyes barely insinuated on occasions by two dots above two or three pairs of tattooed lines that in many pieces constitute the only decorative motif -Figure 6.4.1: 1-3-.

These regionalisations are interpreted as identity phenomena (Hurtado 2008), as had been proposed for the Alentejo plaques [9] (Bueno, 1992). Perhaps they are also related to settlement types, noting the similarity of the oculate bone and ivory representations from Los Millares [42] -Figure 6.2.2- with the flat ivory ones characteristic of La Pijotilla -Figure 6.5.2: 3-, as well as the echo that the more complex model of the cylinders

Figure 6.4.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): plain oculate stone and bone (6) cylinders. - 1-3. Castro de Vila Nova de São Pedro, Azambuja, Lisbon; - 4. Tholos da serra das Mutelas, Torres Vedras, Lisbon; - 5. Necropolis of Carenque, Gruta I, Amadora, Lisbon; - 6-7. Tholos do Barro, Torres Vedras, Lisbon; - 8. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 9. Sierra de Morón, Morón de la Frontera, Seville; - 10. Valencina de la Concepción, Seville; - 11. Cerro de las Vacas, Lebrija, Seville; - 12. Orden Seminario, Huelva. Museu Arqueológico do Carmo (1-3), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia (4-7), Era-Arqueologia, Lisbon (8), Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (9-10), Museo Arqueológico de Jerez (11), Museo de Huelva (12). Photographs: ADF/ DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (1-7); José Manuel Sáiz (9-10); 8. A.C. Valera 2020; 11. Víctor Hurtado, 2013 and Museo de Huelva (12).

may have had far away, taking into account the piece in local marble found in Montmaurin, Haute Garonne, France (Clottes, 1977) -Figure 11.1.5-.

He also points out the influences in pieces that synthesise ideas such as the complex oculate face characteristic of Sevillian cylinders [14] in a lithic production from Perdigões [RBD 50] -Figure 6.4.2: 1- (Valera, 2015, Fig. 2: 12) more akin in its truncated cone shape to the elongated pieces from Portuguese Estremadura [13]. The arrangement of the decoration on the widest part is interpreted as an indication of its upright positioning (Valera, 2020, 235). Another cylindrical figurine [14] with a simpler face and an engraved object, an axe or staff, below the facial expression, comes from this monumental site -Figure 6.4.2: 5- [14].

The inventory of cylindrical section oculates [14] increased exponentially in the 21st century with the discovery of the settlement of the Orden Seminario de Huelva -Figure6.4.1- in the estuary formed by the Tinto and Odiel rivers. Very close to the Conquero habitat, which around 1919 yielded an oculate cylinder with an ornate decoration characteristic of Hurtado's variant 4, or of Almagro Gorbea's variant IV D (1973) -Figure 4.4.5- , the oculate specimens from the Orden Seminario have a simpler decoration similar to groups IV B -simple- and C -intermediate- of Almagro's classification. (1973). They are strictly cylindrical or wider in the middle; or truncated conical with the face in the widest or narrowest part of the piece. The face includes eyes without radii and also eyes with eccentric or inscribed radii in the eye circles.

A total of 22 were counted, in pits considered to be "votive", although one of them had a previous metallurgical use - Figure 5.5.1- They are interpreted as the result of a ritual from the 3rd millennium cal BC, which culminated in their being deposited upright and in an orderly composition on a flattened floor, which would have been in the open air for an unspecified period of time and then protected by a light cover of twigs and clay (Vera *et al.* 2010, 220). In addition to their variety, they coincide with other typologies, betyl [12] and "hopper" [5] and "recipients or bone boxes" as well as a marble vessel (Vera *et al.* 2010, 220-238), giving rise to an interpretation in which the social aspect prevails over the religious one.

> «In conclusion, during a certain time in the life of the settlement, the ideological appropriation of this specific space took place in order to be able to carry out certain collective ceremonies. These ceremonies involved the handling, exhibition, concealment and, finally, the votive deposition of the idols, all of which must have been part of the overall social practices of daily life and death of the social groups that inhabited the settlement. Material evidence of this is the massive concealment of different types of idols, which may have been "offerings" of a specific moment or episode related to the cult of "divinities" and/or "ancestors", as is recurrent in the lineage societies of recent prehistory». (Vera *et al.,* 2010, 240).

The Orden-Seminario site introduces novel aspects by bringing together pieces of different sizes, some continued to be used broken, at least one being certainly repurposed from a larger one, indicating repeated use in some kind of ritual. The fact that they are not all decorated with the characteristic sun-eyes, eyebrows and facial tattooing, introduces unknowns into a framework of beliefs where all the pieces must have had a specific significance as well as a scenographic one. Or it ratifies the already stated hypothesis that the figurines, with their mere presence, more or less decorated, play the same role (Bueno, 2020b).

Nearby, in the Algarve area of Alcalar, the possibility of the existence of a workshop has been proposed on the basis of the fragments of cylinders and plain betyls found in the tumulus of the funerary monuments of Alcalar 7 and 9 (Parreira and Morán, 2021, 296). From the ensembles of this necropolis and the Monte Velho necropolis, a vase and a series of mortars stand out, confirming the implantation of these marble artefacts in an area (Gonçalves, 1997) in which, together with betyls and cylinders (Parreira and Moran, 2021, 296), plain and decorated objects similar to those from Moncaparacho (Morán, 2016), there are elongated lithic objects [22], blackish, manufactured in greywacke, previously referred to as "betyls with dotted decoration " (Almagro, 1973) and now described as "flattened section " betyls (Parreira and Moran, 2021).-Figure 4.4.7.

Further north and before La Orden Seminario, the deposition of limestone pieces was documented at the "Chalcolithic sanctuary" of Correio-Mor Cave, Loures, in Portuguese Estremadura, considering the orderly and upright position of 11 pieces (Cardoso *et al. 1995*) - Figure 11.4.1- in a specific location of a cave, later greatly altered by a quarry. Among the pieces, a cylindrical specimen with a neck classified as a "scale weight idol" [RBD 51] - Figs. 6.4.2 and 11.4.1 - stands out, together with five undecorated cylinders [14] and three elongated ones with a semi-cylindrical section typical of the group of betyls characteristic of the area [13], with decorations of bands of horizontal lines. The longest is the only one with the expression of the face, resolved with the regional characteristic of the eyebrows in the shape of a "V" -Figure 6.4.2: 2-. As in the Orden Seminario, they were deposited together with other non-anthropomorphic pieces, of the same chalky nature and whitish colouring, in this case a

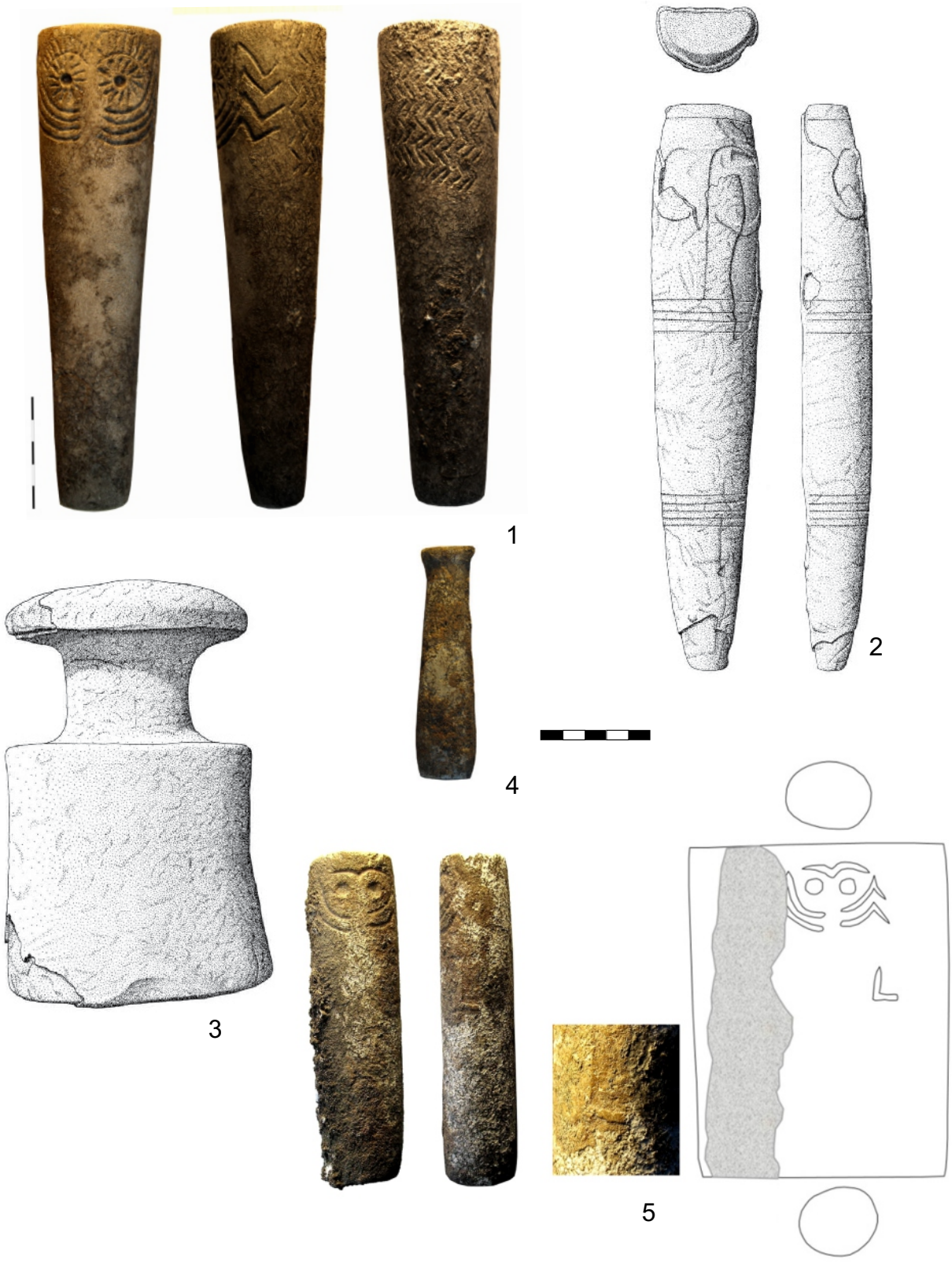


Figure 6.4.2. Simple (1,2 and 5) and composite (3 and 4) anthropomorphic geometric figurines (FAG) in limestone with cylindrical and truncated cone morphology. - 1. Truncated cone oculate ("betyl"), - 4. Bipartite cylindrical ("garrafa") and - 5. Cylindrical oculate with engraved staff, Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora (Valera, 2020, Figure 9); - 2. Truncated cone with flattened section eyebrows ("betyl") and - 3. Bipartite cylindrical ("scale weight"), Gruta de Correio-Mor, Loures (Cardoso et al. 1996, Figures 6 and 10: 25). Era Arqueologia, Lisbon (1, 4 and 5) and Museo Nacional de Arqueologia (2 and 3). Photographs: A.C. Valera 2020.

curved plaque, possibly an axe (Gonçalves, 2008) and a "ring", interpreted as a "ritual mace" (Cardoso, *et al.* 1995), perhaps a support.

In a very different way to the interpretation of the Orden Seminario, the Correio-Mor site is understood as the existence of two magical-religious systems in the South and centre of Portugal in the first half of the 3rd millennium cal BC, one older and "indigenous" made up of plaques generally of dark colouring [9] and the other that which includes the concurrence of chalky pieces of whitish colouring (Gonçalves, 1997), where we can find lunulae [31], handled axes [15], pine cones [24], decorated betyls [13], cylinders [14] and related pieces as well as specific objects, such as the stone sandals from Alapraia (Paço, 1971) [27] -Figure 14.4.2- , which share some motifs with the plaques such as the "attributes of the Goddess", i.e. the eyes, the tattoo lines, etc. Following this pattern, the plaques are Western productions, while the chalky productions express a taste typical of the Mediterranean, pointing to references in pre-dynastic Egypt for the "scale weight" in the same sense that Almagro and Arribas proposed for materials from Los Millares (Gonçalves, 2008; Cardoso *et al.* 1995; Cardoso, 2023).

Other new items were added to the Western repertoire. Still in private hands, a poor quality photograph - Figure 15.1.3: 1 - of the figurine found at Cerro de las Vacas, Lebrija, Cádiz [RBD 52] was published (Álvarez Rojas, 1982). It is made on white marble stone -21 cm long- and has a shape that could be classified as cylindrical [14] or, more strictly speaking, truncated biconical [6], with a morphology similar to the so-called "garrafa" or "gola" idols (Cardoso, 2009). The convergence affects the decoration, because it shows breasts as in some of the first series it resembles, and also hair in the same style -parallel zigzag lines- that characterise the richly decorated cylindrical pieces. It is possible that the eyes on this Lebrija piece were painted and were small or non-existent, keeping in mind the guideline that for the object to be understood it is not necessary to present all the features (Hurtado, 1978, 359), although in the decorative syntax it is as rare for the truncated biconical production [6] to show eyes as it is for the cylindrical pieces [14] to show breasts.

With respect to gender, and from a totally different perspective from the one that presumed that all the figurines were an expression of femininity, T. Escoriza (1992, 152) proposes that the truncated biconical pieces [6] from Almería could be the most reliable representation of femininity, expressing pregnancy through their "inflated" shape and the flared skirt that characterises them. The presence of the shape [6] with breasts in the West, in this piece from the Cerro de las Vacas, in another one in clay located in the dolmen of Casullo, Berrocal -Figure 7.1 - and in others without this feminine feature, such as those in limestone and marble in Valencina de la Concepción (Hurtado, 2013, 320 and 321) give a good idea of the geographical extent of the concept.

The piece from Almargen, Antequera is unique, an elongated egg-shaped marble artefact which, due to its size (length 48 cm) and weight (22.2 Kg), is better fitted to the concept of a stela or menhir -Figure 6.4.3. Located in the course of an urban excavation, in its first publication it was considered "phalomorphic" because of its elongated shape and because a thickening is clearly delimited throughout the rotation of the object, with a ring or groove suggesting the glans penis (VI (Vilaseca, 1993-94, 38). Since the piece should be shown upright, perhaps this groove could be a functional adaptation for holding it in place. Its upright representation resolves other values linked to the face reflected at the other end. It may also have been a versatile piece used in different positions. It has been considered an androgynous representation of the "primordial being", as it brings together attributes of both sexes in a single piece, although other authors do not rule out its hybrid nature (García Pérez *et al.* 2020, 253).

The female sex is not evident either, although the bulge in the lower third, on the same visual plane as the face, has been interpreted as a sign of pregnancy (Vilaseca, 1993, 38), which adds to the unique character of the figure [RBD 53]. The face in bas relief is reminiscent of the characteristic depictions of oculate cave paintings such as those of the Vacas de Retamoso or Los Arcos (Acosta, 1968, Figs. 18: 5-6 and 7), with a continuous superciliary arch with a vertical segment as a nose. The observation of tattoos painted on the face and possible traces of red colouring, enrich the interpretation of this piece whose size is close to some of the megalithic statuary from the South of France (Bueno *et al.* 2009).

Further west, the so-called "Alvega idol" [RBD 54] -Figure 6.4.3-, in the Abrantes Museum, Santarem, has been related to Sumerian mythology, returning to the abandoned viewpoints of the 19th century (Batista, 2013, 156-158). Made on amphibolite, its probable habitational context is not clear, which should be resolved in view of the rarity of the object, shared with the one from Almargen, its elongated shape and the fact that it has a rounded upper end. Fractured at the bottom, the piece has a circular section (Batista, 2013, 151). Though the figurine is morphologically unique, the engraved decoration combines concepts from other forms, while reproducing the framework of the Monte de Outeiro vase -Figure 4.4.8- with sun eyes -not completely aligned- and with a style reminiscent of those of the depiction on megalithic orthostats, two pairs of tattoo lines straight downwards and not curved as usual, and

Figure 6.4.3. Sculpture (1) and geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone. 1. oculate, Almargen, Malaga. Oculate cylinders with indication of sex (2 and 3): Ídolo de Alvega", Abrantes and - 3 Leceia, Oeiras. Museo de Almargen (1), Museu Ibérico de Arqueologia e Arte, Abrantes (2) and Centro de Estudos Arqueológicos do Concelho de Oeiras, Câmara Municipal de Oeiras (3). Photographs: Miguel Ángel Blanco de la Rubia, in García et al. 2020 (1), Fernando Bougard (2) and courtesy of João Luís Cardoso (3).

the pubic triangle filled with a pair of horizontal lines, unlike the dots seen in the aforementioned pottery or in the sculpture from Almizaraque [1] -Figure 4.2.1-, a piece with which it shares the trait of portraying the legs together, separating them by a vertical line.

There is another fragmented and sexed cylinder from the habitat of Leceia, Oeiras, where the cylinders with a narrowing or "gola" [21] stand out, also called "ídolos garrafa" (bottle in Spanish) if the body is slightly convex, made of bone, ivory or pottery (Cardoso, 2009, 82). Among the group of very fragmented marble cylinders [14] there is a small piece with a distal fracture that contains a pubic triangle near the base (Cardoso, 2009, Fig. 22). The complete morphology is unknown, and it is considered to be included in a category of sexed cylinders [RBD 55] - Figure 6.4.3 - without evidence to suppose a head with the same rounded morphology as the Alvega figurine. The pubis marks the labia of the sex by means of a vertical line, a motif similar to the Palaeolithic vulvas that can also be seen in the record of symbolic pottery found at that site [18] (Cardoso, 2009 Figs. 7 and 8), as well as in loom weights found in the habitat of Outeiro Redondo, Sesimbra, in objects that are linked to female work (Cardoso, 2009, 78).

The recent revision of the "flattened betyls" [22] from the Museum of Lagos allows for the evaluation of the black greywacke piece from Lajes as a unique production [RBD 56] - Figure 4.4.7: 1 - to the specimen from the Museo de Faro. The decoration, now shown the other way round to its first publication (Parreira and Morán, 2021, Fig. 7), has on one side an part with concentric dots in the proximal area, and on the other side bunches of lines forming successive "VV" that do not affect the upper third. At the base, the pubic triangle can be clearly distinguished (Parreira and Morán, 2021, 296) inserted into another triangular motif that could represent the groin.

6.5. Phalanges, long bones, ivory and gold pieces in Western Iberia.

The greater abundance of undecorated phalanges in the Southern peninsular records has justified the proposal that the shape itself could evoke some kind of sacred object (García Pérez *et al.* 2020, 248). A less representative group, the decorated phalanges [7] were compared to the female torso, from the shoulders to the hips (Hurtado, 1978, 360). At the end of the 20th century, they became more relevent in Extremadura when their

number increased in the funerary context of tomb 3 at the site of La Pijotilla and above all in the false-domed tomb of Huerta Montero, Almendralejo, where around thirty were found (Ortiz and Blasco, 2000).

The decorated pair of a set of nine pieces in the circular tomb -Figure 6.5.1: 1-2- stands out in La Pijotilla. Here we can see the lines in angles or in more pronounced zigzags like those of the decoration from the São Martinho specimen - Figure 4.2.4-, in this case only arranged on the back as an indication of the hair. The decorative framework is more complete on one of the figurines, with a pair of sun eyes, tattoo lines and a motif in the shape of an "upside down 7" similar to that of a phalanx from Valencina de la Concepción – Avenida sector- (Figure 6.5.1: 5) clearly representing the arms, which in the Pijotilla figurine have hands indicating fingers. Its presence in both ensembles should be interpreted within the framework of relations with the East due to its links with ways of representing bodies on long bones.

Phalanges similar to those described from La Pijotilla are found in Perdigões -Figure 6.5.1:4-, Reguengos de Monsaraz, an archaeological area of ritual and funerary character, which after La Pijotilla is the ensemble that provides most ideomorphs (Valera, 2015, 2020 and 2021). A. Valera introduces the issue of these pieces on bones, mostly of deer and horses, with more than 70 in the funerary contexts of the archaeological area of Perdigões, where they are associated with anthropomorphic idols and plain and decorated betyls. These findings change the idea that phalanges are less representative in Portugal, and in general in the Western Iberia (Valera, 2015, 8-13), without it being possible to maintain that the gesture of decorating these bones with anthropomorphic motifs is more prevalent in the Southeast.

Many of the undecorated phalanges have been slimmed by polishing to achieve a more anthropomorphised appearance. The decoration is sparse, in some cases with traces of pigment, incision and polishing. The Pijotilla pattern of parallel zigzag strokes is shown here in a vertical arrangement (Valera, 2015b, Figs. 6 and 9) on the whole piece, or only on the back, when the front has been engraved with the occular expression (sun eyes and tattooing) above geometric motifs, such as a horizontal band or border filled with angular lines. This technique can also be seen on a loom weight [RBD 57] - Figure 6.5.2 - which represents on one side zigzag lines interpreted as long hair and on the other an anthropomorphic depiction (Valera, 2020, 235).

In addition to 13 decorated phalanges, tomb 3 at La Pijotilla contains 11 oculates on long bones [8] the largest ensemble in the Western Iberia, almost all of them grouped next to the entrance of this funerary structure (Hurtado *et al.* 2000). Their presence was later consolidated in the Badajoz province in different locations - *tholos* de la Huerta de Dios, Casas de Reina; Cueva de la Charneca, Oliva de Mérida; habitational context of Huerta Zacarías, Almendralejo (Enríquez Navascués, 1983; Enríquez and Rodríguez, 1990; Enríquez *et al.* 2013). Though these objects are more characteristic of the Eastern seaboard, in Badajoz the pieces are of good size, the specimen on equid radius from Casas de Reina is 26 cm in length (Figure 6.5.1: 6) and in the same way as that observed for the phalanges they develop "arms" in the form of an "upside down 7" (Enríquez and Rodríguez, 1990, 104), a motif that has not yet been found in the Portuguese records, but are reminiscent of the sculpted longitudinal lines of the betyl from the dolmen of Casainhos de Loures (Soler, 2017, 318; Bueno and Soler, 2021a, 155) -Figure 4.4.6: 1.

Oculates on long bones [8] are not present in Portugal, where there are pieces on long bone diaphyses that are close to cylinders [RRD 58] -Figure 9.1.3: 58- as in Vilanova de São Pedro, with a style equivalence between those lithic artefacts and the bone shafts with two pairs of lines, identified in a recent review (Martins *et al.* 2021, Fig. 5). Somewhat more complex is the decoration of a bovid diaphysis from Valencina de la Concepción with eyebrows, eyes and four pairs of tattoo lines that, without being the same, resembles the banded decoration that characterises the oculates on long bones [8] (Hurtado, 2013, Figs. 2: 9 and 316).

V. Hurtado's considerations are accompanied by complete inventories, such as that of Valencina (Hurtado, 2013) or the update of that of La Pijotilla, where flattened lithic oculates predominate, reminiscent of long bones in their morphology [16] (Hurtado, 2010). The greater knowledge of the Badajoz site allows us to understand the decontextualised record of the previously published pieces (Hurtado, 1980) collected on the surface, in the course of agricultural work. He also points out idols in habitational contexts delimited with archaeological methodology, highlighting the appearance of oculate ivory plaques [RBD 59] -Figure 6.5.2- in hut E13 with the same mottled decorative framework as the complexly decorated marble oculates, a pair of eyes below the characteristic knitted eyebrows and the hair marked on the upper slant and the back (Hurtado, 2010, 140-143 and 190-191). Despite its fragmentation, this decoration and its morphology of rectilinear sides flaring out at one end, reveal a variant of its own, differentiated from the Los Millares flat pieces [42], also present in the Perdigões record - Figure 6.2.2 and 6.5.2.

The embossed gold sheets [RBD 60] -Figure 6.5.2 and 14.4.2- are presumed to have been fixed to wooden, leather (Hurtado, 2010, 151) or ivory supports, linking

Figure 6.5.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) on natural bone: phalanges (1-5) and long bone (6) decorated with oculate and/or geometric motifs, with some showing arms (1, 5 and 6) and hands (1). -1-2. La Pijotilla, Badajoz, circular tomb (Hurtado, 1986, 2); - 3. Tholos de Huerta Montero, Almendralejo (Badajoz); - 4. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 5. Valencina de la Concepcion, Sector Avenida de Andalucía, Sevilla (Hurtado Pérez, 2013, Figure 15); - 6. Huerta de Dios, Casas de Reina, Badajoz, (Enríquez Navascués, 1983). Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (1-3 and 6), Era Arqueologia, Lisbon (4) and Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (5). Photographs: Rita Martos (4) and Francisco Blasco (3).

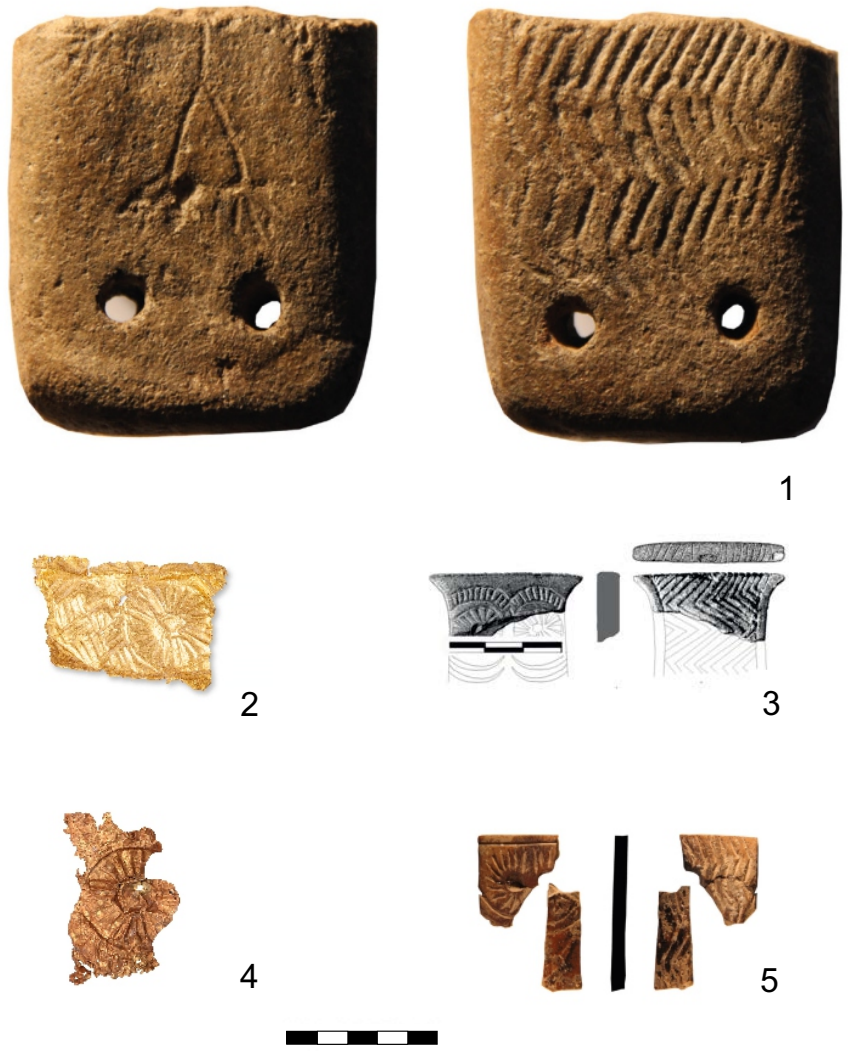


Figure 6.5.2. Objects and parts of ideomorphic objects (FX) -1-2 and 4 - fragments of geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -3 and 5- in clay (1), gold (2 and 4) and ivory (3 and 5). - 1. Loom weight with symbolic and anthropomorphic decoration. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 2 and 4. Embossed gold sheets with oculate decoration from Seville, Valencina de la Concepción: Tholos de las Canteras, El Gandul, Alcalá de Guadaira (2) and Tholos de Montelirio, Castilleja de Guzmán (4); - 3 and 5. Oculates on ivory sheets : La Pijotilla, Badajoz -3- (Hurtado, 2010, Figure 9) and Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora -5-. Era Arqueología, Lisboa (1 and 5), Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (2 and 4), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (3). Photographs A. Valera (2020, 6) -1 and 6-, J. Sáiz (2-3) and P. Quesada (4).

to them the "sandals" [27] (García *et al.* 2020, 256) found in Almizaraque (Siret, 1907, Lam. VI: 1) and Cascais (Paço, 1971) because they have the same shape as the most complete plaque found in a pit (structure 10.029) in the PP4 sector of Valencina de la Concepción. Recent discoveries in the Valencina area of ivory dagger guards suggest that these eight-shaped pieces were covered with gold leaf.

The sun eye motifs with radii are reminiscent of the expression of lithic and related cylinders. Although the state of preservation of the small gold sheets is very fragmentary, the oculate motifs can be appreciated in those of the Tholos de las Canteras, Alcalá de Guadaira, Seville (Hurtado, 2010, 151 and 169) - Figure 6.5.2: 2- and in the Tholos de Montelirio (Murillo, 2016, 287) – Figure 6.5.2: 4- the former with a very mottled geometric decoration with rhombi filled with tiny parallel segments in alternating directions (Hurtado, 2010, Illustration XVI). The sheet from structure 10.029 in the PP4-Montelirio sector - Figure 14.4.2 - stands out as the largest golden piece from the Chalcolithic period in Western Europe. Like the Almizaraque piece [27], its figure of eight has a decoration that fills the entire

surface, made up of parallel friezes defined by horizontal lines with angular motifs filled with lines or forming zigzags. In two of them, this decoration is replaced by two pairs of internal sun eyes, one in the narrow part and the other towards the middle of one of the bodies that make up the "eight" (Murillo *et al.* 2015, Fig. 7).

The dispersion of the oculates on gold sheet restricted for now to these Seville productions (Murillo, 2016, 305) could be greater, given the presence of gold sheets in other contexts (Murillo *et al.* 2015), such as in the Anta Grande de Zambujeiro, Évora (Hurtado, 2010, 151). Specifically, one is proposed in the Algarve, located in the funerary monument of Alcalar 11 as a fragment of a "sandal shaped idol-plaque" with geometric motifs, distinguishing the rays of an eye (Parreira and Morán, 2021, 11).

6.6. Northwest Iberia.

Northern Iberia has been conspicuously absent from the cultures of recent prehistory. No ancient Neolithic was accepted, megalithism was assumed to be scarce and the metallurgical stages were not very representative. Even so, two areas stood out from the whole, the Pyrenees, about which we have mentioned some interesting data in section 6.1. concerning the Northeast with the proven antiquity of typologies such as the bitriangle ones, and the Northwest for its rich megalithism.

In recent years, the central area has provided an increasingly richer collection of stones and small decorated menhirs, being particularly noteworthy the finds from the dolmens of Katillotxu in Guernika and Mendigana (Bueno *et al.* 2009a). Since the review of the first finds in the area of Asturias, the technical and thematic link between these stone productions and the Mesolithic was proposed (Arias and Suarez, 1990; Bueno *et al.* 2007a), a very convincing reference in the framework of our knowledge of these pieces in the rest of Europe (Bueno and Balbín 2021).

There was never any doubt that these great structures played a prominent role in the Northwest, but there was doubt about the presence or absence of figurines that were considered exclusive to Southern Iberia. Given that Galicia and Northern Portugal were integrated

Figure 6.6.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) from the Northwest. 1 y 2. Ellipsoid ("idol form stones"); 3. Tripartite composition. - 1 and 2 - Corridor tomb from Cova da Moura, Noina. 3 - Dolmen of Dombate, Cabana de Bergantiños (Fábregas, et al. 2020, Figures 7, 10 and 17).

into the broader study of Atlantic megalithic art, their "Atlanticism" isolated them from these cultural manifestations.

From the archaeological documentation of the dolmen of Dombate, La Coruña (Bello, 1994), the position of small human figures in stone in the open area of the megaliths has been chronologically confirmed. These combined simple forms of almost unworked stones, with morphologies similar to those of the betyls and cruciform versions with open arms. Fábregas´ studies on the typology of these pieces, and those of Vilaseco (1997), characterising contexts and locations in the monuments, established a broader register than had been acknowledged for an area where it was taken for granted that human figures of Neolithic and Chalcolithic chronology did not exist.

In an approach to the ensemble of ideomorphs linked to megalithism in Galicia, R. Fábregas (1993) has developed a typology in two large groups, pebbles and stone expressions that may remind us of the human figure.

The pebbles (Group I of the reference classification) include natural forms, granitic or metamorphic in nature. The *Argalo-type* decorations (Group II) only modify the natural shape of the piece, elliptical, egg-shaped or triangular, generally between 10 and 20 cm long. They present superficial work by hammering or abrasion that implies a decoration [RBD 61], on a third or half of the medium, sometimes on both sides, with lateral notches or grooves in a straight line or slanted. In some cases they start in the upper third of the object and converge in the centre, recalling the tattoo lines of the more southerly located cylinders -Figure 6.6.1: 1-2-.

Group III gathers "Anthropomorphic figures" [RBD 62] of more than 30 cm in length, made on slabs of granitic or metamorphic rocks of good size, with a hammered edge. The *Parxubeira class* (IIIa) are close to half a metre in size, which leaves them outside portable figuration. They have an outline with the head or shoulders; the *Dombate class* (IIIb) are tripartite - head, trunk and lower body - (Figure 6.6.1: 3) reminiscent of the small, flat, dressed Southern versions [25].

Since the 1990s, the updating of archaeological knowledge in megaliths has added ensembles of decorated stones and statuettes gathered in deposits, as has been proven in the case of decorated plaques or other types of figurines (Bueno, 2010; Bueno *et al.* 2005a). In different contexts they have been found in front of the entrance, aligned around the tumulus, in a rectilinear arrangement, as in the dolmen of Dombate, Cabana de Bergantiños -Figure 11.4.1- or curved in the form of an arc as in Cova da Moura, Noia. This arrangement has led to their evaluation as "agents in some kind of interaction between the community of the living and their ancestors", arranged as a delimitation or reminder of the sacred character of a monument where the living and the dead converge (Fábregas *et al.* 2020, 186-187).

These deposits at the entrance of the monuments are also known in the Southwest, where the presence of coarser quartzite pieces was documented for the first time which are similar to the ones we pointed out in the North (Bueno, 2010). In fact, excavations in open areas of megaliths in Extremadura and Andalusia have increased this inventory, proposing a more inclusive interpretation in which these pieces would form part of a way of positioning lineages and ancestors at the entrance to the tombs, perhaps identifying them in a specific way (Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2008). The relationship of locations and simple stone forms with the external deposits of betyls at Los Millares is very suggestive, allowing us to assess ritual events in the visible areas of the megaliths in which the offering of stones with more or less detailed human-like forms played an important role.

These deposits may have been the result of different depositional events, perhaps collecting pieces from outside other monuments to preserve pasts (Bueno *et al.* 2008), a hypothesis that is also convincing for the Northwestern cases (Fábregas *et al.* 2020).

The documentation of rich ensembles of decorated stones, such as those of Chã de Arcas (Sanches *et al.* 2021), add graphic repertoires such as concentric circles in the same way that is appreciated for the decorated stones of Katillotxu V in Guernika (Bueno *et al.* 2009a). Personages bearing these decorations have been included in megalithic monuments between 4100 and 3000 cal BC, dates applicable to the depictions on open-air petroglyphs (Bueno *et al.* 2007a). C14 dating on the organic matter of paintings on megalithic media adds another scientific argument for the chronology of these elaborate scenarios that point in the same direction: late 5th and early 4th millennium cal BC (Bueno *et al.* 2007a; Carrera and Fábregas, 2002). These chronologies are in line with what is to be expected in the southern areas, which are less well dated because their contexts were excavated with obsolete methodologies.

Some pieces, such as the plaque from Carballeira in Pontevedra (Bueno *et al.* 2003) -Figure 13.1.3-, the painted plaque dated directly from the dolmen of Antelas, Viseu (Cruz, 1995) -Figure 13.2.1-, the bitrianglular ones painted on megaliths (Gonçalves, 2008) and on shelters with schematic art (Comendador, 2022; Sanches *et al.* 2021), confirm that the connections with the megalithic style of Southern Iberia are an

irrefutable fact that is easily related to other materials: vessels with sun decoration.

The parallel development of statuary forms is documented from the earliest historiographical references such as the statue from Serra Boulhosa - Figure 13.3.1 - (Breuil, 1935), or somewhat smaller pieces such as the one from Paredes de Abajo (Vazquez Seijas, 1946), in Lugo. The alignment of Cabeço da Mina, Vila Flor, with some 60 complete and fractured stelae of small and medium size, still lacking a detailed study, offers a statuary repertoire with necklaces, belts and sometimes lines for the arms, with references very close both to the decorated stones associated with the megaliths, and to the larger statuary visible in their landscapes (Bueno *et al.* 2005a).

Chapter 7
Anthropomorphic Expression in Clay

Clay is the most widespread raw material for European figurines , as we pointed out in Chapter 3 of this volume. Different genders and ages are added to a series of representations of everyday activities (baking bread, making pottery) and even games and depictions of various zoomorphs.

In Iberia, clay figurines have been adding to an ever-growing inventory that has rarely been treated as a whole. This reflects well-known typology shapes in stone, bone and ivory, as well as simple productions of decorated objects (loom weights, andirons) and a still unfathomed repertoire of animals: birds, horses, pigs... As in other areas of these figurine records, female forms have been studied most. Several morphologies offer clues as to the female gender, beyond the standards that refer among others to the lithic anthropomorphic figure from Almizaraque [1], the sexed bitriangle expression in clay from Benoaján [2], the lithic or clay truncated biconical figurines with breasts [6], the phalanges with pubic triangle [7], the stylised anthropomorphic figures with breasts [28], the plaques with hands [9] or the expressions in symbolic ceramics [18] such as the one from the Monte de Outeiro vase -Figure 4.4.8- and some other examples of an increasingly large group of anthropomorphic vases in Iberia.

The compilation and systematisation of anthropomorphic earthenware is an achievement of the 21st century, with an extensive collection that was previously considered marginal (Martínez *et al.* 2020). The bitriangular shapes [2] in clay have a wide-ranging record, with some very outstanding examples. This is the case of the "Venus of Benaoján" -Figure 7.1: 1-, in the cave of La Pileta, Málaga and the metallurgical context of Cabezo Juré, Alosno, Huelva (Nocete, 2001, Fig. 48) -Figure 7.1.5-. The figurines from Cabezo Juré combine the large scale bases of the phalanges with the profiles of the stone bitriangulars, the embossed breasts and the triangular pubis filled with dots of some Malaga pieces (Benaoján, Las Palomas), as well as the hair like the flattened lithic representations from La Pijotilla [16]. This syncretism is very revealing of the wide level of connectivity that must have been common throughout the South of the Iberian Peninsula in the 3rd millennium cal BC, in addition to assessing the coexistence between these simple and quickly made artefacts and those made from other raw materials with similar typologies.

The extension of this type of clay artefacts with breasts must have been considerable in Andalusia and in the central-southern area of Portugal (Martínez *et al.* 2020, Figs. 4 and 5). The bitriangular framework is accompanied by other morphologies such as the prismatic or truncated cone-shaped ones [30], in Vilanova de São Pedro and Pedra d'Ouro, to which the one found in the shelter of El Setenil, Cádiz is related (Martínez, Bueno and Linares *et al.* 2020, Fig. 5: 25), all with breasts and small eyes in a head not differentiated from the trunk, which in the case of the one from Pedra d'Ouro has tattoo lines.

Other prismatic pieces show detailed and exaggerated facial features [RBD 63] -Figure 7.1: 6-, such as one from La Pijotilla tomb 3 (Hurtado, 2010, Fig. 12: 37) or the one from the nearby location of Montenovo dos Albardeiros, Reguengos de Monsaraz (Gonçalves, 2005, Fig. 4) -Figure 14.2.2.2-, indicating the feet in a figurine that is interpreted as clothed. They are different from the hieratic concept of the piece from Foso V at Marroquíes described below, because their features are more exaggerated – big eyes - and notable for the tattooed face with the nose achieved by pinching the clay and marking the chest with more or less volume. There is no hair, perhaps because the human figure did not have any, or because a wig was added to the ceramic model, or because some features of this type were painted on. It is not impossible that a figure from La Pijotilla without a head due to fracture (Hurtado, 1980, Fig. 2. f), or the one from Vilanova de São Pedro, also fragmented, with the sex indicated by a triangle filled with dots (Figure 4.4.2: 2), could be related to these figures.

There are fragmented orthohedral pieces [RBD 64] and unique pieces, such as the one from the settlement of El Chorrillo Bajo, Lorca, Murcia -5 cm long- (Ayala *et al.* 1995, 44, 47), with two small perforations as eyes, an cord applied forming the nose and bundles of incised lines as facial tattoos, including a small perforation in the trunk that does not go through the back of the figure, and which has been interpreted as indicative of female sex (Gris, 2018: 41-44) -Figure 7.1: 2-, a gender in any case evidenced by the two marks on the front that indicate the position of the fractured breasts.

Some prototypes have more volume and are similar to the phalanges [7] -such as those found in the Angosturas habitat (Escoriza, 1989), the Casullo

Figure 7.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figures -FAG- 1,2,4,5 and 7 and human figures -FH- 3 and 6 in clay, female (1-3, 5-7). FAG: - 1. Flat bipartite ("bitriangular") known as "Venus de Benaoján", Gruta de La Pileta, Benaoján (Málaga). - 2. Rectangular with breasts, El Chorrillo Bajo, Lorca, Murcia; - 4. Head with fase of a possible bipartite figurine, Valencina de la Concepción, Seville; - 5. Bipartite with perforations for eyes and breasts, Cabezo Juré, Alosno, Huelva; - 7. Truncated biconical with breasts. Dolmen of Casullo, Berrocal (Huelva). FH: - 3 and 6. La Pijotilla, Tomb 3, Badajoz, (Hurtado, 2010, Figure 12). Museo de Málaga (1), Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Lorca (2), Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (4), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (3 and 6) and Museo de Huelva (5 and 7). Photographs: Museo de Málaga (1), Jose Manuel Sáiz (2 and 4), María Klauss (7) and 5 (Nocete and Nocete, 2015).

dolmen, Berrocal (Linares, 2011) or Perdigões (Milesi et al. 2013)-; or truncated biconical lithic productions [6], such as the one from the settlement of Terrera Ventura, Tabernas, or the one from Perdigões with a widened base, where a groove at the base is considered to represent sex (Valera, 2020, Fig. 1:11). The one from Casullo -Figure 7.1:7- retains traces of red pigment, like the earthenware from Montelirio Bueno et al. 2016[a], and some from Valencina de la Concepción (Hurtado, 2013), revealing an original appearance very different from the one now preserved.

Small eyes, breasts and zigzag hair also appear in the clay piece found in the fill of the excavation of Foso V

of the Copper Age settlement of Marroquíes Bajos, Jaén (Sánchez *et al.* 2005, Illustration V) -Figure 2.2.1-. Very similar to the bitriangular productions, it has its own nearly cylindrical characterisation [RBD 65], resembling long bones in its concept due to its widened ends and a central rectilinear shaft with a circular section. In the commentary on this case, and also thinking of the previous one from El Chorrillo, the importance of the bust over the oculate depiction stands out, when both features coexist, perhaps to respect the real proportions, or to clearly show the feminine character of the representation. In the Marroquíes piece, the ocular expression is very human, with small, incised eyes that are proportionate to the nose, eyebrows and tattoo lines.

Although the morphology of the lower area is unknown, the distal fragments of clay figures with oval-section heads from Valencina de la Concepción - Cerro de la Cabeza sector (Figure 7.1: 4) - and La Pijotilla (Hurtado, 2013, 316 and Fig. 2: 6; 2010, Fig. 11: 32) are similar to those from Marroquíes. With hair and a face similar to those of La Pijotilla, they have large eyes, tattoo lines and a prominent nose.

Another group of figures with insinuation of breasts and upper limbs [RBD 66] suggest movement. One of the figurines from tomb 3 of La Pijotilla, similar to the hieratic truncated pyramid-shaped figure from the same context, has its arms akimbo and leans forward, in an attitude of reverence or dance. -Figure7.1: 3-. Like this one, others were designed to be shown standing, as in the case of another of the Pijotilla (Martínez *et al.* 2020, Fig. 5: 17) with a hyperbolic body, breasts and what is left of extended arms, highlighting a head as an appendage without the neck, face or hair. It is reminiscent of the female one discovered in the 1940s at Vilanova de São Pedro, fragmented with the bust and the stump of an arm - Figure 4.4.2: 1.

The female figurines in reddish clay are novel; devoid of thorax and arms which, like the Almizaraque sculpture [1], show the volume of the body from the waist to the ankles, highlighting the hip with an indication of the vulva and buttocks and the rounded legs separated to form an asymmetrical "V", suggesting movement [RBD 67] -Figure 7.2: 2. The two from the PP4 sector of Montelirio, one inside the *tholos* and the other in a nearby pit, have been reconstructed on the assumption that in the first one the large head with an inverted conical morphology is joined by a long neck -about 12 cm long-, like "schematic anthropomorphic idols" (Hurtado, 2013). The head has incised hair with a central line from which other parallel lines part, the start of the neck and the face in bas-relief, and it cannot be ruled out that the features that make up the face were painted on.

Fragments of lower bodies with inverted "V" legs are known from other Western sites, such as Perdigões (Valera, 2015), Araya, Mérida (Enríquez, 1990, 119) or Lapa do Suão, Bombarral (Monteiro *et al.* 1974), reminiscent of shapes documented in the chasseen culture of Southern France (Martinez *et al.* 2021, Fig. 6: 17-19).

The figurine from the dolmen of Cuesta los Almendrillos, Alozaina, Málaga [RBD 68] -Figure 7.2: 1-, preserves the four limbs and part of the body, with the disadvantage that the fragments do not connect with each other. The flattened nature of one thigh supports its seated nature, and it is interpreted as a figure dressed in a skirt that reveals the feet, one of which is preserved (Fernández and Márquez, 2001, 77). For the moment it is a single piece that could be articulated.

The so-called "torso of Nerja" is also a *unicum* [RBD 69] -Figure 7.2: 4-. It has been related to a doll (Martínez *et al.* 2020, 148) due to the holes preserved in the rectangular torso -48 mm in its largest dimension- for the insertion of the head and arms, although it is possible that it also had legs. Lacking breasts, its possible assimilation to the male gender has been proposed, due to its torso decorated with dotted decoration and schematic art motifs, suggesting a dress. It has been directly TL dated to the second half of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Simón and Cortés, 2007), which coincides with a greater representation of men, in the light of their depiction in anthropomorphic figurines [28], a male gender that is in any case sparse in terms of its more sexual expression in the stone phalluses - Figure 4.6.2 - from the Western Iberia [38], and in the ceramic glans [RBD 70] (Martínez, *et al.* 2020, 147) from the repertoire of Cabezo Juré (Nocete coor, 2004, Fig. 8. 51) and Perdigões -Figure 7.2: 3-.

As far as symbolic ceramics [18] is concerned, the increase in the number of records on the Western seaboard allows for stylistic differentiations. As we have mentioned on several occasions throughout this volume, it would be more appropriate to call these vessels what they are, anthropomorphic vessels, in which the face with sun eyes and, on some occasions, breasts and pubis stand out. Like the figurines, complete bodies or upper parts of bodies are presented in the form of vases, as in continental Europe. The differences between the Iberian ones and those of the rest of Europe confirm the characteristic style of the former, which coincides absolutely with that which defines the sculptural representations of the Iberian Peninsula. It is no coincidence that the facial expression of the Leceia vases is the same as that of the simply decorated cylinders in the site´s record, with the eyes marked with dots and the tattooing with few lines - Figure 7.3: 1. This affinity is repeated in Northern Portugal between

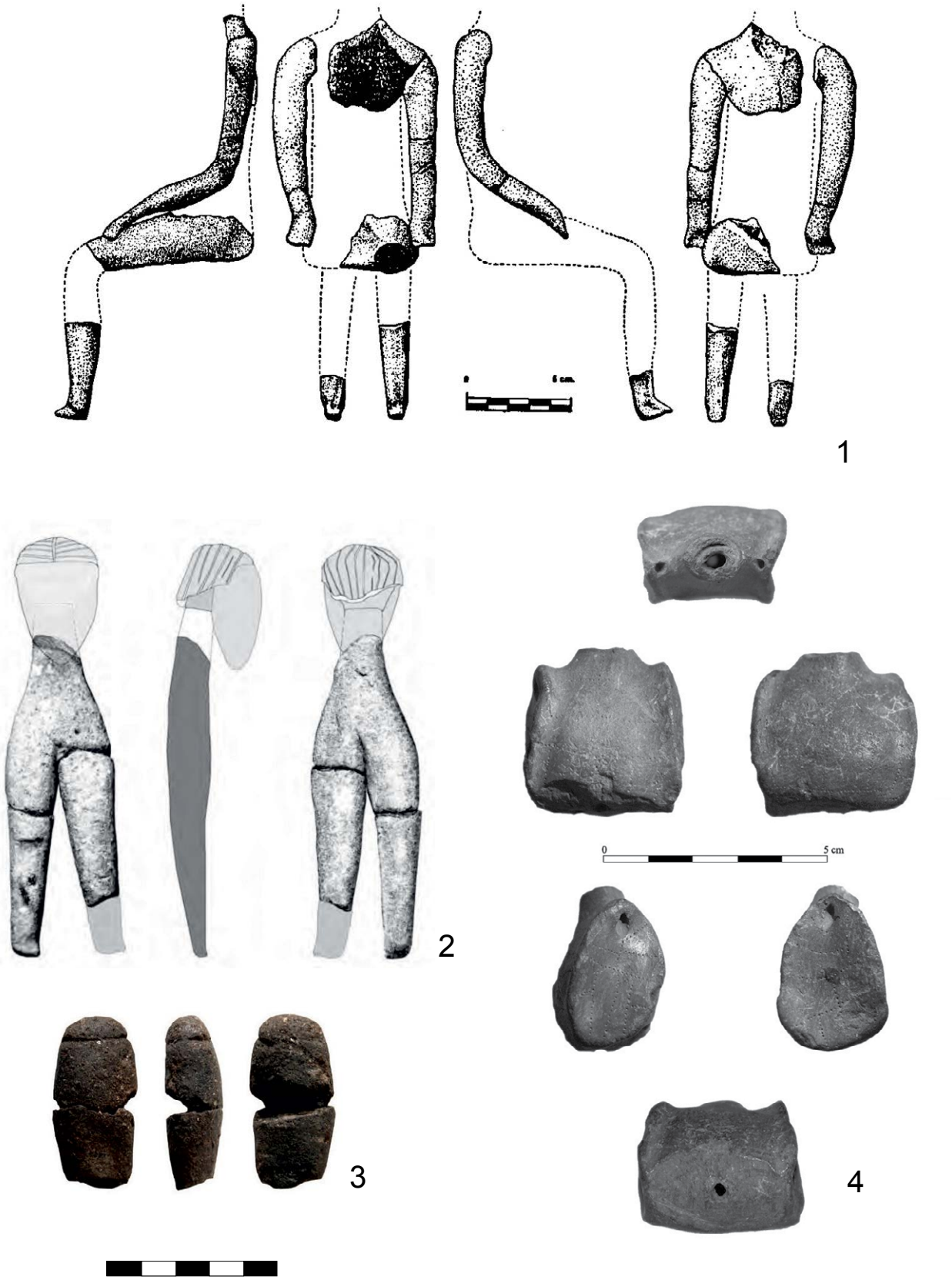


Figure 7.2. Human figures (FH) -1-2 and 4- and geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG) -3- in clay. FH: -1. Seated. Cuesta de los Almendrillos, Alozaina, Málaga, (Fernández and Márquez, 2001, 77); - 2. Upright with head, waist and legs, Valencina de la Concepción, Sevilla, (Hurtado, 2013, Figure, 4); - 4. Articulated "Torso de Nerja", Málaga, (Simón and Cortés, 2007, Figure 2). FAG: - 3. Flat ellipsoid with groove, «glans». Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora, (Valera, 2015, Figure 3: 5).

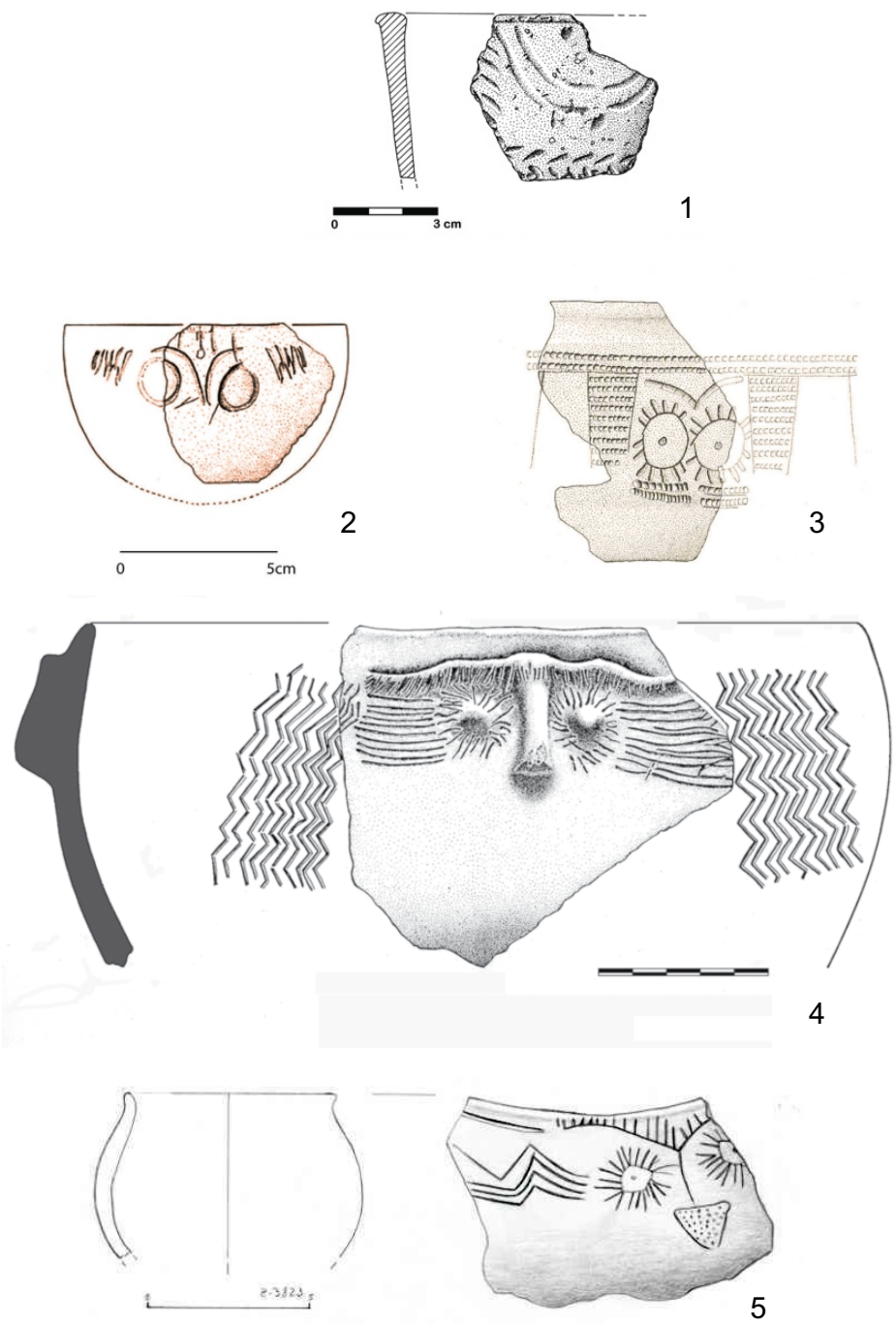


Figure 7.3. Symbolic pottery from Western Iberia. - 1. Leceia, Oeiras, (Cardoso, 2009, Figure 10); - 2 - 3. Buraco da Pala and settlement of S. Lourenço, Chaves (Sanches, 2021, Figure 4); - 4. La Pijotilla, Badajoz, (Hurtado, 2010, Figure 6); - 5. Anta Grande de Zambujeiro, Évora, (Rocha, 2005, Figure 14).

cave-art oculate motifs from Regato das Bouças and the expression of the incised face engraved on a vase from the nearby settlement of São Lourenço, Chaves (Sanches *et al.* 2021) -Figure 7.3: 3-.

Different formulas are recognised beyond the standard of the sun eyes described by L. Siret in the Millares ceramics, with their reflection in the ceramic expression of the Anta Grande de Olival da Pega -Figure 4.4.8-, it is not strange that it is in La Pijotilla, in view of its rich figurative expression in clay, where the face is shown more realistically, using incision and also relief - Figure 7.3:4.

Depiction in symbolic ceramics is enriched in the "sun eyes" theme with the examples from Perdigões

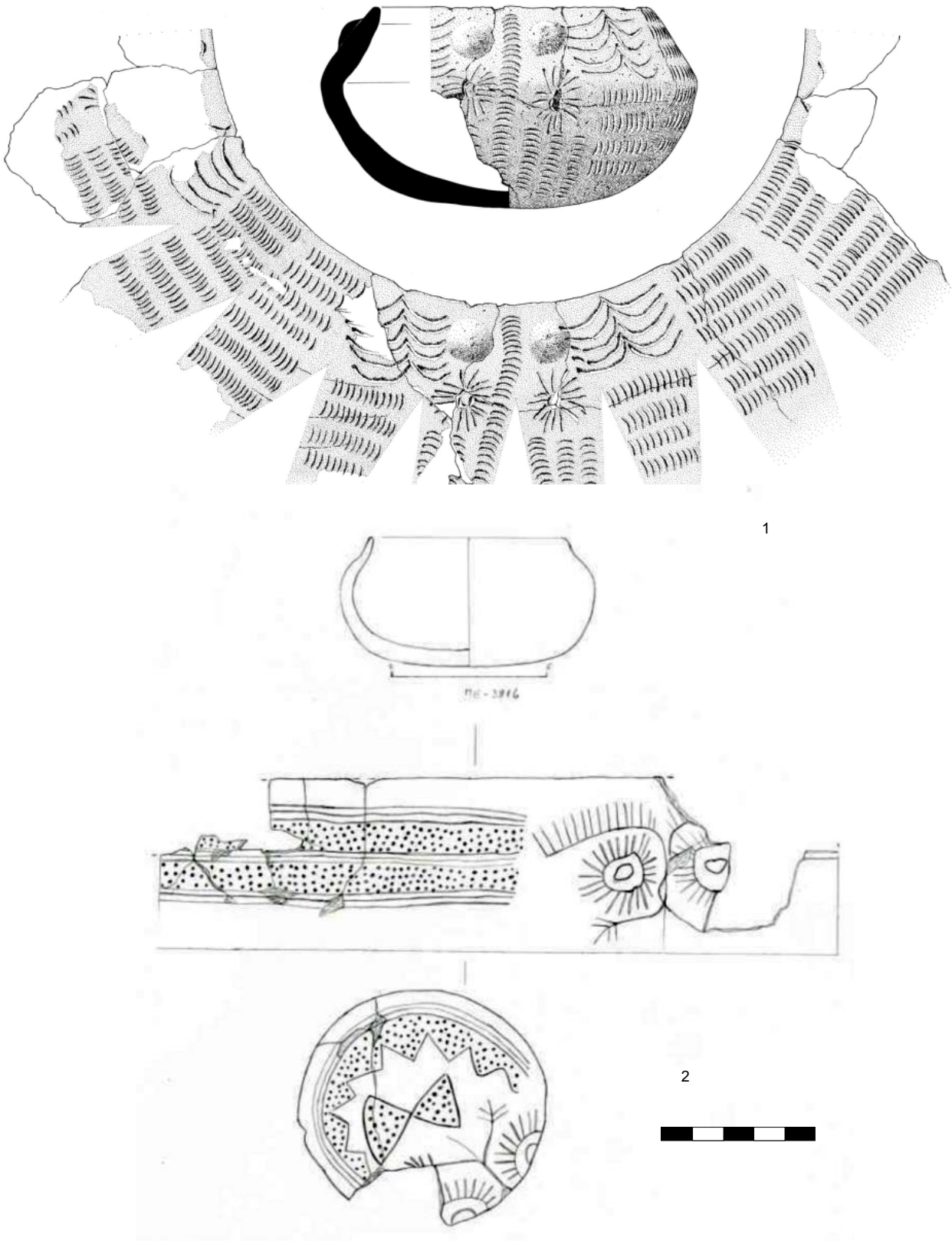


Figure 7.4. Symbolic pottery from Western Iberia: - 1. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora, (Valera, 2015, Figure 6); - 2. Anta Grande de Zambujeiro, Évora. Sketch (Rocha, 2005, Figure 6).

(Figs. 7.4: 1 and 10.1: 3) and from Anta Grande de Zambujeiro, Évora, some with decoration all over the surface (Valera, 2015, Fig. 6). The vase (ME3816) from Zambujeiro featuring the bitriangle [2] at the base and the 'sun eyes'. -Figure 7.4: 2 - linked to a body with limbs as in schematic art, while the reconstruction of vase Z823 - Figure 7.3: 5 - shows the pubic triangle, similar to the Monte de Outeiro vase - Figure 4.4.8 -.

Also, the review of the ceramic materials from Los Millares, both from older and more recent interventions, introduces oars and boats in the ceramic decoration of the interior of vases, one of them with a figurehead in a fragment published in the site guide (Molina and Cámara, 2005, 94) and another two under two suns that make up the sky of the vase from burial 15 at Los Millares, according to the interpretation of Escacena (2012), revisiting the piece published by Siret -Figure 4.2.3: 14-.

Without aiming to make an exhaustive collection of these vessels, with examples in the Iberian Plateau, Andalusia, East, Southeast and West, they confirm a long diachrony from their first evidence in the 6th / 5th millennium cal BC through their peak between the end of the 4th and the 3rd millennium cal BC, and reaching some Bell-Beaker specimens. A diachrony shared with the figurines as one more anthropomorphic version to add to these records.

Finally, the Southwest has also provided an increase in clay zoomorphs (Valera *et al.* 2014), in contexts with figurines [BBD 71] -Figure 9.1.3: 71- and vessels with zoomorphic modelling [18]. Although the depiction of animals is developed in different materials, it seems that bovids and pigs are only found in pottery, with cases of sexual identification as in the sows from Leceia (Cardoso, 2009) -Figure 9.3.1.1. The predominance of domestic animals over wild animals is another pattern of these representations, with birds being a theme that also has reference in parietal art in the open air. We cannot rule out the possibility that some of them were portable pieces that formed part of composite objects (Martínez *et al.* 2020, 148).

Consideration of the coexistence between human and animal groups in agricultural societies is a developing line of analysis (Valera *et al.* 2014) that has in these figurines some data of great informative value to add to the identification of the bones used to make phalanges, long bones and other figurines on animal bones. Contrasting these symbolic uses with those of everyday life, including the level and type of fauna consumed, will offer renewed arguments to approach the interpretation of these records in social contexts such as the ones we are dealing with.

Chapter 8
Anthropomorphic Figurines from Southwest Iberia

The anthropomorphic figurines of La Pijotilla [28] were presented in *Madrider Mitteilungen* (Hurtado, 1981), as "human figurines", displacing the use of the term "idol". Their characterisation in the mid Guadiana basin meant the recognition of the first version far removed from the interpretation of the oriental mother goddess.

The inclusion of the innovations of these records in a chapter of their own makes explicit their personality and their distance in terms of use, raw materials used and associations from the more compact group of geometric figurines that make up the majority of Neolithic and Chalcolithic representations in Iberia. This does not prevent us from recognising the thematic and technical similarities between these versions and the typologies with geometric bases, which offer valuable information on the processes of appropriation of common ideologies in individualised pieces that are also observed in statuary representations (Bueno *et al.* 2005a).

The series from La Pijotilla, Badajoz, introduces stone into an expression previously acknowledged in bone and ivory (Arribas, 1977). Male or female, with a proportionate head, good volume and a face with the same outlines as the flat oculates of Extremadura and cylinders: facial tattooing -broken lines-, eyebrows -knitted - and zigzagged hair. The eyes are marked by two deep circular holes, and the nose stands out in a face with a short jaw and not very pronounced chin, in which exceptionally the mouth is represented - Figure 5.2.1. With a neck, they represent the torso "in the manner of a plaque" with some indication of breasts and of the arms by means of lateral slits, at the side of the body and with the forearms standing out and superimposed in volume at the height of the narrow waist, showing the hands separated by a vertical slit without detailing them. The buttocks are defined by a recess, and the legs are sturdy and delimited by grooves on the front and back of the sculpture. This description by Hurtado (1980, 183) brings together features of other morphologies, plaques, cylinders, with an arrangement and proportion more akin to the human body. A good example is the torso [40] -Figure 9.1.1: 40-, in which he points out a greater degree of schematism (Hurtado, 1980, Fig. 11c) of a possible bipartite figuration.

In successive studies, they have been included as a characteristic Southern Iberian figuration in the West, and specially in the Guadiana basin. Different issues of interest have been pointed out regarding this figuration, such as the regionalisation suggested by the greater incidence of the stone versions in the Guadiana basin, or the greater diffusion of the bone and ivory versions as cultural and material exchanges. These considerations are appropriate when the previous conceptual uniformity, understood as the result of an importation of ideas, has given way to a more complex conception, with the variants in this group of anthropomorphs constituting a good indicator of different "areas and geographic-cultural circles" (Enríquez, 2000, 355- 357).

The scatter map reflects pieces where the Iberian tradition is followed in the features of the face and in the tritriangular format and even in the the echo of the plaques with the head highlighted and the shoulders cut out, something noticeable in the Rena specimen - a production with a very marked angularity - with the arms shown separated from the body by simply insinuated eyelets.

The best record in settlements of the 3rd millennium cal BC that stand out for their size or defences will be the beginning of an argumentative thread (Hurtado, 2008, 8) to point out that these figures, more realistic, are mostly masculine in contrast to the previous tradition that was only feminine. In his proposal, the masculinity would reveal the new elites, while the lesser continuity of feminine examples reflects the weight of a tradition where leaders do not destroy the collective (García and Hurtado, 1997, 145).

In Western Andalusia they have been documented in Seville, with two published in Cerro de la Cabeza de Valencina de la Concepción (Fernández and Oliva, 1980) -Figure 8.1: 3 and 6- and in Cadiz, that of Esperilla, Arcos de la Frontera (Hurtado and Perdigones, 1983). On this map of finds, the Guadiana basin continues to stand out with La Pijotilla - Figure 5.3.3-, other new finds from the same site - Figure 2.2.2- and its surroundings (Hurtado, 2008 and 2010), such as that of Llerena -Figure 8.1: 8- , that of La Habilla, Villar de Rena -Figure 8.1: 5- and the fragmentary ones from the same province of Badajoz (Enríquez, 2000), from Las Lomas, Mérida, Trujillanos; Villafranca de los Barros and Travieso, Valdetorres. In the second decade of the 21st century, very close to La Pijotilla, the Perdigões ensemble -Figs. 2 .2.2 and 8.1: 7-, will be added along with Reguengos de Monsaraz

(Valera and Evangelista, 2014), another archaeological area of enormous importance in this area due to the good figurative representation that characterises it (Valera, 2015 and 2020),

Perdigões offers the most complete shape study of these pieces, delving into their orthodox character in the search for human proportions. Made of ivory and bone, the pieces have conservation problems as they were affected by the cremation of the funerary contexts in which they were found. One of them, with a fractured leg, was completed with a bone of the person buried (Valera and Evangelista, 2014, Fig. 5), a gesture documented in other Mediterranean expressions representing the deceased (Bueno, 2020a; Sotirokoupolou, 2020).

Their study focuses on the naturalistic expression of the human body, within a general context of schematic representations. Characteristics from the middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Valera and Evangelista, 2008, 288) are shown as a break with the previous imaginary from which they obviously adopt features. They contain precise details such as the expression of the ears in a highly detailed face with eyes, nose, ears, mouth, facial tattooing and hair, falling all the way down the back to reach the buttocks. The detail of the depiction is such that the most complete figurine has ten fingers and shows the pectoral muscles.

«In this ensemble it is possible to find some revealing recurrences of Iberian symbolism, but with a predominance in the South. One of the most relevant is the greater realism of the human figure and the set of attributes associated with it, such as the frequent representation of the eyes, the eyebrows, the zigzag lines interpreted as facial tattoos or the inverted triangle filled with dots associated with the pubic triangle present in several pieces from the period and the zigzagging hair. These attributes, which in the more naturalistic pieces are associated with more detailed representations of human bodies, where the eyes and sometimes the ears can be clearly identified, the mouth, the genitals and the hands with their fingers, may appear isolated or mixed in different variants and types of anthropomorphised objects or included in symbolic communication frameworks of the period» (Valera, 2021, 204).

From this realism, the existence of asexual figures is valued alongside clearly masculine or feminine expressions, so that the sexual aspect should not be considered indispensable in the role that this type of representation could have played, although in this type the preponderance of male depiction is evident, compared to previous developments where female depiction is more abundant (Valera and Evangelista, 2014, 297).

Human proportion is a requirement which some pieces respect more than others, some have a larger head than the norm (Valera and Evangelista, 2014, Fig. 4). The search for proportionality would respond to the intention of controlling the message of authority that the figuration could express in the context of the changing context of the dissolution of the Neolithic world, and the emergence of a new social and ideological order that points the way towards the Bronze Age (Valera and Evangelista, 2014, 297). Regarding the role of these depictions, it is noted that some carry objects such as the staff of command from the Cova da Moura (Leisner, 1965) [37], in the Lisbon Peninsula - Figure 4.6.2: 3 -, interestingly one has been located in Perdigões (Valera, 2020, 231). These objects do not appear exactly the same in all the pieces, Marroquíes Altos, -Figure 4.6.2 :4-, Llerena Figure 8.1: 8 and Perdigões, Figure 8.1: 7-, something that will require further analysis.

Finally, another form of expression is represented by Perdigões' only ivory piece, where the human gesture puts all its strength in the raised arms of an 'orant' [RBD 72] (Figure 9.1.3: 72). The ivory figure retains the upper part, with a rectangular body (sub-circular section) and the head above an elongated neck. In front and reaching the height of the head, the arms including the hands are raised (Valera, 2021, 233).

Towards the east of Andalusia, where El Malagón, in Granada, was the first discovery of consequence, the number of finds increased, adding to those from Jaén at Torre del Campo and Marroquíes Altos de Jaén -Figure 4.6.2-, the pair of man and woman from the "ciudad de la Justicia" -Figure 8.1: 1-2-, within the archaeological area of Marroquíes Bajos, in the centre of the city of Jaén -Figure 5.2.1-, which makes possible the existence of an idol workshop in the settlement (Barba, 2010). Manufactured in antler, the male one which is 121 mm long (longer than the female one at 118 mm) has a spike where an interchangeable head would have been inserted. The relationship between the two is indisputable, not only because they form part of the same context, but also because of the position of the arms crossed at waist level, showing differences in the hair running down the back, which in the case of the male one may be a headdress or garment. A gold belt on one of the Marroquíes figurines, found in another context, adds to the social interpretation of these records.

More finds are to be expected towards Almería, where the head with eyes, hair and the face furrowed by the "VV" tattoo characteristic of the cylinders -Figure 5.3.2: 2-, from Fortín 1 at Los Millares (Escoriza, 1991), points to the spread of the records in that territory.

Figure 8.1. Upright human figurines (FH) in bone -1-3, 6 and 8? -, stone -4- and ivory -7- ("anthropomorphic idols"): - 1-2. Marroquíes Bajos, Jáen; - 3 and 6 Cerro de la Cabeza, Valencina de la Concepción, Seville; - 4. La Pijotilla, Badajoz; - 5. La Habilla, Villar de Rena, Badajoz; - 7. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz; - 8. Llerena, Badajoz. Museo de Jaén (1-2), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (4 and 5), Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (3 and 6), ERA Arqueologia, Lisbon (7) and José Iñesta Mena Collection (8). Photographs: José Iñesta Mena (8), A. Valera (7), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (5), Eva Rocamora (4), T. Ximénez (1), Museo de Jaén (2) and J. M. Sáiz (3 and 6).

Chapter 9
Summary of Human Geometry and Ideomorphus Portable Objects

Throughout chapters 4 to 8 the figurines have been presented following the process of our knowledge of them, by means of 72 formulations that make up a Bibliographic Register of Denominations (RBD in Spanish). It includes material elements that, because they are not linked to productive artefacts (tools) or merely ornamental (decorative elements), have been considered "idols" or "sacred", "votive", "ideotechnical" or "ideomorphic" objects, throughout a lengthy research process over a century and a half.

This list exemplifies the terminological, cultural and functional problems of the study of the symbolism of recent Iberian prehistory. It is revealing to observe how a small bone plaque [25] with notches to mark the neck and waist, marking the head, chest and skirt or tunic of a clothed anthropomorphic expression was classified as a "triple axe", "Almerian idol", "cruciform idol", "violin idol", "flat idol with notches" or "tritriangular idol". There are more examples of the inaccuracies and confusions caused by typological nominality.

Without entering into debate, it is striking that a categorisation of "anthropomorphs" (Hurtado, 1980) is distinguished within a group of figures that, once objects and zoomorphs are separated, are understood to evoke the human figure; " anthropomorphised oculates" when the face is accompanied by body and limbs (García Atiénzar, 2006); "schematic anthropomorphic idols" to define forms with no chest (Hurtado, 2013); or the contrast between "schematic anthropomorphic figurines" versus "naturalistic anthropomorphic figurines" (Martínez and López, 2020), referring to those presented as "anthropomorphised idols" (Almagro, 1973) from Marroquíes Bajos or Torre del Campo (Blanco, 1962). The latter were discussed in Chapter 8.

Once the process of comprehending them confirms that the figurines are the portable aspect of parietal, Schematic Art, it is easier to approach the mentality of those who made them by defining the geometric bases and the type of materials with which this group has been codified. By separating them from the notion of "idols", their analysis makes it possible to construct a classification of anthropomorphic figuration and its different versions within a broader framework that includes representations of animals and objects.

9.1. List of symbolic artefacts since Siret. The Bibliographic Register of Denominations (RBD).

The forms we have numbered summarise the names and interpretations of the figurines from the last quarter of the 19th century, as set out in Siret's compilation (1908), until the beginning of the third decade of the 21st century. The list includes all the art versions that the bibliography includes in these ideomorphic expressions.

This guide responds to the numerical indication [RBD nº], which accompanies the introduction of each *item* in the expository discourse developed in the previous chapters and in many cases [nº] is repeated when the morphology is reconsidered. The list does not keep any intended order, nor does it pretend to establish any category. It is merely a list for the purpose of following the nominal and classificatory course of each of the pieces that formed part of the study of these objects. It could be said that this bibliographic register is in itself the thread of the more than century long biography of the studies of the figurines, specifying the changes of interpretation and the constant revivisiting of the same samples.

More *items* could have been established had we opted for a more in-depth formal analysis, which would not work in a text that has only attempted to collect the research process of the forms. It is certain that some specific morphology may be missing from the list because it escapes us (which is quite possible due to the enormous amount and dispersion of the information), or because it is hidden in the general categorisations, for example, in [8] - Almizaraque-type or Pastora-type long bones (Soler, 2017) -, or in [9] the simple, cut-out or plaques "with hands", which at one time were dealt with in a differentiated way (Ferreira, 1973), while others chose not to consider them as part of the group (Lillios, 2008).

The study of the stelae, zoomorphic imagery and, in general, of the ideomorphic but undecorated objects, such as the clay pillow from Perdigões (Valera, 2015, Fig. 4: 1), goes beyond the scope of this chapter, and the list only includes a few references for the purpose of establishing a generic entry in the classification which is developed in the following sections.

1. [RBD 1] Partial anthropomorphic stone figurine. Located in Almizaraque, Siret refers to it as a "human figurine" (1908, 56 and Fig. 6).

2. [RBD 2] Bitriangle or bitriangule in the two-dimensional representation in the symbolic pottery of Los Millares (Siret, 1908, Figs. 12 and 14). The closest three-dimensional representation is the earthenware representation of the "Venus of Benoaján" (Giménez Reina, 1941).
3. [RBD 3] Flattened oval figurine with a narrowing in its centre or in the upper third (Siret, 1908, Figure 1). Characteristic of the Southeast, later called "El Garcel idol" (Almagro, 1973).
4. [RBD 4] Flattened stone figurine classified as an "adze-idol" (Siret, 1908, 102 and Illustration I). Later it was linked to the characteristic tombs of the so-called "Culture of Almería" (Acosta and Cruz, 1981), within a broad group of "cruciform idols" (Almagro, 1973).
5. [RBD 5] Stone figurine of elongated shape with upper groove Interpreted as "stone statues". Siret presents examples from the Southeast (Siret, 1908, 48 and Illustration II: 1-5).
6. [RBD 6] Stone figurine made up of two truncated cone-shaped bodies. They were classified as idols of "stone, bone and ivory" (Siret, 1908, 106 and Illustration III). They have also been recognised in pottery, as in the case of the Casullo dolmen, Huelva. Some of them have bulges like breasts. In later bibliography they are known as "hopper idols" (Almagro, 1973) or of the "Pêra type" (Cardoso, 2002).
7. [RBD 7] Phalanges of domestic and wild mammals; the decorated ones with oculate and geometric motifs, preferably of equids and bovids. L. Siret identifies them in the Southeast as "phalange idols" (Siret, 1908, 108 and Plate IV). They were previously documented in the west (Apollinario, 1896, Fig. 6).
8. [RBD 8] Long animal bones, preferably of ovicaprids, with engraved decoration of oculate and geometric motifs (Siret, 1908, 110 and Illustration V). Later, in the area of Alicante and Valencia, they are known as painted or engraved "oculate idols on long bones" (Ballester, 1946).
9. [RBD 9] Schist plaque with engraved geometric decoration. Trapezoidal or rectangular flattened-section productions in slate or schist. They are characteristic of the West. Siret considers them (Siret, 1908, 114 and Illustration VII and VIII) on the basis of previous bibliographical documentation. Simple in shape or with the profile cut out for the head or shoulders. They were classified as "plaque idols" (Almagro, 1973). This includes the sculptural variant with more anthropomorphic details (eyes, pubic triangle, arms, hands...) in bas relief made on stoneware and included in the so-called "plaques with hands" (Ferreira, 1973).
10. [RBD 10] Schist staffs or baculae with engraved geometric decoration. Flattened, elongated productions whose shape, rounded at one end, is reminiscent of the object that gives them their name. Siret (1908, 118 and Illustration IX), based on previous bibliographical documentation, refers to them as being very localised in the West.
11. [RBD 11] Horn with engraved geometric motifs. Only found in Almizaraque (Siret, 1908, 118 and Illustration IX).
12. [RBD 12] Betyl. Undecorated truncated cone-shaped stone figurine with two flat ends. It may have a shape similar to a 'barrel' (Siret, 1908, 124 and Illustration XII). They are then referred to as 'betyl idols', the term being used in the West for elongated stone objects with a sub-circular or rectangular cross-section. A pointed variety of phallic nature is identified (Almagro, 1973).
13. [RBD 13] Stone betyl. Siret interprets them as "elongated objects" similar to columns (Siret, 1908, Fig. 2, 120 and Illustration X), taking them from previous bibliography. They are known as "decorated betyl idols" (Almagro, 1973). Linear motifs that can be interpreted as the face. Their spread is confined to the West.
14. [RBD 14] Cylinder. Stone figurine (Siret 1908, Figs. 4 and 5) in the shape of the geometric reference they are named after. Plain or decorated with oculate and geometric motifs, they are also found in bone or ivory. They are referred to as "cylinder idols" (Almagro, 1973). Their spread is confined to the West.
15. [RBD 15] An object that reproduces the handle and the active part of the adze in a single piece. Referred to in the West, Siret (1908, 122 and Illustration XI) calls them "votive adzes", taking them from the Portuguese bibliography.
16. [RBD 16] Elongated stone figurine with a flattened section and flaring at both ends. Geometric decoration with oculate motifs. Siret (1908, Figs. 3 and 21) presents it as a double axe. It has later been referred to as an oculate stone idol, with a flattened rectangular shape and narrowing in the middle. Characteristic of the Guadiana basin (Hurtado, 1980).
17. [RBD 17] Natural lithic formation with two spherical bodies. Siret refers to it in the Southeast as a "religious object" (Siret, 57 and Fig. 9). Later they have been called "natural idols" (Molina and Molina, 1980). They are three-dimensionally reminiscent of the barbell-shaped anthropomorphs of schematic art (Acosta, 1968).
18. [RBD 18] Pottery with symbolic decoration. Siret presents pottery vessels with zoomorphic and geometric motifs (Siret, 1908, Figs. 13, 14, 126-128 and Illustration. XIII-XV), some of which were later identified as oculates. The engineer acknowledges the aforementioned bitriangle in these pieces.

Figure 9.1.1. Figurative expressions covered by the Bibliographic Register of Denominations. RBD Nos. 1 to 19.

19. [RBD 19] Vessels in the shape of animals. Siret (1908, 61 and Figure 15) records vessels in the shape of a bovid -Gorafe- and a suidae -Carvailhal-.
20. [RBD 20] Stele with anthropomorphic decoration. Correia (1921, 87) presents them as "idol sculptures". Fixed representations and larger than the rest. Decoration with oculate and geometric motifs.
21. [RBD 21] Cylindrical figurine with a narrowing at one end. Stone or manufactured in bone or ivory, Correia (1921, 87 and 89) calls them "ídolos de gola" or "ídolos garrafa" (bottle) (Cardoso, 2009).
22. [RBD 22] Elongated trapezoidal stone figurine with a flattened section and decorated with dots at one end. They are referred to as betyl idols with dotted decoration (Almagro, 1973). They are confined to the Algarve, where they are called " flat-section betyls" (Parreira and Morán, 2021, 296).
23. [RBD 23] Figurine in the shapeof a human head. Unique piece located in São Martinho de Sintra. Correia (1991, 92) describes it as tattooed.
24. [RBD 24] Stone representation in the form of a "pine cone" with geometric decoration. Correia (1921, 95) considers it to be an idol. Nowadays they are interpreted as portrayals of acorns (Bueno *et al.* 2016a).
25. RBD 25] Elongated flattened bone or lithic figurine expressing the human body in three parts (tritriangular). Presented as a "triple axe" (Belda, 1929), it is classified as a "flat idol with two pairs of recesses". The shape combines triangular or rectangular bodies and is reproduced in stone (Martínez and López, 2020), encompassing productions close to the one described in [4].
26. [RBD 26] Flattened bone figurine expressing the human body with all four limbs. It resembles an anchor. Hence the name anchor-shaped (Belda, 1931). It is also a pendant.
27. [RBD 27] Flattened oval bone figurine, with central narrowing (in a figure of 8) Breuil (1935) places it in the tradition of "female idols". Siret described it as a "large bone plaque from Almizaraque with the shape and size of a sandal", evoking in its decoration the sole of esparto grass (Siret 1907, 118 and Plate VI: 1). Finds from the necropolis of Valencina de la Concepción, Seville, allow us to interpret it as part of the sheath of knives or daggers (García *et al.* 2020).
28. [RBD 28] Expression of the human figure presented as "anthropomorphised idols" (Almagro, 1973) or as "anthropomorphic idols" (Hurtado, 2008) or "naturalistic anthropomorphic figurines" (Martínez and López, 2021; Valera, 2021).
29. [RBD 29] Anthropozoomorphic bone figurine. Acknowledged as "lion man" (Paço and Jalhay, 1942). Located in Vilanova de São Pedro.
30. [RBD 30] Truncated pyramid-shaped or prismatic clay figurine. The eyes are shown with two holes. Some have breasts. First recognised in Pedra d'Ouro (Paço, 1940).
31. [RBD 31] A stone object characteristic of the West known as a lunula. It was described as a "crescent-shaped idol" (Ferreira and Trindade, 1954). It has been identified in Perdigões as physical evidence of the ornamentation of some menhir statues in the same territory.
32. [RBD 32] Egg-shaped stone object with a flattened section and grooves on one or two sides. Some decorated with geometric or anthropomorphic motifs. They were presented as "ovoid idols" from the Idol of Chillarón (Cuenca) (Almagro Basch, 1966). They were considered to be maces (Hurtado, 1978, 358), or functional pieces of a later chronology to the group of "idols" being discussed (Almagro, 1973). Some time ago some of the series were interpreted as grinders (Piñon and Bueno 1985).
33. [RBD 33] Stone object of prismatic shape with geometric decoration interpreted as a "tree of life" (Almagro Basch, 1966). Considered to be the "idol of San Bartolomé de la Torre" (Almagro, 1973). The documentation of its unique decoration on a plaque in the cave of La Mora, Jabugo, authenticates its megalithic context (Bueno and Soler, 2024).
34. [RBD 34] Flattened lithic elements in the shape of a bird, "cruciform", found in graves in Almería: Llano del Jautón 3 and Las Churuletas, Purchena. Specification of group [4] (Almagro, 1973, Figs. 7: 9 and 10).
35. [RBD 35] Flattened lithic elements in the shape of a cross, "cruciforms", documented in the tomb ensemble of Almería -Las Churuletas de Purchena- (Almagro, 1973, Fig. 5:1) and the West, such as the Trigache piece, Loures (Almagro, 1973, 4: 19).
36. [RBD 36] A polished stone object with an elongated shape and different cross-section ,mostly rectangular, whose morphology is reminiscent of axes. M.J. Almagro (1973), deals with them among the betyl idols characteristic of Western Iberia.
37. [RBD 37] Rectangular stone object with a handle. M. J. Almagro (1973) presents the one from Cova da Moura as a betyl idol with a "needle" to drive it into the ground. The Perdigões documentation places it as an object carried by figurines (Valera, 2020).
38. [RBD 38] Phallic stone figure. M. J. Almagro (1973) refers to them among the betyl idols. The most accurate as to the anatomical reference is the one from tomb number 2 of Cabezo de Arruda, Torres Vedras.
39. [RBD 39] Female human figurine in alabaster, with head, torso, arms and thighs. It is classified

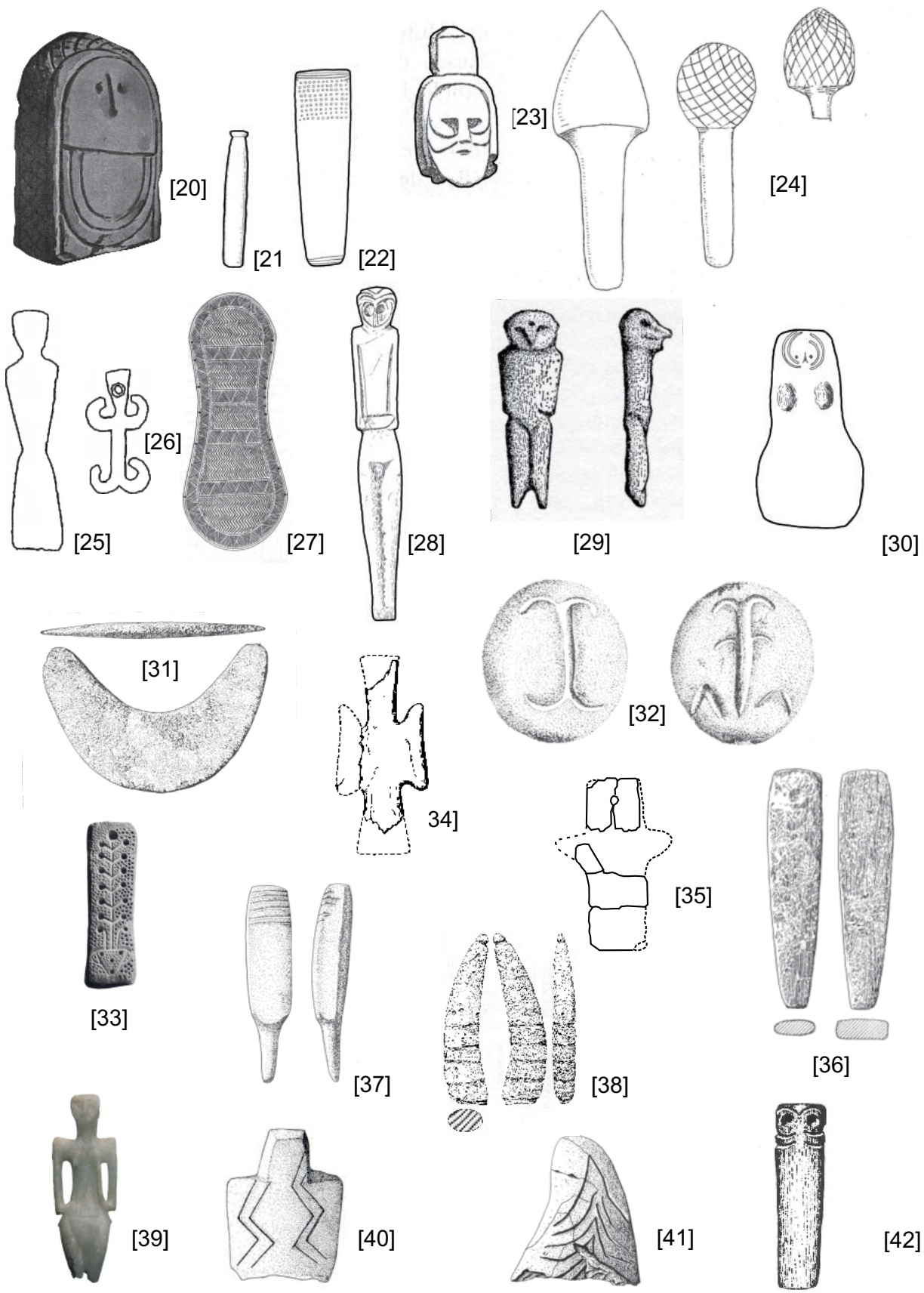


Figure 9.1.2. Figurative expressions covered by the Bibliographic Register of Denominations. RBD Nos. 20 to 42.

in El Malagón, Granada (Hurtado, 2008, 7) as a "naturalistic human figure" (Martínez and López, 2020, 277).

40. [RBD 40] Flattened stone figurine of a human torso. Trapezoidal with the neck or head cut out. With indication of engraved hair. Found at La Pijotilla (Hurtado, 1980, Fig. 11), it is considered more schematic than [28].
41. [RBD 41] Earthenware support for the hearth. "Morillo" (andiron). Because of their morphology and geometric decoration, some of them have been classified as "horned idols" (Escoriza, 1990; Valera, 2021).
42. [RBD 42] Fine rectangular or curved wares with an oculate expression. They are characteristic of the Los Millares forts (Escoriza, 1990) and other western contexts, such as Perdigões (Valera, 2020).
43. [RBD 43] Stone figurine with transversal grooves separating three bodies. It is called "schematic anthropomorphic figure" and is exemplified in a piece from Cerro de la Chinchilla, Almería (Martínez and López, 2020, 277, Fig. 6: 2)
44. [RBD 44] Tripartite oculate stone figurine with pubic triangle. It is documented in El Tarajal, Almería (Martínez and López, 2020). Close in morphology to [25].
45. [RBD 45] Wooden figurine with flattened section. Decorated with oculate and geometric motifs. It is located in Cueva Sagrada, Lorca (Ayala, 1987, 18 and Fig. 2A).
46. [RBD 46] Figurines painted on unmodified media. Pebble and scapula with anthropomorphic motif found in the Huerta de San Vicente, Lorca (Sánchez *et al.* 2006).
47. RBD 47] Figurine - stone pendant. Partial anthropomorph with indication of buttocks and lower limbs. Considered an "idol" (Pascual Benito, 1998), it was found in the Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy, and is interpreted as a partial female portrayal (Ballester, 1949).
48. [RBD 48] A flattened tripartite figurine in greywacke with a prominent head and marked indication of the hip. Oculate. Documented in Alcalar, Portimão (Morán, 2016).
49. [RBD 49] Oval flattened stone figurine with symmetrical notches in one half. It is classified in the Perdigões record (Valera, 2015, Fig. 4: 5).
50. [RBD 50] Circular truncated cone-shaped stone figurine. Oculate decoration on the wider end. It is classified in the Perdigões record (Valera, 2015, Fig. 2: 12).
51. [RBD 51] "Idol in the shape of a scale weight" (Cardoso *et al.* 1996).
52. [RBD 52] Cylindrical stone figurine with signs of sculpted breasts and zigzag motifs. Found at Cerro de las Vacas, Lebrija, Seville (Álvarez Rojas, 1982). Similar to [6] and [21].
53. [RBD 53] Larger elongated stone sculpture with an oval morphology and rounded upper end. It has a bulge on the same side as the face shown in bas relief. It is classified as the "idol of Almargen", Antequera.
54. RBD [54] Cylindrical stone figurine with a rounded upper end and a fractured lower end. Oculate and geometric motifs, showing female sex by means of a triangle. It is classified as the "idol of Alvega", Abrantes (Batista, 2013).
55. [RBD 55] Cylindrical stone figurine with a pubic triangle near the base. It is found in the record from Leceia, Oeiras (Cardoso, 2009, Fig. 22).
56. [RBD 56] Elongated greywacke figurine with decoration of dots and lines, showing female sex. Assigned to Lajes, Luz de Lagos, Algarve. Marked in [22] after its revision (Parreira and Morán, 2021) it aquires a characterisation of its own.
57. [RBD 57] Pottery loom weight with symbolic decoration located in Perdigões (Valera, 2020, Figs. 6 and 2).
58. [RBD 58] Figurine on long bone with a decoration similar to the stone cylinder [14]. Documented in Vilanova de São Pedro and Valencina de la Concepción (Martens *et al.* 2021, Fig. 5; Hurtado, 2013, Figs. 2 and 9).
59. [RBD 59] Ivory plaque with flared ends. Oculate decoration similar to [16]. Classified at La Pijotilla (Hurtado, 2010, Figs. 9 and 20).
60. [RBD 60] Embossed golden sheet. Decoration with oculate and geometric motifs. Fragmentary pieces and one that allows a formal reconstruction similar to [27] located in Valencina de la Concepción (Hurtado, 2010, Plate XVI; Murillo, 2016, Fig. 17).
61. [RBD 61] Pebble decorated with notches or grooves. Characteristic of the megaliths of the Northwest, where they are known as *Argalo type* (Fábregas, Rodríguez and Paz, 2020).
62. [RBD 62] Anthropomorphic expressions in stone with an outline that recalls anatomical details. Head and shoulders (*Parxubeira Class*), or showing a clear tripartite outline (*Dombate Class*), distinguishing the head, the trunk and the lower part of the dressed body (Fábregas, Rodríguez and Paz, 2020).
63. [RBD 63] Prismatic clay figurines with detailed and exaggerated facial features. They are exemplified in the Pijotilla (Hurtado, 2010, Figs. 12 and 37).
64. [RBD 64] Clay figurine with incised and motifs to show the face. Found in El Chorrillo Bajo (Ayala *et al.* 1995).
65. [RBD 65] Earthenware figurine with flared ends. Decorated with oculate and geometric motifs.

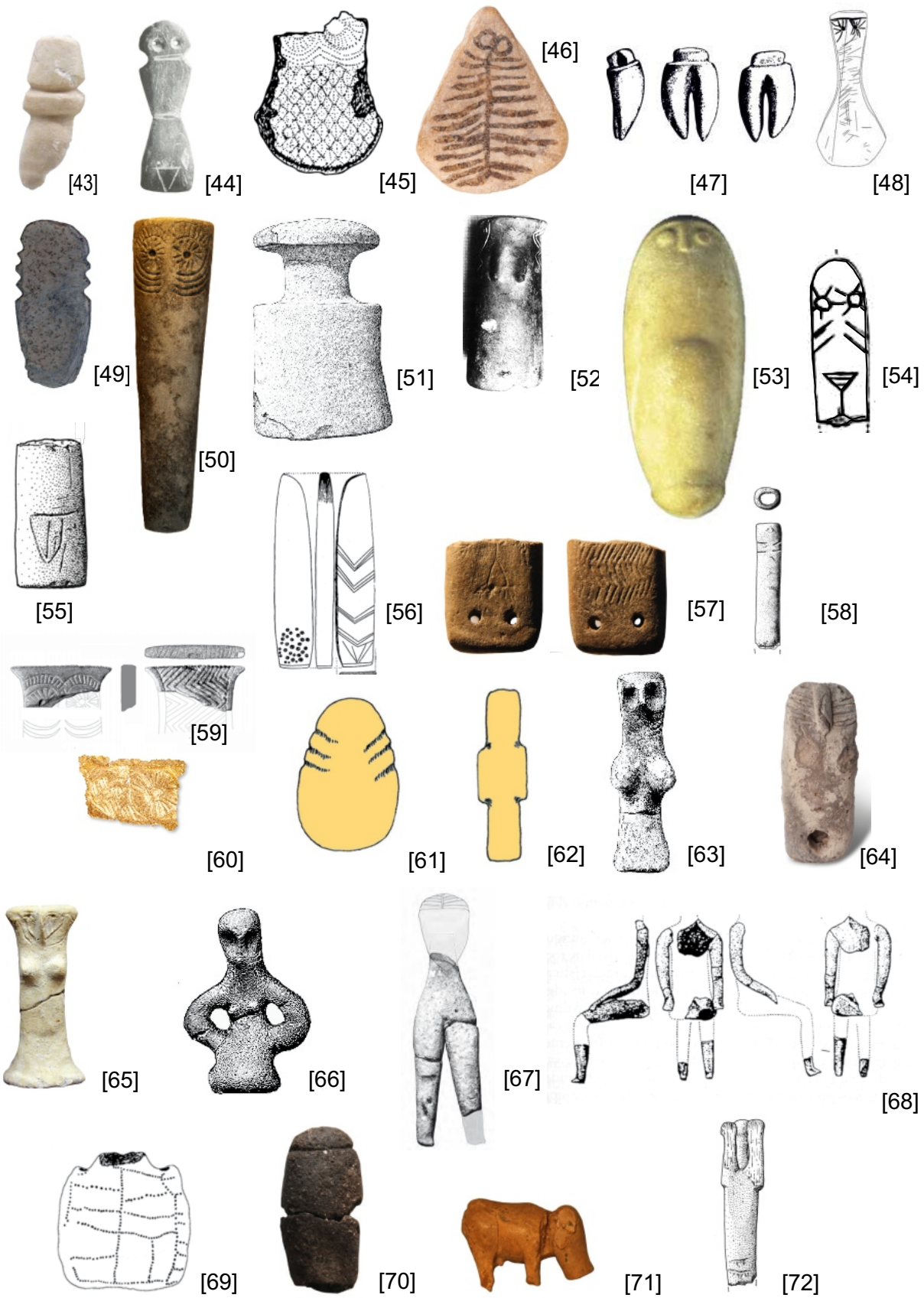


Figure 9.1.3. Figurative expressions covered by the Bibliographic Register of Denominations. RBD Nos. 43 to 72.

Found in Marroquíes Bajos, Jaén (Sánchez, Bellón and Rueda, 2005, Illustration V).
66. [RBD 66] Upright eartenware human figurines with signs of the upper limbs. Exemplified in the Pijotilla (Hurtado, 2010, Fig. 12).
67. [RBD 67] Earthenware figurines known as "schematic anthropomorphic idols" located in Valencina de la Concepción, Seville (Hurtado, 2013).
68. [RBD 68] Earthenware seated human figurine. Classified in the Los Almendrillos dolmen in Málaga (Fernández and Márquez, 2001).
69. [RBD 69] Earthenware torso of a presumably articulated human figurine. Found in the Nerja Cave, Málaga (Simón and Cortés, 2007).
70. [RBD 70] Glans. Grooved earthenware figurines (Martínez, Bueno and Linares, 2020).
71. [RBD 71] Zoomorphic earthenware figurines, especially those of bovids, birds and sows (Martínez, Bueno and Linares, Fig. 7.1).
72. [RBD 72] Semi-cylindrical ivory figurine with signs of a head and erect arms next to it. Ascribed to Perdigões, it is referred to as an "orant idol" (Varela, 2021, 233).

9.2. Geometries of human bodies.

Organising and systemizing the information on the Iberian figurines has a starting point in the RBD which determines the problems of their classification. A geometrically based analytical proposal that goes beyond the search for an origin in the East or West is a tool for recognising the general coding of the figurines. It is also a tool for establishing the weight of the social and cultural networks they fit into, making it possible to define central areas and their diffusion. In this sense, it is an instrument of enormous value to underpin connectivities, contemporaneities, associations, specialised handcrafts, etc. Not to mention the strength of their study in relation to the analysis of the social role of the exhibition of human bodies as identification of lineage, gender, age, family, social position.

Some problems in establishing their classification derive from the research laid out in previous chapters. The use of terminology that is not in keeping with the records or of stylistic characterisations that are too subjective has already been pointed out by those who preceded us. The application of the word "naturalism" to figures that do conform to its characteristics, or the use of the term anthropomorphic as a typology.

This classification is more an exercise in systematisation than the establishment of a general typology. It deals with symbolic and artistic expression, which is always more difficult to organise than tools, vessels or decorative elements. With this aim in mind, we start from general concepts or definitions with an order of attributes that focus their interest on the shape of the piece. The intention is to formalise an analytical language to codify a figurative expression which, although different, shares features due to its intention to evoke the human body and face following a standard that affects different shapes.

The groups that are established do not constitute a closed "type list" of objects, but rather sets of related pieces expressed with lowercase letters -a), b), c) ...-. In some cases these sets are unitary, while in others they include pieces with criteria shared by tens, hundreds or thousands of objects, as in the case of schist plaques. Only for the purpose of a reading guide, the RBD [no.] of each group is retrieved.

9.3. General bases for the geometrical systematisation of Iberian figurines. Portable anthropomorphic figuration.

By way of general definition and as the header of the classification tree, three main classes of three-dimensional expressions can be distinguished – Figure 9.3 -: Anthropomorphic representations - Anthropomorphic figures - which are different in that they represent the body, head or sex from others which are objects and which, together with mere supports for symbolic expressions and elements of the constructive or natural environment, can be grouped in a class of their own - Ideomorphic objects - which includes pieces sometimes listed as "idols" in the RB D.

Aside from this, there are the representations of animals -Zoomorphic figures- which, although not detailed in this work, should be taken into consideration as they form part of the same figurative universe and intervene in the stories of pottery or parietal art (open air and megaliths). In chapter 7 vessels in the form of animals were discussed [19] and also zoomorphic figurines in clay [71], which should give rise to a much more extensive treatment, including small flat stone pieces or pieces made from hard materials of animal origin traditionally left out of the "deity" to be valued as zoomorphic amulets, with rabbits standing out on the western seaboard (Valera *et al.* 2014); the three-dimensional sculptural forms that, in stone or m.d.o.a. evoke birds such as those of Perdigões (Valera, 2021, 205), the portrayal of cervids in pottery decoration, deer and goats on the cave wall, or the snakes of the megalithic orthostat, among many other examples of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic bestiary (Bueno and Balbín, 2006b).

In addition to the shape to define the object, decorative expression intervenes as a resource that reinforces the intention of the production. Its subject matter includes anthropomorphic or biomorphic, astral or geometric motifs, produced using different techniques, depending on the nature of the medium. It is achieved by sculpting or carving, engraving or incising, painting and relief on stone, clay, wood, gold or hard materials of animal origin. There may well have been pigments, not preserved over time, that would contribute to reinforce the messages of the combination of shape and decoration. The decorative

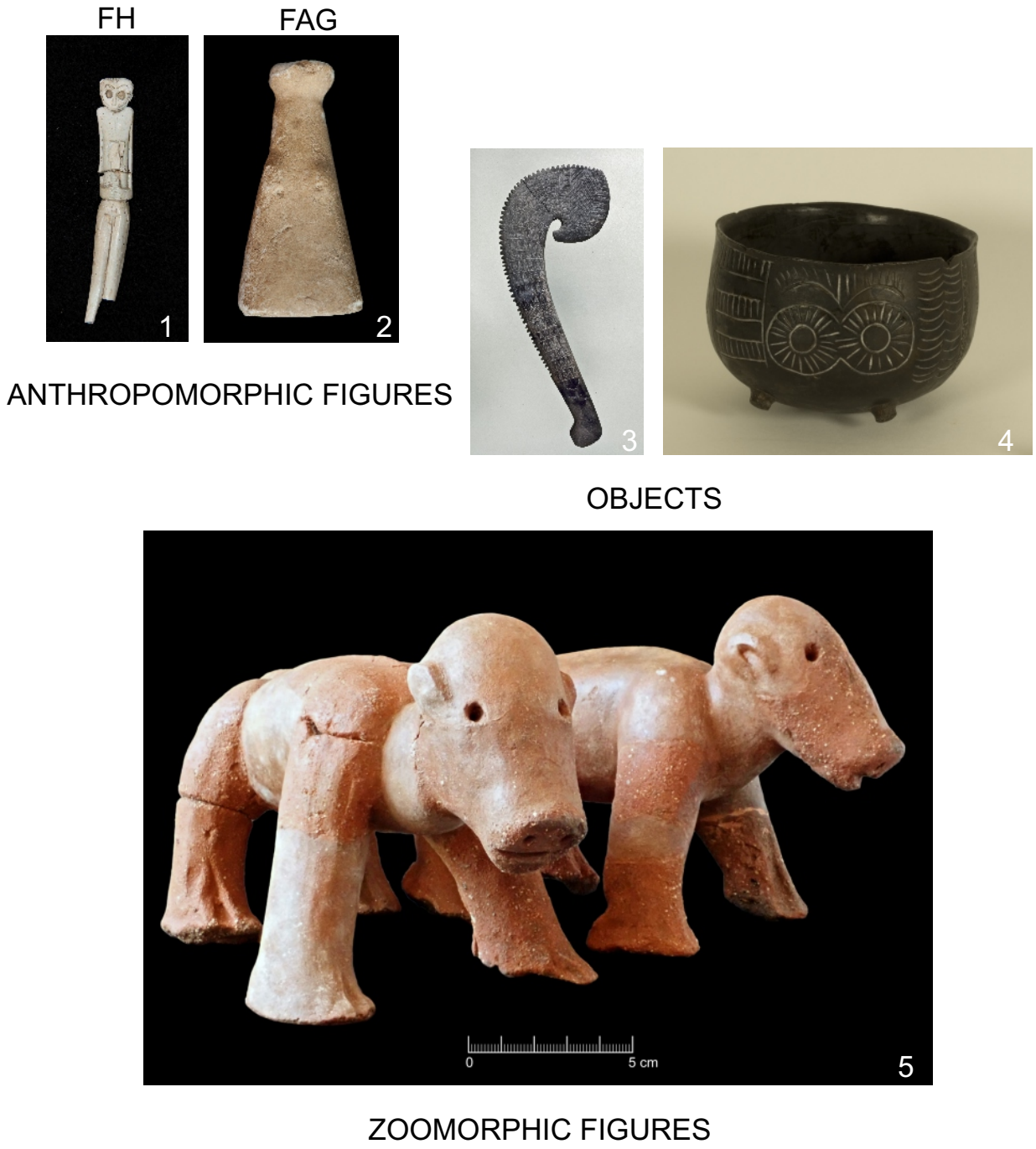


Figure 9.3. General definition of portable figurative expressions. Anthropomorphic figures: Human figurines (FH) and Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG); Ideomorphic objects (FX) and Zoomorphic figures (FZ). Images: - 1-3. Described in other figures in this book; - 4. Reproduction of the vase from burial 15 at Los Millares, Almería; 5. Sows from Leceia, Oeiras. Museo Arqueológico Nacional de Madrid (4) and Câmara Municipal de Oeiras (5). Photographs Archivo MAN - Ángel Martínez Levas (4) and courtesy of João Luís Cardoso (5).

concept is also determined by the colouring of the raw material, dark or ashen pieces such as the plaques and baculae and other light ones such as all those manufactured on m.d.o.a.. and the marble limestone used as a base for the production of the cylindrical and truncated cone-shaped pieces (Bueno and Soler, 2021b).

There is a good record of shapes with no decoration whatsoever, hence the evaluation of ornamentation as a complement which, although it does reinforce the figurative concept, is not always essential for its understanding. On the other hand, there are shapes that are intimately linked to decoration, understood as an informative

element of identity, with few examples recorded that are not characterised by geometric motifs (Bueno, 1992). All this has contributed to the fact that on occasions decoration has been seen as a more important feature than shape when classifying pieces, as is argued by Lillios in the typology of plaques (2008).

The scope or extent of the decoration on the figurines can take the form of:

- D.0. Undecorated pieces.
- D.1. Pieces with basic decoration, with few isolated motifs.
- D.2. Pieces with simple decoration, those with motifs whose arrangement partially affects one side.
- D.3. Pieces with complex decoration, those with motifs on different sides or conspicuously taking up at least one side.

Thematically, the characterisation of the anthropomorphic motifs is generally focused on the corporeal, in concrete characteristics on the face, with the eyes standing out among other facial features; or the mostly female sex, with few manifestations in which it is determined to be masculine. The geometric motifs are linear or formal, simple or mottled, composed of geometric forms that in many cases form friezes, or complete extensions of repetitive and aligned expressions, also filled with strokes. The astral ones are circles with radii, in a large number of cases overlapping with the anthropomorphic expression of the eye, open and with "eyelashes" similar to the rays of the sun, so that it makes sense to visualise them as " sun-eyes". The zoomorphs are few and far between, and the species can be identified, either in isolation in a clear-cut manner or among geometric motifs. Very few objects are recognisable in the decoration, apart from the consideration given to the decorative friezes on the plaques or the long bones as motifs for textile garments, which indicates the intention of expressing the clothed human figure.

The systematisation is based on pieces described in the RBD, offering an update of the records, as well as an approximation to their chronology. We understand that the chronology can be confusing. On some, fewer occasions, they are dates of the contexts, on others they are chronologies in the range of the levels in which they are included. For the most part, they are chronologies proposed on the basis of the criteria described in previous historiography, which places most of the records in the Chalcolithic, despite the lack of concrete data. The dates are taken from the proposal in the publications.

Portable anthropomorphic figuration

In general terms, the three-dimensional representation of anthropomorphic figuration has two formats, depending on their portability and therefore their size. Large or monumental pieces, such as the stelae recorded in the RBD [20], are outside the scope of this classification exercise. This book focuses mainly on movable or portable figuration, which does not prevent us from considering that there are fixed and monumental three-dimensional expressions that form part of the universe of anthropomorphic symbolic references of Megalithic Art with conceptualisations that are sometimes very similar to those developed below (Barroso, 2020; Bueno, 2010; Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2017).

With some exceptions in terms of size, the movable or portable register has pieces of less than 30 cm in the longest part and a weight of no more than 2 kg. Their size validates the use of the diminutive -figurines-. There are small (length < 10 mm), medium-sized (length 10-20 cm) and large (length > 20 cm) productions. Due to their size, pieces that are included in the RBD as "idols" are not included in this group, as is the case of the one from Almargen [53], taking into account that it is conceived as a fixed piece of 48 cm in its longest part and weighing 22.2 kg (Vilaseca, 1993-94), or the quite heavy pieces from the Northwest, included in the *Parxubeira class* (Fábregas, Rodríguez and Paz, 2020). Also excluded from the concept to be treated are small articles that fit better in the notion of ornamental elements, such as some flattened ones on organic or lithic materials with a single pair of notches at one end, and referred to in the RBD as "flat idols" [25] (Pascual Benito), whose morphology allows them to be defined as pendants; and also the thin, elongated pieces with notches at one end [35] which can be perceived as fasteners or pins with decorated heads (García del Toro, 1985).

The Spanish dictionary (RAE, 2021) defines anthropomorphic as "that which has a human shape or appearance". The nuance is interesting in order to approach Anthropomorphic Figuration, putting oneself in the place of those who produced it. There are two styles of figurative expressions - Figure 9.3.1 - one where the human model is explicit – Human Figurine (FH) - attempting in some detail a more or less complete or partial anatomical expression. In the other – Geometric Antropomoric Figurine (FAG)- the human body is suggested, conceptualised in geometric forms and using coded decorative expressions -Figure 2.1.2-.

9.4. The Human Figurines (FH).

The FH style - Figure 9.4 - integrates productions of the human body with anatomical details, representing it more or less whole, or partially (head, torso, sex...) on purpose, or by fracture, which adds an important degree of indefinition. Depending on their position, three variants can be considered: upright or vertical (E in Spanish), seated (S) and articulated (A). The register allows us to distinguish within the first variant two groups according to their condition: complete (E1) and partial (E2), a distinction

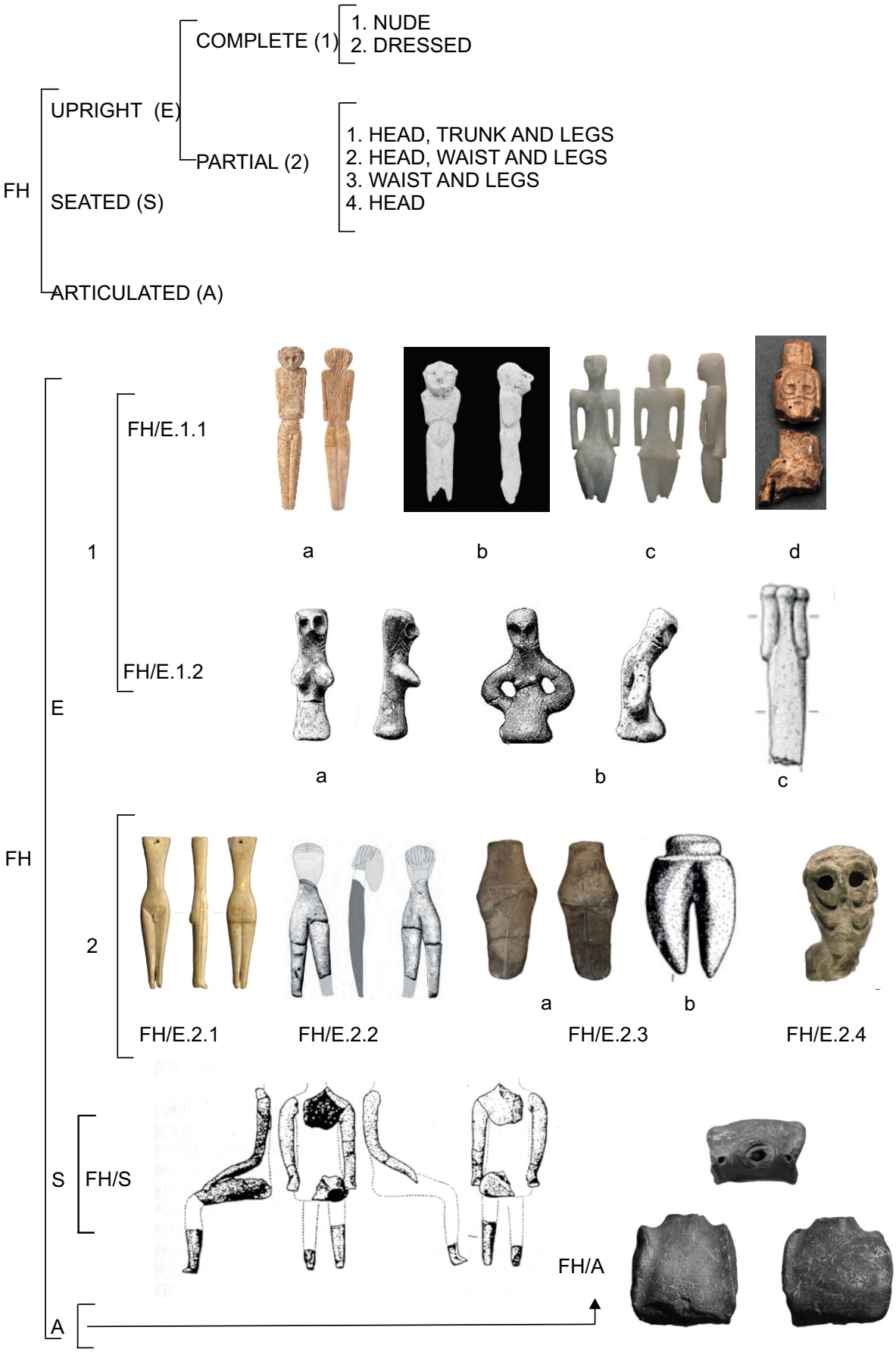


Figure 9.4. Development of the Human Figurines (FH) classification system.

which does not allude to a state of conservation, but rather is conceptual, although what we find in some cases is or may be part of a composite figuration.

UPRIGHT HUMAN FIGURINES (FH/E)

This set includes figurines depicting the human figure whole or partially

o Complete (FH/E.1)

They represent the three parts of the human body: head, trunk and limbs, none of which are known to be complete, as the feet are generally missing, suggesting the need for a support if they were used upright, which can also be achieved by driving them into the ground. In terms of appearance there are two variants. The naked ones (1) have the legs together and the arms close to the body, with the exception of the one in set c). They may include the representation of sex. Some may wear a garment which, because it is clinging to the body, does not prevent anatomical features from being discerned. The dressed ones (2) have a truncated cone-shaped lower body with no legs showing, suggesting a skirt or tunic type garment.

It includes the following sets of productions mentioned in the RBD:

FH/E.1.1. Nude

- FH/E.1.1.a [RBD 28] Human figurines in stone, bone or ivory; proportioned with indication of head, body, limbs and in many cases sex. Nude, male and female expressions. Medium size. They are one-piece or two-piece figures, with parts joined by a loop, as in the case of the one from Marroquíes Altos (Figure 4.6.2: 4), or with an interchangeable head, as in the case of the male figure from Marroquíes Bajos (Figure 8.1: 2). In some, such as the one mentioned above from Marroquíes Altos, the characteristic joined hands carry an object -Figure 8.1: 7-8-. In general, they show decorative detail aimed at highlighting the anatomical features, expressing the face - eyebrows, eyes, nose and in some cases the mouth -Figure 5.2.1- and the hair following the same decorative style as that found on FAG wares, such as the complexly decorated cylinders. Their diffusion extends to the Guadiana and Guadalquivir basins, and different styles have been noted. They are considered to date from the mid-3rd millennium cal BC (Valera and Evangelista, 2008, 288).
- FH/E.1.1.b [RBD 29] Anthropozoomorphic figurine in bone -Figure 4.4.2: 5-. Located in Vilanova de São Pedro. Small size, 5 cm long. Apparently naked, its sexual attribution is doubtful. The arms are folded, the belly is marked and the legs are close together, with the eyes and nose on the face. Its facial expression was considered to be that of a feline, and it is therefore valued as a masked figure. First half of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Martins *et al.* 2021).
- FH/E.1.1.c [RBD 39] Female human figurine in alabaster, tripartite (head, torso and thighs) with pubic triangle. Medium size, 15 cm long and 5.5 cm wide. The face is detailed, the forearms are downwardly excised and the arms are upward in bas relief, reaching the breasts. It seems to be wearing a bodice-like garment. Assigned to El Malagón - Figure 5.3.2: 1. First half of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Martínez and López, 2020).
- FH/E.1.1.d [RBD 23] Bone figurine in the shape of a human head. Unique piece located in São Martinho -Figure 4.3.2-. Part of the body and an excised forearm pointing downwards have been documented at a later date. It has an orthohedral cap on the head over the hair or part of the headdress and a face with a recessed mouth and eyes, tattooed with two pairs of incised lines. Small size. It has been dated to the 3rd millennium cal BC like the rest of the pieces from the site, but with doubts, as it is not recorded in Apollinario's first report (1896).

FH/E.1.2. Dressed

- FH/E.1.2.a [RBD 63] Prismatic figurines with breasts,limbless, with detailed and exaggerated facial features. They have feet to stand them upright. They are exemplified in tomb 3 at La Pijotilla and in other contexts such as Monte Novo dos Albardeiros -Figure 7.1: 6 and 14.2.2.2 - Medium size, the one from tomb 3 reaches a length of 12 cm. First half of the 3rd millennium cal BC - Beta - 121143: 4130 ± 40 BP - (Odriozola *et al.* 2008).
- FH/E.1.2. b [RBD 66] Prismatic earthenware figurines with breasts, upper limbs shown as akimbo or open, facing upwards or downwards. They have feet to stand them upright. Found in tomb 3 at La Pijotilla, Badajoz -Figure 7.1: 3- and in other contexts such as Vilanova de São Pedro, although doubtful due to fracture -Figure 4.4.2: 1-. Small in size, the one from tomb 3 has a length of about 8 cm. First half of the 3rd millennium cal BC. - Beta - 121143: 4130±40 BP - (Odriozola *et al.* 2008).
- FH/E.1.2.c [RBD 72] Figurine in ivory with a semi-cylindrical body and a long-necked head. Arms erect with open hands at the same height as the head. The position of the arms makes it to be considered as an "orant" -Figure 9.1.3: 72-. Small size, length, 6 cm. The lower fracture prevents greater precision, but apparently the figure does not show the lower extremities. It is classified in the Perdigões record. Mid III millennium cal BC (Valera,2020).

o Partial (FH/E.2)

They express corporeal conceptualisations that are not intended to represent the human body in its entirety. However, this intention may only be apparent as part of a

complex figuration based on organic elements that have not been preserved. None of the expressions in the register have arms, and those with legs are shown naked. Four variants can be distinguished according to their development:

FH/E.2.1. Figurines with head, trunk and legs

- FH/E.2.1 [RBD 28] Ivory human figurine found at El Malagón. Medium size, 16.6 cm long by about 2 cm wide. Linked in the bibliography to those of group FH/E.1.a) (Enríquez, 2000; Hurtado, 2008), it is rather a piece with its own style, lacking arms and with the head missing because it is interchangeable. Without details, the body has a bitriangular morphology. It models the waist, buttocks and belly, showing the male sex and the legs together. It has a perforation for the attachment of the head possibly by means of a rod - Figure 5.3.1. Mid-3rd millennium cal BC.

FH/E.2.2. Figurines with head, waist and leg

- FH/E.2.2 [RBD 67] Elongated clay figurines with an acorn-shaped head, a neck that connects the head with the hip, from which the lower limbs emerge, although there is no complete sample to corroborate the proposed reconstruction (Hurtado, 2013). They show the legs in an inverted "V". They express movement due to the asymmetrical position of the legs, or because they are bent inwards at the calves. They are feminine, depicting the buttocks and vulva. The hair is shown by incisions arranged around a central parting. Two are known from the archaeological area of Valencina de la Concepción. Of medium size, the reconstruction of one of them, gives a size of 12.5 x 3.5 x 3 cm -Figure 7.2: 2-. First half of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Hurtado, 2013).

FH/E.2.3. Figurines with waist and legs

- FH/E.2.3.a [RBD 1] Partial female human stone figurine. Depicted from the waist to the knees, with engraved indication of the pubic triangle filled with dots, buttocks and legs. A pair are known in Almizaraque. Small in size, their maximum dimension being between 6 and 9 cm -Figs. 4.2.1: 2 and 6.2.4: 5-. First half of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Maicas, 2020).
- FH/E.2.3. b [RBD 47] Stone figurine - pendant in reddish stone. Partial anthropomorphic stone figurine, probably female. Indication of waist with transversal perforation, hip with buttocks and lower limbs separated forming an inverted "V". Small in size, 6.8 x 4 x 3 cm, it is part of the Cova de la Pastora record -Figure 12.1.4: 4-. Chronology 3300-2500 cal BC.

FH/E.2.4. Figurines with the expression of the head alone

- FH/E.2.4 [RBD 28]. Human head with indication of a shoulder. Linked in the bibliography to those of the FH/E.1.a group (Hurtado, 2008), this is a specific type of production. Fragmented, it seems that the shoulders are the same width as the head, which gives it the appearance of a possible bust, rather than a fragment of a whole figure -Figure 5.3.2: 2-. It cannot be ruled out that it is an insertable head. Although its size is small, about 4.6 x 2.6 cm, it could be considered to be a medium-sized piece when whole. It was found in fort 1 at Los Millares. Middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC.

SEATED HUMAN FIGURINES (FH/S)

There is only one human figurine in the register that is definitely in a seated position.

- FH/S [RBD 68] A presumably complete production from the dolmen of the Cuesta de los Almendrillos. It preserves the four limbs and part of the body, without direct connection. It could be wearing a skirt. In reddish clay. Large in size, the body is about 20 cm long in the reconstruction without the head - Figure 7.2: 1-. Third third of the 4th millennium cal BC - GrN25392: 4450+20 BP- (Rodríguez Vinceiro et al. 2003, 330).

ARTICULATED HUMAN FIGURINES (FH/A)

Only one human figurine is identified in the register and it is definitely recorded as articulated.

- FH/A [RBD 69] Part of a figurine known as the "Torso of Nerja" because it was found in the Nerja Cave. Rectangular-shaped piece seen from the front with an ovoid profile, wider at the base than at the top, where it has appendages in the form of shoulder pads. It has perforations to attach the head, arms and lower body - Figure 7.2: 4. It is considered to be a clothed male expression. The torso measures 4.8 x 3.6 x 3.09 cm. The whole figurine could be of medium size. It has a direct thermoluminescence dating of 2350 BC (Simón and Cortés, 2007, 162).

9.5. Geometric Anthropomorphic Figurines (FAG)

The FAG style includes productions that formally evoke the upright human body without showing any interest in detailing the anatomy, and presumably dressed due to the rectilinear shape of the base, suggesting the legs are covered with a skirt, tunic or cloak type garment. Two variants can be considered, according to their condition: composite (C) or simple (S) - Figure 9.5 - depending on whether one or more geometric forms are involved in their formal definition. Both groups have different families or reference geometries.

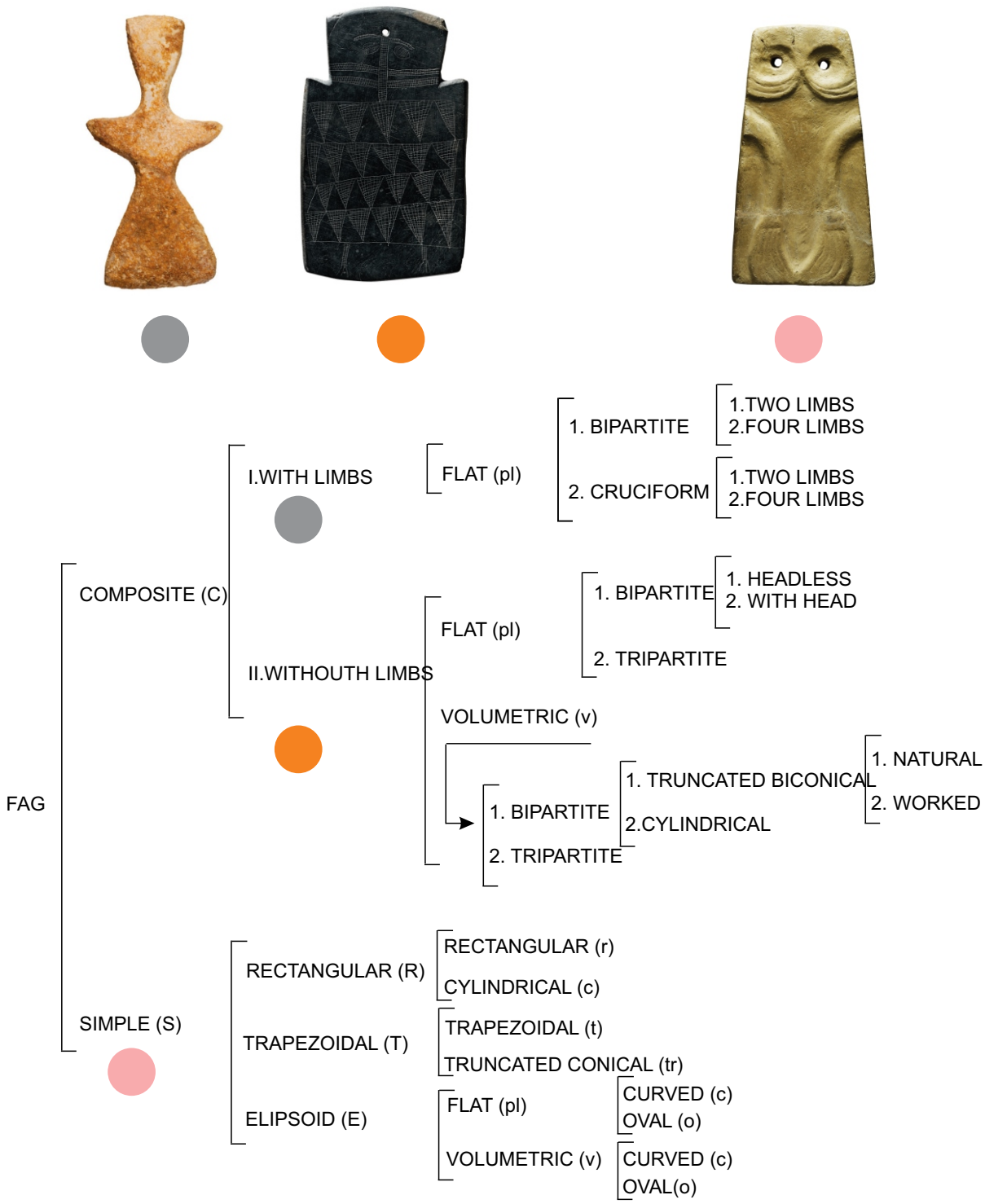


Figure 9.5.1 Development of the classification system for geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG).

Except for the lithic plaques [RBD 9], the decoration is less evident in composite than in simple figuration. In their outline, composite forms evoke the anthropomorphic concept better than those of simple geometry.

9.5.1. Composite Geometric Anthropomorphic Figurines (FAG/C).

The composite forms - Figs. 9.5.1 and 9.5.2 - are elongated productions in which the head, usually triangular or rectangular in shape, is intended to be differentiated from the rest of the body by one or two narrowings that evoke the neck or waist. There are two main groupings, depending on whether or not they include limbs. Both sets, with limbs (I) and without limbs (II) are organised into groupings according to the dimensional format that characterises them - flat (fl) and volumetric - rotational (v). In turn, each of these divisions is organised into families or geometric references, always seeking the most representative, so that concepts such as "bitriangular" or "tritriangular" that are impossible in three-dimensionality are discarded in favour of the terms "bipartite" or "tripartite", recognising a figurative universe where the most established expression is close to triangular concepts, but includes shapes reminiscent of the hyperbola (e.g. phalanges), the conjunction of trapezoidal or rectangular elements being obvious, such detail would overcomplicate the classification.

WITH TRANSVERSAL LIMBS (FAG/C. I)

Group FAG/C.I -Figure 9.5.1.- includes the versions with a longitudinal and a transverse development. They all have a flattened format (plane -pl- in Spanish) and no decoration (D0). It includes two families that respond to the geometric references of the bitriangle and the rectangle. The transversal elements evoke human limbs, in some cases arms and legs.

Bipartite. Productions with one or more pairs of arms are observed. Most of them have a body obtained by the joining of two trapezoids (or what is commonly known as "bitriangular") from which transversal developments emerge. According to the RBD, the following sets of productions are considered:

o With one pair of limbs (1)

- FAG/C. I/pl.1.1.a [RBD 4] A stone series characteristic of the southeast and specifically of the tombs of the "Culture of Almería" (Acosta and Cruz, 1981). There are some pieces with "bitriangular" body -Figure 4.3.5: 7- and others that combine a triangle with another geometric shape such as a rectangle or circle -Figure 4.3.5: 4- , which could imply differences of gender or state, if the circular is linked to pregnancy. The arms of the cross - upper limbs - may be pointed and triangular in shape, or rectangular, appearing transverse or oblique. These positions suggest human arms extended and slightly raised or akimbo, marking the elbows (when the appendages marking them are triangular). Only in the case of the figurine from Tijola, Almería - Figure 4.3.4: 1 - are they folded upwards, recalling the anatomical position that raises the arms obliquely, leaving the forearms vertical. They are small and medium-sized pieces, not exceeding 15 cm in length. 3600-2500 cal BC (Aranda *et al.* 2017).
- FAG/C.I/.pl.1.1.b [RBD 34] Flattened, bipartite lithic figurines with a central rectangular widening with the smaller sides forming acute angles with respect to the longitudinal development of the figurine. They give the impression of eagle's wings. A pair were found in two graves in Purchena, Llano del Jautón 3 and Las Churuletas, with a perforation in the central section -Figure 4.3.5: 1-2-. They are small pieces. 3600-2500 cal BC (Aranda *et al.* 2017).

o With two pairs of limbs (2):

- FAG/C.I.pl.1.2. [RBD 4] With two pairs of arms crossing a bipartite longitudinal development, a lithic piece from the record of Llano de la Lámpara I -Figure 4.3.4: 2- can be acknowledged. The arms are curved in upwards. The possible upper triangle is missing, so it could be more than 10 cm long. 3600-2500 cal BC (Aranda *et al.* 2017).

2. Cruciform. With a "rectangular" body. Productions with one or more pairs of limbs are observed.

o With one pair of limbs (1)

- - FAG/C. I/pl.2.1 [RBD 35] Flattened lithic articles in the shape of a cross. There are really very few articles with a rectangular body that can be strictly qualified as cruciform. From M.J. Almagro´s register we can see the piece from Trigache, with a perforation that qualifies it as a pendant, and another from Churuletas, which may not be a sought-after product but rather a poor execution of the set of bitriangular or bipartite with arms. They are of small format with a size that is less than 8 cm 3600-2500 cal BC (Aranda *et al.* 2017).

o With two pairs of limbs (2):

- FAG/C/I/pl.2.2 [RBD 26] Flattened bone figurine showing the human body with all four limbs. In the most complete one, the three preserved arms are determined to be curved in upwards. They were known as "anchor-shaped". The perforation at the upper end characterises them as pendants. Small in size, no more than 5.5 cm in length. Two specimens are known from the eastern seaboard, ascribed to the

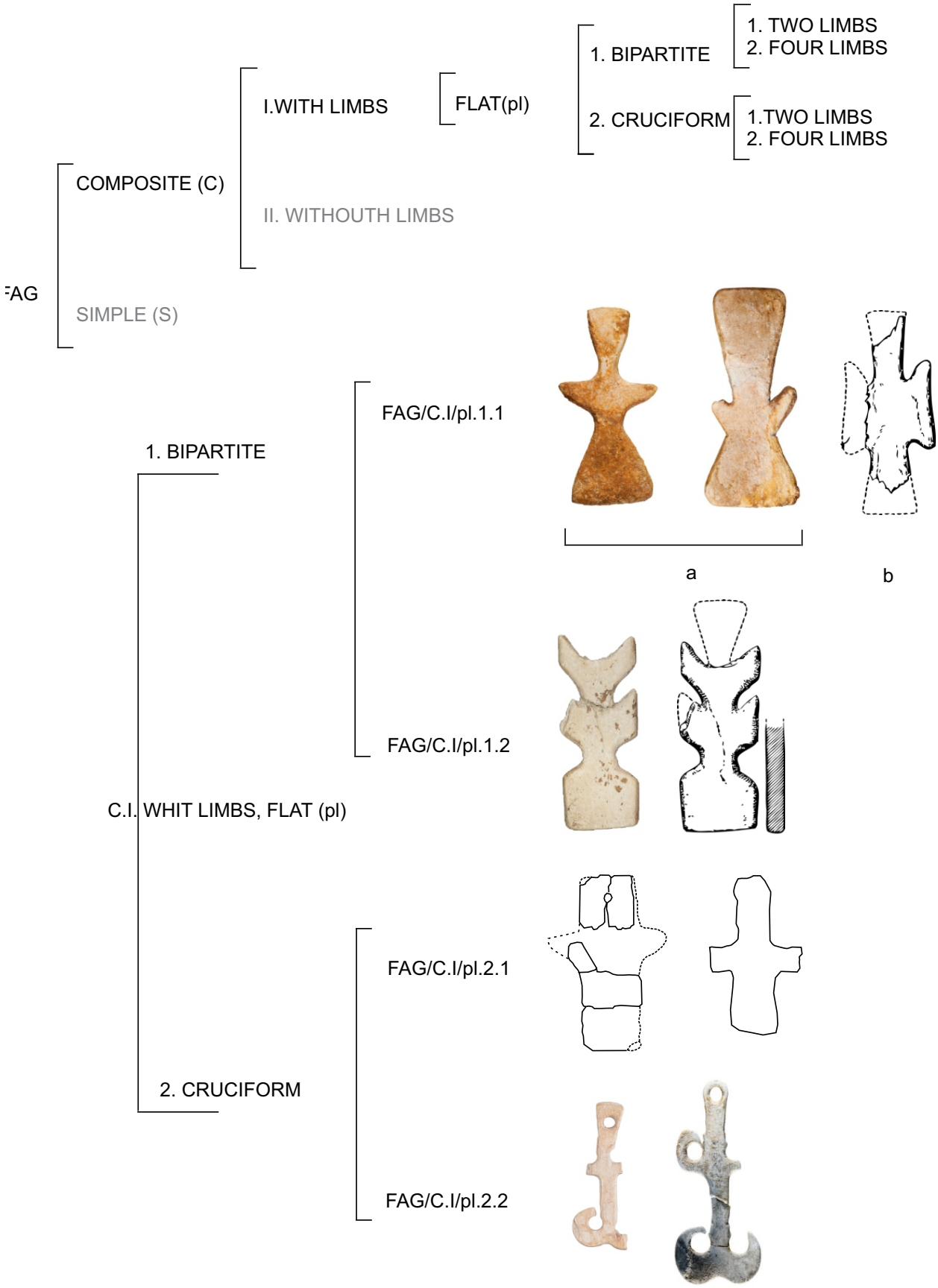


Figure 9.5.1.1. Development of the classification system for geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) of Composite condition (C) with transversal limbs (I). FAG/C.I.

Cova de la Barcella -Figure 11.2.1: 9- and to the record of the Blanquizares de Lébor -Figure 12.1.4: 3- 3300-2500 cal BC.

WITHOUT TRANSVERSAL LIMBS (FAG/C. II)

Group FAG /C.II - Figure 9.5.1.2 and 9.5.1.3 - includes shapes with a compound longitudinal development. It includes pieces of "bitriangular" shape and all the related shapes, with some combinations of geometric bodies closer to the rectangle or ellipse. There are two groups according to format: flattened (pl) and rotational volumetric (v). Each of these groups includes variants or families depending on the two or more parts of the object, as a result of narrowings which, due to their position, can be related to the waist or the neck (bipartite), or to both (tripartite). The only example "with arms" includes a few plaques of composite morphology -FAG/C.II/pl.1.2.c- which have tucked in arms and not in a cross. Two formal developments can be considered: 1. without head and 2. with head, this being one of the two parts of the object.

- *FAG/C.II/ Flat:*

FAG/C.II.pl.1.1. Bipartite no head - Figure 9.5.1.2.

- FAG/C.II/pl.1.1.a [RBD 2] Bitriangle or bitriangular. A shape specified in ceramics decoration and schematic painting. The closest three-dimensional representation is the "Venus of Benoaján", found in La Pileta Cave, 6 cm long -Figure 7.1: 1. In the Cabezo Juré ensemble, large-format forms more than 20 cm long (Nocete, coor, 2004, Figure 8: 50) -Figure7.1: 5- can be acknowledged. They are figures that have breasts and whose basic or simple decoration (D1-D2) has the representation of the sex on the front by means of dots (in the case of the one from Benoaján). The eyes are simple and dimpled, without piercing the support completely. Back: hair is indicated by vertical and parallel zigzags that can reach the lower half of the pieces, as is determined in some cases of the series of simple decoration from Cabezo Juré. 3000 - 2500 cal BC (Nocete *et al.* 2004).
- FAG/C.II/pl.1.1.b [RBD 16] Marble stone figurine, elongated with a flattened section and flaring at both ends. One of the largest specimens is the one in the Pidal collection (22 cm long) -Figure 15.1.1.1.1-. This shape is characteristic of the Guadiana basin, and is particularly well recorded at La Pijotilla - Figure 5.3.3 - where large, medium and small pieces can be found, over 5 cm in length and with a certain variety of shapes with pieces with only one wider end.
  They are characterised by simple or complex engraved decoration (D2-D3) that reinforces the anthropomorphic features of the head. Front: eyebrows drawn with a band filled with lines composed of two curved strokes converging at the centre of the forehead; complex circular eyes, defined by an outer circle with radii and a circle or concentric circles at their centre; two or more parallel curved tattoo lines below each of the eyes. In their development, these lines may reach the sides and the back of the object. Back: hair with vertical, parallel zigzags that can reach the lower half of the pieces. Examples of both decorative variants can be found at the Pijotilla, the most complex of which is the one from the Pidal Collection, 3000-2500 cal BC.
- FAG/C.II/pl.1.1.c [RBD 59] Rectangular ivory plaque with flared ends. Formal classification doubtful. Possible similarity in shape with the previous group, evident in the decoration. Fragments collected in hut E 13 at La Pijotilla,
  -Figure 6.5.2: 3-. The largest measures 1.9 x 4.1 x 1.6 cm. Complex decoration (D3) with sun eyes and knitted eyebrows on one side and with vertical zigzags on the other, evoking hair, also represented at the upper end by parallel lines 3000-2500 cal BC (Hurtado, 2004).
- FAG/C.II/pl.1.1.d [RBD 45] Fragmentary wooden figurine with a flattened section. Pseudorectangular shape, larger sides biconcave and the smaller side convex. Complex decoration (D3). A sun eye motif with an expression of curved and geometric tattooed lines, based on a grid that affects the entire surface of the piece above or below - the orientation is unclear - the occultate motif. It measures 4 x 3.3 x 0.3 cm. Located in Cueva Sagrada -Figure 6.2.6: 9-. Middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Ayala, 1987).

FAG/C.II.pl.1.2. Bipartite with head - Figure 9.5.1.2.

- FAG/C.II/pl.1.1.d [RBD 45] FAG/C.II/pl.1.2.a [RBD 9] Lithic plaque, on schist or slate. It includes the group of plaques with cut out head and shoulders from other classifications (Bueno, 1992). Characteristic flattened productions from the Western Iberia with a composite shape. The body or larger and lower part is trapezoidal or rectangular and the head is differentiated in a trapezoidal shape - inverted with respect to the body-, or rectangular. The upper limit of the body forms the marked "shoulders", straight or pointed, with a framework similar to that of the flattened tripartite lithic or bone pieces. They may have perforations on the head, which may or may not be contemporary with the production. When there are two of them, they could be simple eyes, although they do not always have a symmetrical position. The development of the head and shoulders varies: barely indicated or well expressed. They are about 1 cm thick, between 5 and 24 cm long.
  They are characterised by complex decoration (D3). The decorative patterns and technique are similar to those of the set of plaques with simple geometry, although there are a few specifications that make them a

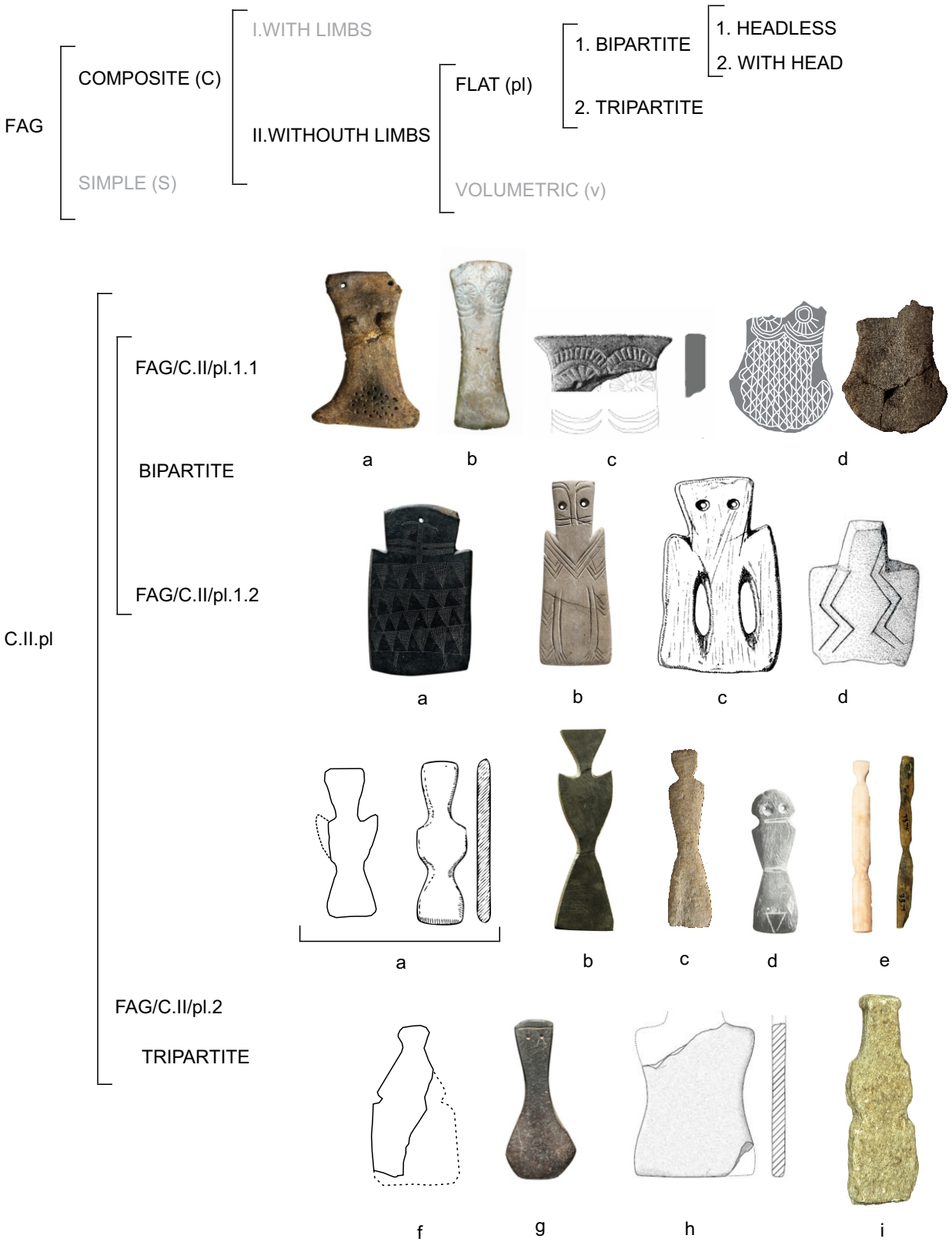


Figure 9.5.1.2. Development of the classification system for geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) of composite condition (C) without transversal limbs (II) flat (pl). FAG/C.II.pl.

characteristic group. From the classification of K. Lillios, it can be considered that all the groupings of plaques include specimens with a prominent head, being characterised by this condition those included in the "hoe" group (III: *Hoe*, Lillios, 2008, 59) with the body of the object generally rectangular and decorated with alignments of triangular motifs more isosceles than scalene, the decoration most often does not affect the appendix that forms the head; and also the "strappy" ones (VI: *Strappy*, Lillios, 2008, 64-68), a set decorated considering two main parts, the upper one with vertical or oblique bands and the lower one with similar elements or with a differentiated geometric expression, most of the time resolved with aligned triangles and horizontal bands.

A small number of "classic" plaques (I: *Classic*, Lillios, 2008: 52-57) have the head cut out, with a more variable development than the aforementioned, some with the head barely expressed or more prominent, including the characteristic engraved upper triangle, exceeding its limits - Monte da Barca, Coruche (cat. Esprit: 1356) - or not - Courela 1, S. Pedro de Gafanhoeira (cat. Esprit: 1047). There are also plaques with the head highlighted in the "transitional" decorative series (II: *Transitional*, Lillios, 2008, 57-59), with the head undecorated -Portimão (cat. Esprit: 497)- or with a "V" band in the form of a necklace -Casa da Moura, Serra d' el Rei (cat. Esprit: 676); and also in the "unipartite" (IV: *Unipartite*, Lillios, 2008, 59-62), with the head decorated with the same geometric motif that characterises the body based on zigzag bands Passo 1, S. Marcos do Campo (cat. Esprit: 33), or triangles (Santa Margarida 3, S. Pedro do Corval (cat. Esprit: 650). At least one is acknowleged in the bibliography within the 'rug' ensemble -(V: *Rug*, Lillios, 2008: 62-64)- from Anta de Cabacinhitos, Évora (Gonçalves *et al.* 2005, Fig. 11).

The so-called plaques with simple biomorph decoration (VII: *Biomorph simple*, Lillios, 2008, 70) include pieces where the head reinforces the anthropological sense of the object, some as well known as the one from Granja de Céspedes -Figure 4.4.4- with a face and necklace, and the body with a geometric decoration based on zigzag bands (cat. Esprit: 500). The plaque from Curral da Antinha (cat. Esprit: 542) - Figure 12.2.2: 2 - should be highlighted, among the group of biomorphs "with whiskers" (VIII: *Biomorph whiskered*, Lillios, 2008, 70-72), with a face and prominent tattoo lines and which, at the base of the decorative frieze of triangles that characterises the body, indicates feet with toes. 3300-2200 cal BC (Lillios, 2020).

- FAG/C.II/pl.1.2.b [RBD 9] Lithic plaque with a prominent head on slate or stoneware with engraved anthropomorphic decoration. They are similar to the so-called "plaques with hands". Exemplified by their presence in the context of Idanha a Nova, Castelo Branco (cat. Esprit: 171) -Figure 4.3.3: 5- or in that of Anta da Horta (Oliveira, 2021) -Cat. Esprit: 1326-, 21 cm long -Figure 14.2.1: 3- Simple decoration (D2), engraved. 3000-2200 cal BC (Oliveira, 2020).
- FAG/C.II/pl.1.2.c [RBD 9] Lithic plaque, generally on schist or slate. Characteristic productions from the Western Iberia with a composite shape similar to the set "a" with the added detail of two lateral eyelets that evoke folded "arms". A minority variant in which the perforations on the head, whether or not contemporary with the manufacture, seem to represent simple eyes. Around or no more than 1 cm thick They are between 12 and 20 cm long. They have no engraved decoration (D0)-Ferreirinhos, Alcafozes (Cat. Esprit: 173), and if they do, it is more simple (D2) than complex. In the case of the one from Idanha a Nova, Castelo Branco (Cat. Esprit: 172) the decoration is linear with crossed bands on the chest merged with parallel lines and groups of angles on the arms and at the base of the object. Middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Gonçalves, 2020).
- FAG/C.II/pl.1.2.d [RBD 40] Flattened stone figurine. It evokes the trapezoidal human torso with the head cut out and the trapezoidal torso fragmented towards its base, being interrupted by fracture, which makes its classification uncertain. With indication of engraved hair. Found in La Pijotilla -Figure 9.1.2: 40-. It measures 5.5 cm in length. Simple engraved decoration (D1). Depicts hair. Front: pair of vertical parallel and zigzagging lines in the form of braids; back: vertical parallel and zigzagging lines. Middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Hurtado, 2008).

○ *FAG/CII./pl.2. Tripartite or "tritriangular"* - Figure 9.5.1.2.

- FAG/C.II/pl.2.a [RBD 4] Within the group of flattened lithic figurines from the characteristic tombs of the so-called "Culture of Almería" (Acosta and Cruz, 1981), some correspond to this definition, which is mostly tritriangular, although the three parts of the figure do not always have the same geometric reference. There are some with appendages in the upper part of the middle geometric body, which, because they are next to to the head, may be more shoulders than poorly developed arms -Loma de la Torre, 3 (Almagro, 1973, Fig. 3: 3), Llano de la Media Legua (Almagro, 1973, Figure 4: 1 and 2)-; others do not have no appendages such as one from the Churuletas (Almagro, 1973, Fig. 6: 6). They are undecorated (D0), of medium length, or small, close to 10 cm. 3600-2500 BC (Soler, 2017).
- FAG/C.II/pl.2.b [RBD 25] Of a slightly more elongated and narrower format than "a" are the flattened

tritriangular figurines found in the funerary contexts of the southwest of El Pozuelo (Cerdán and Leisner, Plate 10: 34-36; and Plate XV: 1-3) -Figure4.4.3: 4- of small and medium size, some of them close to 15 cm. The lithic figurine from Anta Grande de Olival da Pega, -Figure 4.4.3: 2- is unique in that it is slightly asymmetrical, which could be due to poor workmanship or an expression of movement. No decoration (D0). 3500-2500 cal BC (Gonçalves, 2004).

- FAG/C.II/pl.2.c [RBD 25] The tritriangular bone productions with the elongated format typical of the lithics from El Pozuelo "b" are thinner and of small format, 5-10 cm. The solution of the "shoulders" is rectilinear, downwards or elevated, a development observed in some cases in the Perdigões record -Figure 6.2.5-.. Located on the western seaboard, the shape reaches inland Peninsula in Ciudad Real, Abrigo de Cerro Ortega -Figure 6.2.5: 8- and Cueva de Castillejo del Bonete,-Figure 6.2.5: 6- and Albacete, Abrigo del Tobar (García Atienzar, 2010, 156) -Figure 6.2.5: 9-. They are more numerous in Valencia, Alicante, Murcia and Granada - Figure 6.2.1: 6- than in Almería -6.2.5: 1: 1: 1- (Soler, 2002, 2017 and 2020), being located in contexts with datings such as Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy and Cova d'En Pardo - Figure 14.3.3-. They are flat pieces with two pairs of recesses that combine rectangular or oval triangular bodies, developing to a greater or lesser extent the head, generally with an inverted triangular/trapezoidal morphology, with some exceptions such as one located in Les Jovades -Figure6.2.5: 10- with a wider central body. They have no decoration (D0). 3400-2500 cal BC (Soler, 2020).
- FAG/CII/pl.2.d [RBD 44] Flattened, tripartite, oculate stone figurine. This is a unique creation from El Tarajal. Small in format, it has the same size (about 7 x 2 cm) as the bone productions "c" above. Basic body decoration (D1) engraved to reinforce the female features. Front: parallel lines to emphasise the neck and waist and a triangle to express gender. Simple, dimpled eyes perforating the entire piece -Figure 6.2.4: 6-. First half of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Martínez and López, 2020).
- FAG/CII/pl 2.e [RBD 25] Made of bone and flattened, the tripartite ones where the parts of which they are composed show barely any difference in width . A regular variant is exemplified by the Terrera Ventura figurine - Figure 6.2.5: 1 - and another with less proportionate components is found in the Ereta del Pedregal series - Figure 6.2.5: 3 -. They have no decoration (D0). 3000-2300 cal BC.
- FAG/C.II/pl.2.f [RBD 25] Flattened tripartite bone figurine with a rectangular base body, a triangular middle body and a small rectangular top or head. Located in tomb 7 of Los Millares, Almería (Almagro, 1973, Fig. 6: 3). Of small format, they are under 6.5 cm in length. No decoration (D0). 3000-2500 cal BC.
- FAG/C.II/pl.2.g [RBD 48] Flattened tripartite oculate figurine in greywacke. Bitriangular with trapezoidal base, found in Alcalar -Figure 14.4.1-. Small format, less than 6.5 cm in length. Basic engraved decoration (D1) which reinforces the anthropomorphic features of the head.. Front: eyebrow indicated by a horizontal line above the eyes like a ribbon or diadem. Complex eyes composed of a dot or small circle from which radii emerge. 3000 - 2500 cal BC (Parreira and Morán, 2021).
- FAG/C.II/pl.2.h [RBD 9] Flattened bitriangular figurine on stoneware plaque, with a possible prominent head. Located in Anta de Cabacinhitos, Évora (Gonçalves *et al.* 2005, Figure 20), it is defined as a plaque with an anthropomorphic outline. It is about 9.5 cm long. It is 1.25 cm thick. No decoration (D0). 3000- 2500 cal BC.
- FAG/C.II/pl.2.i. [RBD 62] Anthropomorphic stone figure with a tripartite framework, distinguishing the head with a morphology close to rectangular, the trunk and the lower part rectangular, evoking the dressed body. It is included in the Dombate Class, (Fábregas *et al.*, 2020), located in the dolmen of Dombate -Figure 6.6.1: 3- Large size. 3000 - 2500 cal BC.

o FAG/C/II/Volumetric (v)

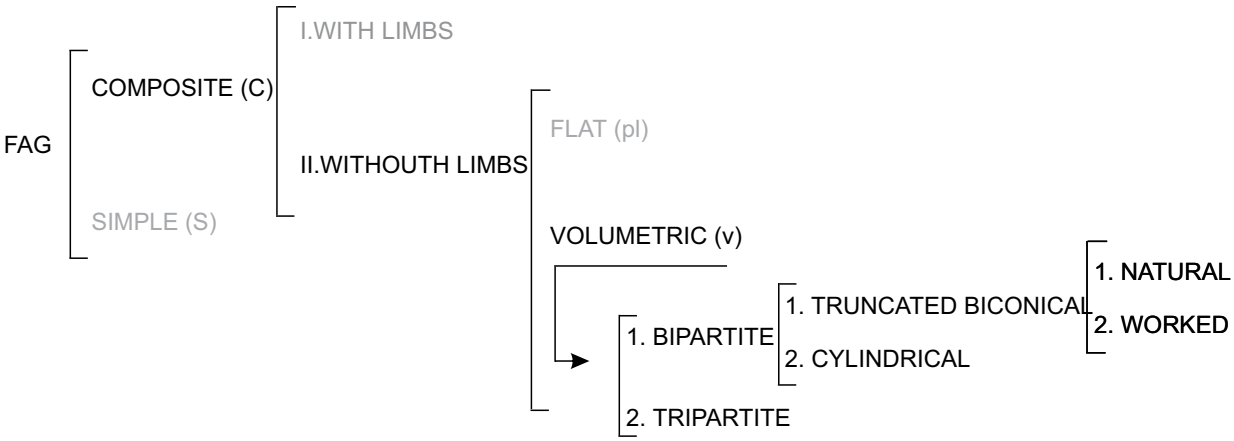
In the volumetric group - Figure 9.5.1.3 - two formats are distinguished: the bipartite ones, which are truncated biconical (1) or cylindrical (2), and the tripartite ones.

Truncated biconical figurines can be divided according to the workmanship of the media into Natural (1), such as phalanges or long bones, and Crafted (2), or sculpted or modelled in their entirety.

o FAG/C.II.v.1. Bipartite

o FAG/C.II.v.1.1.1.1. Bipartite, truncated biconical, natural

- FAG/C.II/v.1.1.1.1.a [RBD 7] Phalanges (first phalanx) of domestic and wild mammals - cervid, bovine, equid, suidae or ovicaprid (Maicas, 2007, 115). Work on the natural medium is necessary in order to endorse its ideo-technical character and therefore its link with human figuration. The abrasion of the base makes it possible to consider the figure upright, always in an inverse position to the anatomical position of the medium. The natural depression of the articular fovea at the palm could be related to the female sex, which is sometimes reinforced by the incised representation of the pubic triangle in this hollow. They are under 10 cm long and usually exceed 4 cm, so they are in the range of small ideomorphs. Their typological development depends on the nature of the medium, differentiating the species



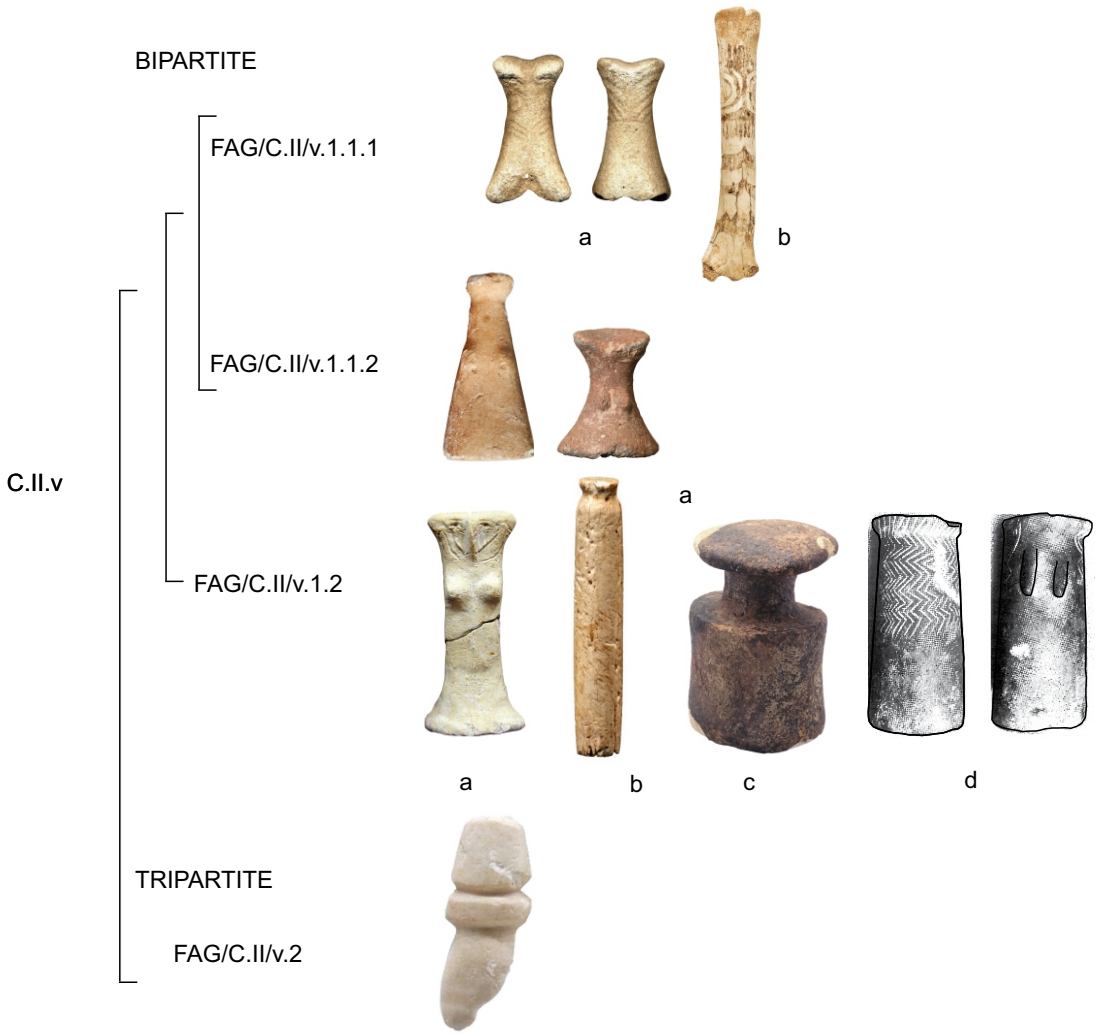


Figure 9.5.1.3 Development of the classification system for geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) of composite condition (C) without transversal limbs (II) volumetric (v).FAG/C.II.v.

to which they belong. The decoration of the phalanges is basic, simple or complex, painted and mostly engraved. Some of them show a corrosive effect of the pigment. The motifs may be purely geometric or include anthropomorphic features. The geometric decorations consist of bands made up of horizontal and parallel lines that cover the object partially or completely, with straight zigzag lines -the circular tomb of the Pijotilla -Figure 6.5.1: 2-, or curved ones, with jagged edges -São Martinho -Figure 4.2.4: 2- that suggest a garment or headdress rather than hair. There are also pieces with vertical zigzags on the back - Perdigões - Figure 6.5.1: 4 - which, as in other figurines, evokes hair.

Decorative syntax can include eyes or arms, as seen in Valencina or in La Pijotilla -Figure 6.5.1: 1 and 5-, highlighting a specimen from tomb 3 with hands. The eye motifs, sometimes sun-eyes, have the centre of the eye or pupil engraved or painted. In some of them there are eyebrows and, in a large part of the decorated group, parallel lines of facial tattooing under the eyes.

There are undecorated examples (D0) whose interpretation as anthropomorphic representations is not commonly accepted. Or with basic decoration, such as those with only the pubic triangle or some parallel lines in the narrowest area (D1) -such as some examples from Los Millares, Almería (Almagro, 1973, Figure 26: 10-13) and from other sites in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula such as El Juncal, Getafe, Madrid (Martínez and López, 2021)-.

Of the decorated pieces, the simple ones (D2) with geometric decoration restrict the decoration to the upper part of the object, characterised by the narrowing, and some of them have an oculate face on the front -Hoya de los Castellones, (Figure 4.2.4: 1) or Tholos de Huerta Montero (Figure 6.5.1: 3)-. This category also includes the painted one from Los Millares, Santa Fe de Mondújar, which is similar to the long-boned pieces of the Pastora variant, with the decoration painted in thick strokes - Figure 11.2.4: 6-.

In the pieces with complex decoration (D3), this completely covers the surface of the object on at least one side, with the same geometric motifs all around -San Martinho, -Figure4.2.4: 2-, or reserving the front for a facial expression -as in the case of specimens from Perdigões (Figure 6.5.1: 4)- with sun eyes and eyebrows and lines of tattooing. 3000 - 2500 BC (Valera, 2020).

- FAG/C.II/v.1.1.1.1.b [RBD 8] Long bones, generally radii of wild and domestic animals, mostly ovicaprids and also cervids, bovids, equids, felines... -. They retain one or both epiphyses, which, with the nature of the medium, depending on the species and the bone -radius, humerus, femur...-, can be considered as features for the internal classification of the group, beyond the decorative aspect. The epiphyseal base of the figurine contributes to its upright position, using some kind of support. The removal of the distal epiphysis by sawing or hammering (Maicas, 2007, 117) may mean that the upper end is not always wider than the middle of the figurine.

They are acknowledged in the East, Southeast, central and Extremadura regions of Spain (Soler, 2017). The lengh of this type of pieces exceeds 9 cm (Pascual, 1998, 183), with the largest specimen from Almizaraque, Almería -Figure 4.2.5: - being around 27 cm. Most of them are of medium size (10-20 cm in length).

The decoration of the long bones is simple (D2) or complex (D3), painted or engraved, always with an anthropomorphic theme. Two variants have been reported in the bibliography (Soler, 2017): Pastora -Figure 6.2.6: 1-6 and 8- in which decoration based on uniform bands predominates, generally painted and in some cases defined by engraving, and Almizaraque -Figure 4.2.5: 1-4 and 8; 6.2.3 - where the friezes of geometric motifs, usually engraved, are more present, resulting in a more complex decoration, although there are some examples of the first variant which, within a simpler style, are also characterised by a rich ornamentation. They are only decorated on the front of the bone surface, with anthropomorphic and geometric motifs that are similar to the face, body or clothing. Some pieces from Extremadura have the arms drawn with straight lines at right angles in the form of a "upside down 7" -Figure 6.5.1: 6-.

The upper part always represents the eyebrow, with or without headdress, above the simple or sun eye, giving the impression in some cases of being masked. Underneath, different motifs are developed in such a way that each piece is a unique creation: empty horizontal bands, complex friezes filled with lattice and other geometric motifs such as angles or zigzags. Some of them include bitriangles or triangles at the base and in the central area motifs reminiscent of double "Y" anthropomorphs, as in the specimen on lynx bone from Eras de Alcázar, Úbeda (Soler, 2017, Figs. 7: 24 and 7.28: 18) -Figure 6.2.6:1- and in one of the series from Almizaraque, (Soler, 2017, Fig. 7.28: 13) -Figure 4.2.5: 5-. There are pieces with two or three pairs of eyes, which implies that the repetition of pairs does not represent eyes and breasts, but the evocation in a single ideomorph of more than one human identity. In a piece from the Cova de la Pastora with two pairs of eyes, the possibility of identification of the two genders is argued -Figure 6.2.6: 8-. The certain uniformity of the workmanship of specific ensembles such

as those from El Fontanal, Onil, or the Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy, allows us to consider they were produced at the time of the deposit. 3000-2500 cal BC (Soler, 2017).

- *FAG/C.II.v.1.1.2. bipartite, truncated biconical, crafted*

  - FAG/C.II.v.1.1.2 [RBD 6] Stone figurine composed of two converging truncated cone-shaped bodies. The lower one, always larger, determines the general shape of the object, with the narrowing in the upper third -Figure 11.2.1: 5-6-. Some from the southeast have bulges in the form of breasts -Figure 4.2.1: 3. They have also been recognised in ceramics -as in the case of the dolmen of Casullo -Figure 7.1.: 7- and in hard materials of animal origin. In the Spanish bibliography they are published as "ídolos tolva", hopper idols (Almagro, 1973) and as "Pêra type" (Cardoso, 2002) -Figure 4.3.3.3: 3- in the Portuguese texts, which shows the extension of the type on both Iberian peninsular seaboards. Carefully made, in the Siret Collection, these pieces are between 1.4 and 10.3 cm in size, a limit surpassed by other homologous pieces. They are not decorated (D0). 3000-2500 cal BC (Maicas, 2020, 293).

- *FAG/C.II/v.1.2. bipartite, cylindrical*

  - FAG/C.II/v.1.2.a [RBD 65] Clay figurine of cylindrical shape with flattened and widened ends. Located in Marroquíes Bajos - Figure 2.2.1: 2 - it is a small piece with a length of less than 8 cm. Simple decoration (D2), which shows the face with small eyes with dots and short lines for the eyebrows; the nose is shown in relief and the facial tattoo with a pair of incised lines, all on a scale similar to human reality. Below the face are breasts in relief. The female figure has vertical zigzags on the reverse that do not extend beyond the upper half and are reminiscent of hair. 3000 - 2500 cal BC (Martinez *et al.* 2020).
  - FAG/C.II/v.1.2.b [RBD 21] Cylindrical stone figurine, pottery or in hard organic materials, with a narrowing on one side like a neck or 'ruff', or with a slightly widened 'head' Figure 4.3.3: 2 and 6.4.2: 4-. Some of them may have a slightly convex body, which has led to their being likened to a carafe. They are small-sized figurines, very well represented in the Lisbon Region (Almagro, 1973, Fig. 20). For example, those published by Leceia to scale are less than 7 cm in length (Cardoso, 2009, Figs. 13 and 14). No decoration (D0). 3000 - 2500 cal BC (Cardoso, 2009).
  - FAG/C.II/v.1.2.c [RBD 51] Cylindrical limestone figurine with a groove at one end. Only one piece of this shape is known, which resembles a scale weight. Its base is flat and its upper end finishes in a spherical cap. It is found in the Correio-Mor deposit -Figs. 6.4.2: 3 and 11.4.1. Approximately 20 x 12 cm. No decoration (D0). 3000 - 2500 cal BC (Cardoso *et al.* 1995).
  - FAG/C.II/v.1.2.d [RBD 52] Cylindrical stone figure with a narrowing on one side. Close in concept to the cylindrical ones, it has breasts like the composite crafted truncated biconical figurines. Located at Cerro de las Vacas -Figure 15.1.3: 1-, included in the group of large pieces. It measures 21 x 6 cm. Complex engraved decoration (D3) and in bas relief. Front: sculpted breasts; back: vertical zigzags evoking hair. This motif brings it close to the mottled decoration seen on the simple cylindrical pieces. 3000 - 2500 cal BC (Hurtado, 2013).

- *FAG/C.II/v.2. Tripartite*

  - FAG/C.II/v.2. [43] Stone figurine of truncated cone-shaped morphology with transversal grooves separating three bodies. Its section is curved. The register only includes one piece from Cerro de la Chinchilla. It is a piece small in size, no larger than 8 cm -Figure 6.2.4: 4. No decoration (D0). 3000 - 2500 cal BC (Martinez and López, 2020).

9.5.2. Simple Geometric Anthropomorphic Figurines (FAG/S).

Simple shapes are elongated productions that can be defined by a single geometric referent. Three families can be considered according to this referent: rectangular (R), trapezoidal (T) and ellipsoidal (E). The format allows us to differentiate groups. In the first two, the flat shapes are: rectangular (r) and trapezoidal (t); and the volumetric shapes: cylindrical (c) and truncated cone (tr). With the same criterion, the ellipsoids include groups that are made up of flat or volumetric shapes that in their development correspond to a segment -curved (c)- or the entire geometry of reference, generally wider in one part -ovals (o)-. Their relationship with the human figure is less evident, so in this concept it is pertinent to consider the anthropomorphisation of environmental elements such as building materials, stone blocks, columns or posts, or even some larger anthropomorphic representation, of a fixed nature, such as menhirs or stelae , something very evident in the case of flattened, trapezoidal plaques, with relation to stelae with anthropomorphic themes, such as the one located standing in the dolmen of Palacio III, Seville, or the dolmenic orthostats of homologous shape decorated with the same theme as the figurines, as can be seen in the dolmen of Chão Redondo, Aveiro (Bueno, 2010, Fig. 16 and Plate IX; Bueno *et al.* 2007a).

RECTANGULAR (FAG/S/R)

The rectangular family includes versions with a rectangular longitudinal development. Within this

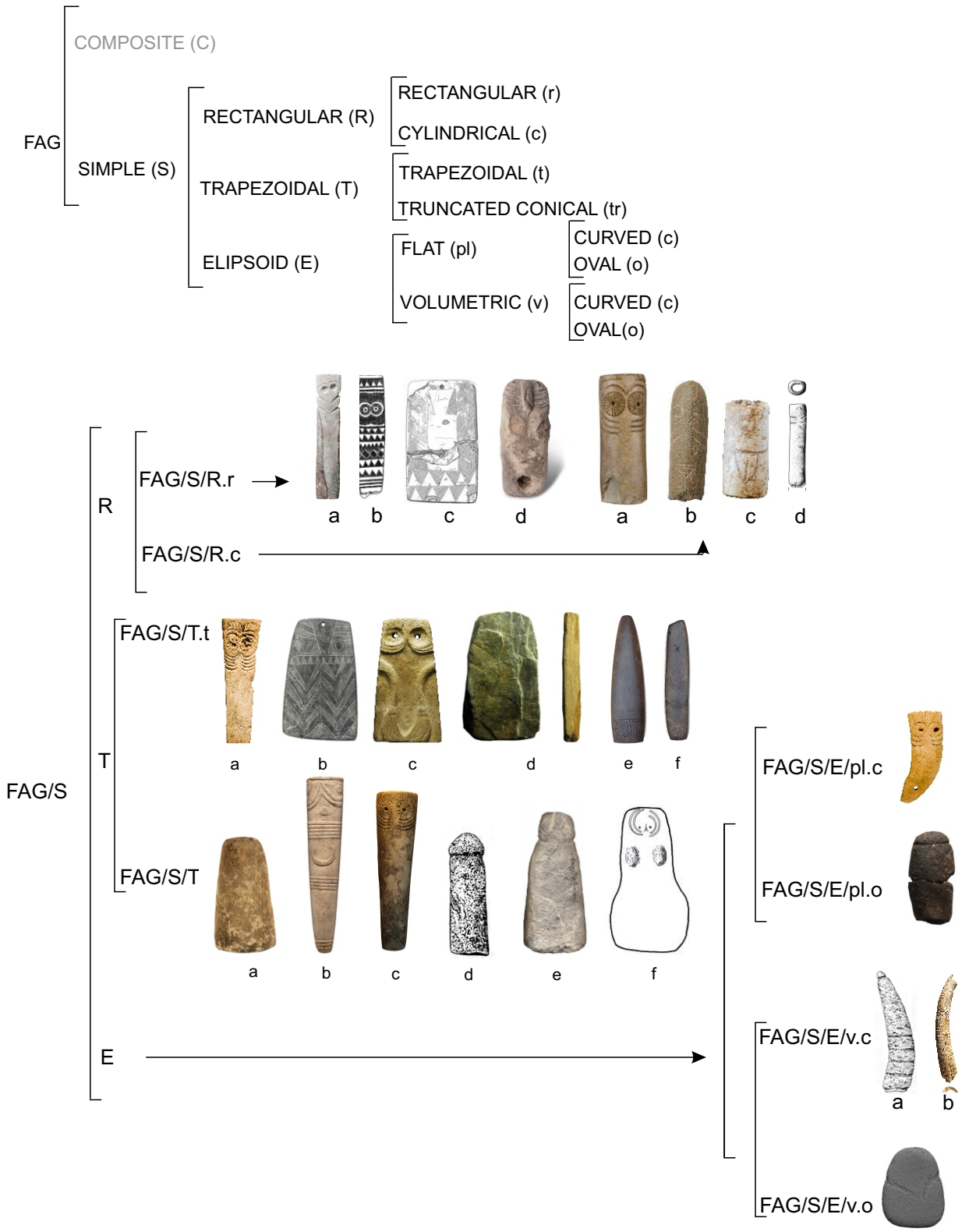


Figure 9.5.2. Development of the classification system of the geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) of simple (S) rectangular (R), trapezoidal (T) and ellipsoid (E) condition in their flattened (rectangular -r-, trapezoidal -t- or flat ellipsoid -pl-) and volumetric (cylindrical -c-, truncated cone -tr- or volumetric ellipsoid -v-) variants.

family there are two groups: rectangular (r) and cylindrical (c).

- *FAG/S/R rectangular (r)*

  - FAG/S/R.r.a [RBD 42] Figurine on bone or ivory sheets. These are thin sheets with eyes engraved at one end, on one or both sides. They are similar to trapezoidal or curved flattened ones of the same type They are identified in the records from Perdigões and Fonte Quente -Figure 6.2.2: 5-7-. They are small pieces, less than 9 cm in length. Simple engraved decoration (D1) at one end. Front: dimpled eyes and underlying tattoo lines. 2500 - 2300 cal BC (Valera, 2020).
  - FAG/S/R.r.b [RBD 8] Figurines produced on rib. They are found in two contexts in Almería: Terrera Ventura and Almizaraque -Figure 10.2.3: 2 and 1. They are small to medium-sized pieces with a length of around 90 cm and 145 cm respectively. Complex decoration (D4) painted or engraved, with oculate and geometric motifs in the case of Almizaraque and oculate and linear motifs in the case of Terrera Ventura, with similarities to the Almizaraque and Pastora variants respectively assessed from decorated long bones. 3000 -2500 cal BC (Soler, 2017).
  - FAG/S/R.r.c [RBD 9] Lithic plaque, generally on schist or slate with engraved linear and geometric decoration. They are characteristic of Western Iberia with a flattened rectangular shape. They make up a large group, albeit a minority in the group of simple plaques, which are mostly trapezoidal in shape. According to the Esprit catalogue - https://iberian.its.uiowa.edu/- , where this difference of shape is also evaluated, their dimensions are between 4 and 22.5 cm. Broadly speaking, they are characterised by the same complex decoration (D3) and format as the trapezoidal ones, discussed in more detail below. As in the former, the so-called Classic ones stand out from the Transitional and Unipartite types in the classification of K. Lillios (2008). The Rug type of the same classification includes some non-oculate ones with engraved anthropomorphic motifs: the one from Lapa de Bugio with the outline of an headless plaque and inside it a tritriangular with arms -cat. Esprit: 517; Figure 4.4.3- and that of Anta 1 do Paço de Aragão with an area reserved for decoration with the characteristic framework of a headless plaque -cat. Esprit: 1243- (Figure 6.3.4: :3). 3800 - 2200 cal BC (Bueno, 2010).
  - FAG/S/R.r.d [RBD 64] Rectangular-shaped earthenware figurine with incised and motifs -Figure 7.1: 2-. It has breasts and a hole towards the lower end, 0.6 mm in diameter and 0.8 mm deep, perhaps to insert some element. Located in El Chorrillo Bajo, it measures 5.3 cm in length. Simple decoration (D2), refering to the face (nose, eyes with dots and tattoo lines). 3000 - 2500 cal BC (Martinez *et al.* 2020).

- *FAG/S/R cylindrical (c)*

The cylindrical group includes pieces that respond strictly to the geometric reference and others that may deviate from it and are slightly nearer to the truncated cone shape.

- FAG/S/R.c.a. [RBD 14] Cylinder. Small stone figurine in limestone or marble, or organic hard matter, usually whitish in colour, manufactured in stone or ivory in the shape of the geometric reference that gives them their name. Plain or decorated (D0, D1, D2 and D3) with oculate and geometric motifs located in the upper part. They are found in records from West and Southwest Iberia. The classification of the type has been established on the basis of the greater or lesser presence of the decorative features, and also the shape (Hurtado, 2008, Plate II). The decorated oculate ones are more typical of Southwestern Spain, including cylindrical morphologies and others widened in the centre. In the Portuguese area, slightly truncated cone-shaped expressions can be observed. They cover a wide range of sizes.

  In M.J. Almagro´s compendium (1973, 106-120), more than 266 undecorated lithic pieces (D0) -variant A of his classification- were listed in 46 sites. Most of the pieces are between 5 and 20 cm in length, i.e. medium and small in size, with some very small ones measuring 3-5 cm - Figure 6.4.1: 5-7 - and only one other large one from the Folha das Barradas, Sintra, measuring 30 cm in length and 9.3 cm in width, which is not reproduced. The largest collection is that of Vilanova de Saõ Pedro, where around fifty are counted. The main dimensional range is confirmed at the site of the Orden Seminario de Huelva, where there are 16 undecorated pieces between 6.7 and 20 cm in length (Vera *et al.* 2010, 226 and 235).
  The pieces with basic decoration (D1) -variant B of the Almagro classification (1973, 122-128)- have only the tattoo lines -Figure 6.4.1: 1-4-, some accompanied by eyes usually expressed by dots -in one case from Palmela, curved lines-. There are more than 41 of them, relating to 16 sites, almost all of them located in Portugal, especially in the Lisbon region, with Vilanova de São Pedro (20 pieces) standing out. The available information places the length of the pieces in the set between 3 and 18 cm.
  Those with simple decoration (D2) or intermediate decoration -variant C (Almagro, 1973, 128-134)- are oculate pieces with eyes that are often sun-eyes, surrounded partially by eyebrows and tattoo lines. Almagro lists 11 in Southwest Iberia, with lengths of 8-18 cm, with only one specimen over 20 cm (El Coronil, Seville: 22.5 cm), a length surpassed -25 cm- by one from the Orden

Seminario classified in the same variant (Vera *et al.* 2010, 234).

The pieces with complex decoration (D4) -variant D (Almagro, 1973, 134)- have a face (eyebrows and eyes) tattoo and hair, the motifs covering the whole perimeter and the upper part of the figurine. They constitute the least numerous series in M. J. Almagro's collection, 9 pieces in 7 locations in Southwest Iberia. They are not small in size, but have a medium or large format of 16.5 - 28 cm, with the one from Lebrija, Seville (Almagro, 1973, Plate XVI: 1) - Figure 6.4.1: 11 - being the largest of the whole group of cylinders: 28 x 10.5 cm. 3000 - 2500 cal BC (Hurtado, 2013).

- FAG/S/R.c.b [RBD 54] Cylindrical stone figurine with a rounded upper end and a fractured lower end. This is the specimen manufactured in amphibolite found in Alvega (Jana *et al.* 2012). Fractured at the lower end, it is a small-sized piece. What is preserved measures -60 x 19 x 19 mm- (Figure 6.4.3: 2). Simple decoration (D2) engraved with sun-eyes, tattoo lines and triangle indicating female sex with internal horizontal strokes. Without context.
- FAG/S/R.c.c [RBD 55] Limestone cylindrical figurine with broken upper end from the Leceia record -Figure 6.4.3: 3-. Whole, it could be a figurine close to those mentioned in a) or b), depending on how the upper end was finished off. It is a fractured piece of small size. Basic engraved decoration (D1) expressing the female sex by means of a triangle and an internal vertical line. Middle of the 3rd millennium BC (Cardoso, 2009).
- FAG/S/R.c.d [RBD 58] Cylindrical figurine on long bone diaphysis with decoration similar to cylindrical stone artefacts. Documented in Vilanova de São Pedro and Valencina de la Concepción, they make up a group of pieces of small size, 4-7 cm in length (Martens *et al.* 2021, Fig. 5; Hurtado, 2013, Fig. 2: 9). Basic decoration (D1) or simple decoration (D2) engraved on the bone, similar to that determined in a). Middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Hurtado, 2013).

TRAPEZOIDAL (FAG/S/T)

The trapezoidal family includes productions with a trapezoidal longitudinal development. Within this family there are two groups: trapezoidal (t) and truncated conical (tr).

- *FAG/S/T trapezoidal (t)*

  - FAG/S/T.t.a [RBD 42] Trapezoidal figurine on bone or ivory sheet. They are well defined in the Millares record: forts -Figure 6.2.2: 4- and settlement (Arribas *et al.* 1981, Fig. 6), and also in Las Angosturas, Gor. They are small or medium-sized pieces, over 5cm and shorter than 15 cm (Escoriza, 1990). Simple (D2) or complex (D3) decoration engraved on the widest part, on one or both sides, expressing the face on the front -double eyebrows, simple or sun-eyes, facial tattoo lines- and in some cases the hair on the reverse side by means of angular or linear motifs -Millares and Las Angosturas-. 3000 - 2500 cal BC (Martinez and López, 2020).
  - FAG/S/T.t.b [RBD 9] Lithic plaque, generally on schist or slate with linear and geometric engraved decoration. Characteristic productions from Western Iberia, where they are counted by the hundreds, with a flattened trapezoidal shape. They are generally no thicker than 1 cm. Without detracting from their assimilation to the anthropomorphic, the reference point for these representations may be the orthostat of the dolmen construction (Bueno, 2010). They are characterised by one or two perforations at the narrow end, perhaps not always made at the same time as the object was manufactured. The register also includes some, possibly reworked ones, with the perforations at the wider end (Gonçalves, 2021, Fig. 4). Based on Esprit, their lengths are determined between 12 and 20 cm -medium-sized pieces-, although they generally range between 4 and 28 cm.

    Decoration engraved on one or both sides, simple (D2), and in the vast majority complex (D3), geometric, and in a smaller number geometric and with a clear expression of the face or body with anthropomorphic appearance.

    Few have eyes and other characteristic elements of the face, always in the upper part of the object, with greater or lesser complexity, being observed in some tattoo lines, nose, sun-eyes and eyebrows, in some the decoration extends to the clearly anthropomorphic expression at the front, where strips of decorative motifs evoke the hair gathered in braids -Santa Bárbara de Casa, Huelva (cat. Esprit: 423), Anta de Cabacinhitos de Évora -Figure 6.3.3.3: 4- a ribbon -Cerro de la Cabeza de Sevilla (Figure 12.3.1: 4)-, or perhaps a headdress based on bitriangular motifs -Cueva de la Mora, Jabugo, Huelva (Cat. Esprit: 411) -Figure 4.4.3: 5 -.

    The anthropomorphic decorative expression is also expressed through the engraving of tritriangular and bitriangular motifs on the front of the plaques, forming part of the geometric frieze, aligned and forming a border of human figurines accompanied by the oculate expression, as can be seen on the plaques from Mértola or Herdade dos Galvões -Figure 6.3.4: 1 and 4 and 11.1.3. 3800 - 2200 cal BC (Bueno, 2010).
  - FAG/S/T.t.c [9] trapezoidal-shaped stone plaque with straight or curved edges. Manufactured in stoneware. According to Esprit, their lengths are between 10 and 25 cm. The thickness of these productions reaches or exceeds 2 cm. These are the so-called 'sculptural plaques', characterised by a simple (D2) or complex (D3) decoration, which may affect both sides (Bueno, 1992). They feature anthropomorphic motifs (eyes, pubic triangle, arms, hands...) in

bas relief and/or engravings, forming part of a group of pieces that the bibliography lists as "plaques with hands" and which also includes some engraved productions of the group of plaques with a prominent head discussed previously, in the presentation of composite forms.

The bas-relief motifs can be seen on the front, expressing the face, with or without a nose, as in the case of the piece from Anta do Espadanal (Sector, 2007) - Figure 11.1.2: 3-. The faces with a nose -Dolmen de Garrovillas -Figure 4.2.7: 3-; Trincones, -Figure 6.3.1: 2-3-; Anta da Horta -Figure 14.2.1: 1 and 4- have the facial expression based on rectilinear motifs, showing the nose with vertical strokes and the eyes and tattoo lines with horizontal strokes, in such a way that the pierced holes of the eyes are framed inside a rectangular area. The noseless specimen of Espadanal has curved tattoo lines below each eye.

The arms are curved downwards in a concave or convex position with respect to the axis of the piece. They finish in more or less developed hands which, in some cases, rest directly on the pubis marked by a triangle of feminine significance. On the back, some pieces have hair marked by zigzags, occupying the entire surface, in some cases splitting the motifs from the smaller sides of the pieces. The fragmented piece from Trincones - Figure 6.3.1: 3 - preserved the red colour of cinnabar, which suggests the use of valuable pigments, completing the expression of this type of work (Bueno, 2010).

Examples of pieces with only engraved decoration can be seen in the case of the one from Barbacena -Figure 11.2.1-, in one from Anta da Horta -Figure 14.2.1: 2- with a pair of perforations as eyes and an indication of the pubic triangle (Oliveira, 2021, 145); or in the one from Couto de Vale do Magro (cat. Esprit: 840) -Figure 4.6.3-, with only one cordage hole, and with the sex indicated by two parallel lines, which led to its evaluation as masculine (Ferreira, 1973, 236). 3300 - 2200 BC (Bueno *et al.* 1998).

- FAG/S/T.t.d [9] Smooth trapezoidal plaque in schist or rough-finished quartzite with traces of pigment and signs of slight hammering. They are recognised in megalithic assemblages in the West: Lanchas and Trincones I -Figure 11.1.2: 4-5- , Alcántara, Pombais and Anta da Horta (Bueno, 2010, 50 and Lám. VI), or in Perdigões (Valera, 2015, Fig. 1: 4). They are medium-sized productions that can reach or exceed 2 cm thick. 3300 - 2200 cal BC (Bueno *et al.* 1998).
- FAG/S/T.t.e [RBD 22] Elongated trapezoidal black greywacke figurine with flattened section. Characteristic of the Algarve, they are found in Serra da Moinho and in the Museu de Faro -Figure 4.4.7:2-. They are medium-sized pieces, between 14 and 16 cm long and 1.2-1.5 cm thick. The decoration is simple (D2) geometric. The main motif is a strip of dimpled dots at one end accompanied by horizontal lines arranged on one or both sides. In the case of the Serra da Moinho example, a linear motif in the form of a spider's web is added. Middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Parreira and Morán, 2021).
- FAG/S/T.t.f [RBD 56] Figurine in elongated black greywacke. Assigned to Lajes, Luz de Lagos, Algarve -Figure 4.4.7: 1. Of large size, approximate dimensions 9 x 6 x 2.8 cm (Almagro, 1973, Fig. 17: 1). Related to e) due to the dotted decoration, it has been established as a unique characterisation after revision (Parreira and Morán, 2021). Simple decoration (D2) based on dimpled dots and engraved lines. On one side there is a circular motif of dots and on the other, groups of more or less equidistant angles and an angular-triangular motif at the base that is identified with the female pubis. Middle of the 3rd millennium BC (Parreira and Morán, 2021).

○ *FAG/S/R truncated cone-shaped (tr)*

- FAG/S/T/T.tr.a [RBD 12] Undecorated simple truncated cone-shaped pieces are known in the literature as betyls - Figure 11.2.3: 1. They have an oval or circular cross-section with a flat or rounded top. Some pieces have curved sides in the shape of a 'barrel', without losing the characteristic elongated morphology that characterises this series, which includes pieces designed to stand upright. They are made of limestone and appear in some funerary records from Los Millares, forming deposits or ensembles outside the tombs and, therefore, the grave goods (Almagro Gorbea, 1973, 64-70) -Figure 11.2.3: a-. They have been found in seven tombs in Los Millares and two in the Mojacar area (Cabecito de Aguilar and Llano Manzano), with a total of one hundred and fifty pieces. Fewer have been documented in the West, being ackowledged in the dolmens of Palacio III and Palacio IV in Seville (García *et al.* 2020, 249), in the dolmen of Alberite, Cádiz (Bueno *et al.* 1999) and further north in the dolmen of Madorras (Gonçalves *et al.* 1994). The last two, Alberite and Madorras 1 with remains of paint as in Los Millares (Bueno *et al.* 2005a).

  There are very notable concentrations such as the one in tomb 16 at Los Millares with 45 pieces or that of Llano Manzano de Mojacar with 42 pieces. Carved and not always polished, they are medium and large in size, 16-60 cm (Almagro and Arribas, 1963, 175), so they are not all portable. Others are of smaller dimensions, keeping the characteristic truncated cone shape, in ensembles such as the one from São Martinho, Sintra (Almagro, 1973, Fig. 11), coinciding with other pieces of rectangular

section more similar to the notion of polished objects. They are not decorated (D0). 3900-2200 cal BC (Bueno *et al.* 1999).

- FAG/S/T.tr.b [RBD 13] Elongated limestone figure with a semicircular cross-section, one end pointed and the other flattened. They have been assimilated to columns or betyls, considering their decoration. Their spread is limited to the West, to the Lisbon region (Almagro, 1973, 79), where more than twenty pieces have been recognised. In general, their dimensions are no smaller than 20 cm, with some reaching 30 cm in length. Engraved and sculpted decoration in simple (D2) or complex (D3) bas-relief . They form a group with linear ornamentation (series I of Almagro, 1973, 78-84) or more varied, alternating lines with facial and geometric motifs (series II of Almagro, 1973, 84-90). The linear decoration is presented in the form of bands of parallel lines at the ends, or in the middle part of the body, as in the case of the example from the Carenque de Amadora Necropolis - Figure 4.4.6: 3-. Sometimes they alternate with other vertical or oblique bands forming angles, even covering the entire curved surface of the object - Palmela 1 - Figure 4.4.6: 2-. The larger pieces include more complex decorations such as the one from Folha das Barradas - Figure 4.2.7: 3 - with the face under a horizontal line: circular eyes, curved lines expressing the tattoo, a circle which could be the mouth, and a motif towards the centre of the object identified as the moon. The one from the Casainhos dolmen - Figure 4.4.6: 1 - has the face below a horizontal line in the form of an eyebrow, with an ocular motif indicated by two curves joined by a "V" which in turn forms the nose. The upper part of the piece shows a cap or headdress made up of equidistant horizontal lines filled with oblique and parallel lines of alternating direction, a characteristic syntax of the maritime Bell Beaker. The facial elements are always observed in the widest part of these objects, which must have been shown upright, perhaps stuck into the ground. The highest concentration of the type is observed with other cylindrical limestone morphologies, in the Correio-Mor deposit -Figure 11.4.1-, where three have been identified, two simple linear ones and one with a "V" facial decoration -Figure 6.4.2: 2-, very similar to a piece without provenance kept in the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia de Lisboa -Figure 14.3.2-. Among these is the largest of the type, with a length of around 40 cm and simple linear decoration (Cardoso *et al.* 1995, Fig. 9). 3,000-2,500 BC (Cardoso *et al.* 1995).
- FAG/S/T.tr.c [RBD 50] A truncated cone-shaped stone figurine with a circular cross-section. It belongs to the Perdigões register -Figure 6.4.2: 1-. Approximate size is 23 x 6 cm. Complex decoration (D3) with an anthropomorphic oculus at the widest end, in a similar style and theme to the cylindrical ones with mottled decoration: sun-eyes, curved and parallel facial tattoo lines below each eye and hair with parallel zigzag lines running vertically. The position of the decoration suggests that the upright object had to be either staked or supported on a stand. 2500-2300 cal BC (Valera, 2020).
- FAG/S/T.tr.d [RBD 38] Stone figures in the form of a phallus. M. J. Almagro adds them to the list of betyl idols. Of elongated shape with an indication of the transversal groove or thinning that characterizes the glans. There are conical shaped productions such as the one from Praia das Maças, Sintra and the one from Carenque, Amadora, of medium size; and others more tending towards the cylindrical, of small size (about 6 cm in length), such as the one attributed to Palmela, Setúbal (Almagro, 1973, Fig. 12) -Figure 4.6.2: 2-. Middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Soares, 2010).
- FAG/S/T.tr.e [RBD 5] Within the lithic ensemble from the site of Almizaraque, Almeria, alabaster productions are recorded, truncated cones with a small distal transversal groove (4-9 cm long), some also with a longitudinal groove -Figure 6.2.4: 2 and 3. They were called "stone statues" (Siret, 1908, 48 and Plate II: 1-4). Some of them show a basic decoration (D1), one of them perhaps with eyes (Maicas, 2010, 117-118) - Figure 6.2.4: 3-. Their morphology and upper groove are also grounds to consider them as evocative of a phallic representation. 3000-2500 cal BC (Martínez and López, 2020).
- FAG/S/T.tr.f [RBD 30] Truncated pyramid or prismatic clay figurine. They can be acknowledged in Vilanova de São Pedro. The one from Pedra d'Ouro, Alenquer, has breasts. It is 7.5 cm long and 2 cm thick. They stand upright. They have a basic anthropomorphic decoration (D1) that refers to the face, expressing the eyes with two holes, which in the case of Pedra d'Ouro are accompanied by curved tattoo lines that surround them. 3000-2500 cal BC (Martins et al. 2020, Fig. 6).

ELLIPSOIDAL (FAG/S/E)

The ellipsoid family includes groups of flat (pl) and volumetric (v) productions. Within these, two subgroups are distinguished according to their development with respect to the geometric reference: curved (C) and oval (o).

- *FAG/S/E/pl.c. Flat, curved*

  - FAG/S/E/pl.c. [RBD 42] Figurine on sheet in hard organic material. Fine curved workmanship with an oculate expression. This is a piece from the Los Millares forts series -Figure 6.2.2: 1-. Small in size, reaching about 6 cm in its small length. Simple oculate decoration (D2) indicating the face by means of dimpled eyes under joint curves as eyebrows and curved lines under each

eye as a tattoo. It has a hole for cordage. Carried, the oculate image would be in an inverted position. 3000-2500 cal BC (Martínez and López, 2020).

- *FAG/S/E/pl. flat, egg/shaped*

  - FAG/S/C/C.pl.o. [RBD 70] Oval ceramic figurines with groove interpreted as "glans" (Martínez *et al.* 2020). Basic decoration (D1). The one from Perdigões has one groove -Figure 7.2: 3-; the one from Cabezo Juré, Huelva, has two grooves, one at each end (Nocete coor, 2004, Fig. 8. 51). The first is small in size (length less than 5 cm), the second medium-sized (length, 16.5 mm). First half of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Valera, 2020).

- *FAG/S/E/v.c. Volumetric, curved*

  - FAG/S/C/C/v.c. a [RBD 38] Figurine in the form of a phallus. Recorded in tomb no. 2 at Cabeço de Arruda, Torres Vedras, this is a curved conical figure with an oval section and a large size (about 23 cm long) - Figure 4.6.2: 1. Basic decoration (D2): groove at the top to indicate the glans and other parallel grooves in the lower half. 3000-2500 cal BC.
  - FAG/S/C/C/v.c. b [RBD 9] Horns with oculate and geometric decoration. Usually described together with the pieces on long bones. They are found in the Ereta del Pedregal, Navarrés -Figure 4.4.1: 1- and in Los Rollos -Figure 6.2.6: 7-, Caravaca de la Cruz. They measure 18 cm and 22 cm in length respectively. The decoration is complex engraved or carved (D3), based on geometric motifs and sun-eyes. 3000-2500 cal BC (Ayala, 1981; Pascual, 1998).

- *FAG/S/E/v.c. Volumetric, egg-shaped*

  - FAG/S/C/C.v.d [RBD 61] Pebble decorated with rectilinear and oblique notches or grooves on one third or half of the medium. It has simple decoration on one side, reminiscent of the facial tattooing on other productions. Characteristic of the megalithic style of the Northwest, where they are known as Argalo type. Medium size. 10-20 cm long (Fábregas *et al.* 2020). Some decorated pebbles from the Cantabrian area, as well as from North, South and Southwest Iberia are included in these shapes -Figure 6.6.1: 1 and 2. 3600-2500 cal BC (Bueno *et al.* 2005).

9.6. Portable ideomorphic objects (FX)

The bibliographic register of denominations (RBD) also includes objects (FX) -Figure 9.6- which at some point in the research process have been linked to anthropomorphic figuration, or with "special" objects prone to being included in the symbolic sphere, accompanying their presence with the *floruit* of this figuration. Many of them were grouped together under the same denomination of "idols" along with the purely anthropomorphic pieces. They make up a motley group that includes different orders: "unworked" or elements present in nature whose morphology evokes the anthropomorphic; "preforms" or raw material processed with the intention of preparing objects and used before they were finished; "significant media" or non-functional elements with an anthropomorphic expression; "decorated functional", when common elements such as crockery and other ceramic expressions are media with a symbolic decoration that highlights them; of "prestige" when they evoke weapons or symbolic objects; or "of the environment" when they evoke fruits.

It is necessary to update and order their records in the large inventories housed in museums and various institutions where they continue to be classified as Idols. For some, we can offer novel interpretations based on the functionalities demonstrated by the archaeological documentation of the great western sites. For others, we can come closer to determining interesting connections with symbolic productions from the Atlantic and the Mediterranean that open up the range of relationships in recent Iberian prehistory.

Another part of the designations collected since Siret refers to megalithic statuary. Once again, the most up-to-date archaeological documentation in both the Southwest and the Southeast allows us to offer an ensemble of pieces that, closely related to portable models and developed parallel to them had a great impact on the configuration of megalithic statuary in Southern Europe (Barroso, 2020; Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2010, 2016a, 2015 c, 2017, 2021, 2022a).

UNWORKED. FX/nt

The bibliography lists natural morphologies evoking anthropomorphic figuration as "idols". Two groups are considered. Decorated (1) and Undecorated (2). The former are natural elements close to the bipartite expressions contemplated in the FAG.

- *FX/nt.1. Undecorated*

  - FX/nt.1.a [RBD 3] Flattened oval stone formation with a narrowing in its centre or in the upper third -Figure 6.2.4: 1-. Characterised in the Southeast, it has taken its name from the site of El Garcel, Almería (Almagro, 1973). The published specimens are small and medium-sized, not exceeding 14 cm in length. They are classified as anthropomorphic, but their morphotechnical characterisation is doubtful (Maicas, 2010), as many of them may have been used as net weights. They are not decorated (D0). 3000-2500 cal. BC (Maicas, 2020).
  - FX/nt.1.b [RBD 3] Natural palette-shaped stone formation located in Montmeló, Barcelona. Measuring 83 x 36 x 12 mm -Figure 6.1.2: 2- V-IV millennium cal BC

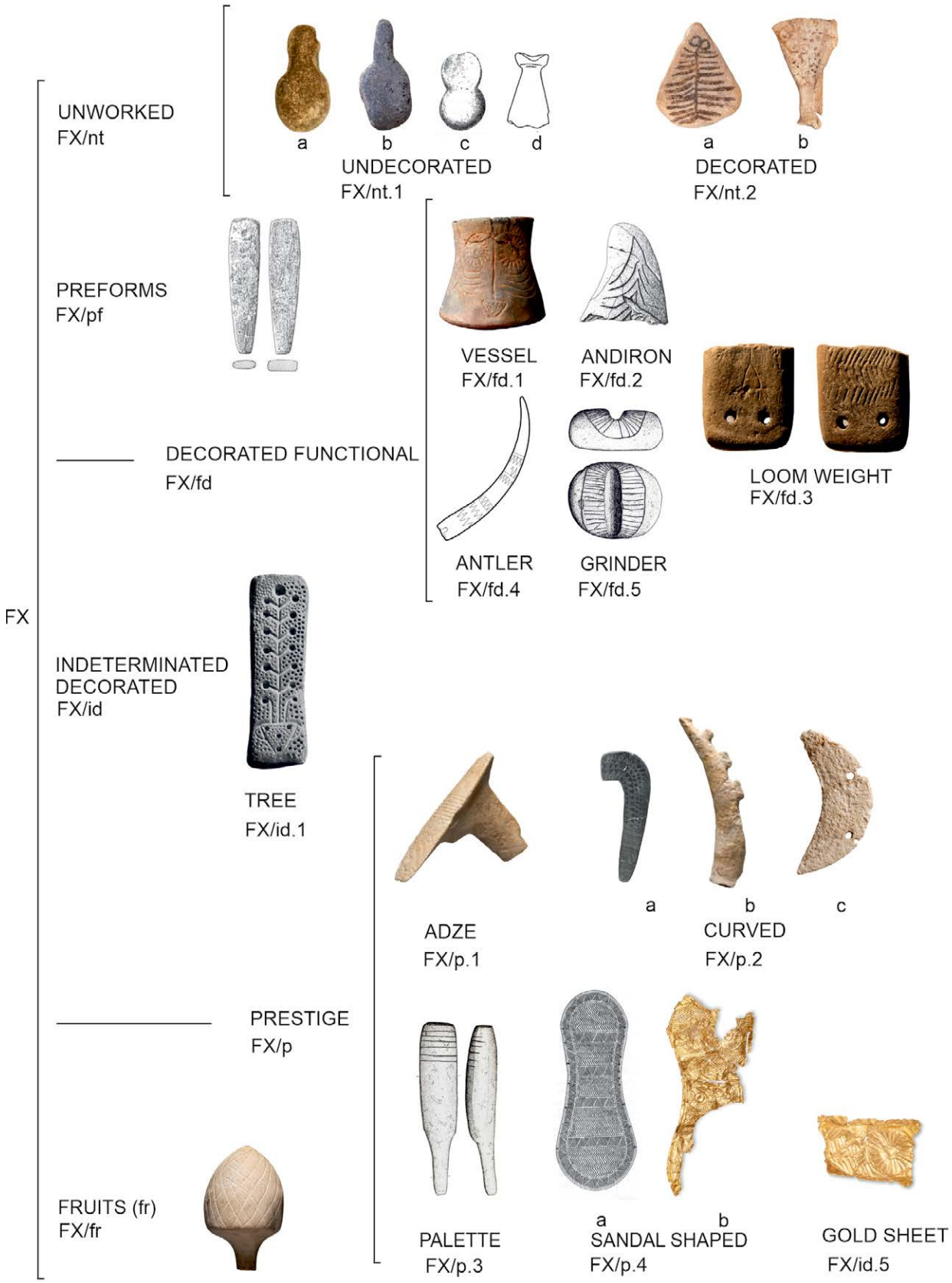


Figure 9.6. Development of the ideomorphic object (FX) classification system.

(Bosch, 2010: 16).

- FX/nt.1.c [RBD 17] Natural lithic formation with two spherical or ovoid bodies - Figure 9.9.1: 17-. Present in archaeological records from the Southeast and East, the literature refers to them as "religious objects" (Siret, 1908, 57 and Fig. 9) or "natural idols". They are three-dimensionally reminiscent of anthropomorphs in barbell shape (Acosta, 1968). They are small-sized pieces. Their dimensions are between 3 and 5 cm, although there are larger pieces. They are not decorated (D0). 3000-2500 cal BC (Molina and Molina, 1980).
- FX/nt.1.c [RBD 7] phalanges similar to the decorated or crafted phalanges seen in FAG, without any crafting or modification. The inclusion of these pieces -perhaps only mere animal remains- in the count has led to an overestimated representation of the "phalange" type. 3000-2500 cal BC (Maicas, 2010).

○ *FX/nt.2. Decorated*

They include geometric or anthropomorphic decorative expressions, without presenting a form assimilated to the functional or ideomorphic pieces. The register includes a piece of bone and a lithic piece located in the same site on the Eastern seaboard.

- FX/nt.2.a [RBD 46] triangular-shaped flattened limestone pebble with anthropomorphic motif painted in red -Figure 6.2.6: 10-. Located in the Huerta de San Vicente, Lorca, no specific context (Sánchez *et al.* 2006, 517), its approximate dimensions are 7.6 x 6.2 cm. Complex decoration (D3): vertical strip with parallel lines on both sides culminating in a pair of circles or eyes. 2800-2500 cal BC (Sánchez *et al.* 2020).
- FX/nt.2.b [RBD 46] Animal scapula with anthropomorphic motif painted in red, located in a grave burial in the Huerta de San Vicente, Lorca (Sánchez et al. 2006, 517; Bueno and Soler, 2021, Fig. 1). It measures about 8.5 x 6.5 cm. Simple decoration (D1) based on dots and an oculate motif similar to cave art. 2800-2500 cal BC (Sánchez *et al.* 2020).

PREFORMS. FX/pf

It characterises productions associated to the production chain of polished tools found in deposits alongside axe-type tools and polished elements classified in the FAG, such as sculptural plaques.

- FX/pf [36] polished stone object of elongated shape and different cross-section -mostly rectangular-, whose morphology is reminiscent of axes. They have been classified as betyls (Almagro, 1973) in repertoires from Western Iberia. They are exemplified in the case of Cabeço da Arruda (Almagro, 1973, Fig. 9), where pieces exceeding 20 cm in length are observed. They are undecorated (D0) 3000-2200 cal BC.

FUNCTIONAL MEDIA SIGNIFIED OR DECORATED FX/fd.

Objects recognisable in their form and function and signified by decoration similar to that of FAGs.

○ *FX/fd.Vessels (1).*

- FX/fd.1 [RBD 18] is part of the so-called 'symbolic pottery' decorated with oculate, zoomorphic and geometric motifs. It can be classified according to its morphology. The most complete inventory is that of the Siret Collection, from Los Millares and Almizaraque, in Almería, and other sites in the Southeast, showing vessels with a diameter of between 79 and 224 mm, with only one larger vessel, close to 300 mm in diameter, characterising a small to medium-sized vessel ensemble. As far as shape is concerned, the so-called symbolic pottery of the Southeast (Martin and Camalich, 1988), integrates simple shapes (defined by a geometric shape) and to a lesser extent composite shapes (defined by more than one geometric shape). The bases are always rounded, with a polypod vessel being observed. In most of the vessels the walls are recessed.
  In the West, in Perdigões, a composite shape similar to that observed in Los Millares is found, with the Monte Outeiro vase - Figure 4.4.8: 1 - showing a combination of the spherical cap with hyperbola. The vessels with "eyebrows" or with "baculae" (Cardoso, 2021, Fig. 16) -a motif achieved by application or excision-, characteristic of the district of Évora -such as Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja, Montemor-o-Novo, -Figure 4.3.3: 1- , Anta 7 da Herdade da Caeira, Anta 1 da Herdade da Moita or Anta do Carvalho are of composite form, combining the spherical cap with the cone trunk or the spherical cap with the hyperbola (Cardoso, 2021, Fig. 16).
  The pottery shows simple (D2) or complex (D3) incised, painted and/or plastic decoration, with anthropomorphic motifs: oculate and bitriangular; and/or geometric, sometimes accompanied by zoomorphic expressions. The range 4900-2200 cal BC indicates the presence of anthropomorphic vessels with oculates from the Neolithic to the advanced Chalcolithic (Bueno and Soler, 2021b).

○ *FX/fd. Andirons(2).*

- FX/fs.2 [RBD 41] Clay hearth stand. "Andiron". Pieces of diverse morphology, subject to their own typological development. The Vilanova de São Pedro record includes pieces with no decoration or with incised decoration, oculate or geometric,

Table 9.6. Shapes and sizes of vessels with symbolic decoration.

Class	Geometric definition	Site	Dimensions mm	Reference
Simple	Spherical cap	Almizaraque, house 44	D 107 h: 21	(*) 5: h
	Spherical cap	Los Millares, grave 15	D 128 h: 41	(*) 5: d
	Spherical cap	Los Millares, grave 11	D 98 h: 32	(*) 5: f
	Semi-spherical	Almadén, no reference	D: 180 h: 68	(*) 5: a
	Semi-spherical	Los Millares,grave 57	D: 142 h:63	(*) 5: b
	Horizontal ellipsoid	No reference	D: 205 h: 134	(*) 2: c
	Horizontal ellipsoid	Loma de la Rambla del Huéchar	D: 132 h: 79	(*) 3: d
	Vertical ellipsoid	Moreno, grave 3	D: 99 h: 90	(*) 3: a
	Truncated conical	Domingo I	D: 197 h:108	(*) 4: b
	Inverted truncated cone	Loma de las Viñas	D: 79 h: 72	(*) 3: b
	Cylindrical	Los Millares, grave 15	D: 167 h: 108	(*) 4: a
Comp (*)	pi hemispherical / ps truncated cone	Los Millares, grave 4	D: 224 h: 145	(*) 2: a
	pi hemispherical / ps truncated cone	Los Millares, grave 40	D: 218 h: 130	(*) 2: b
	pi hemispherical / ps truncated cone	Los Millares, grave 7	D: 298 h: 164	(*) 6: a
	pi hemispherical / pm hyperbolic/ ps truncated cone	Los Millares, grave 9	D: 158 h: 128	(*) 6: b
	pi hemispherical / ps truncated cone	Perdigões	D: 144 h: 78	(**) 6: 5
	Pi spherical cap/ ps hyperbolic	Monte Outeiro	D: 131 h: 123	(***) 128:1
	Pi spherical cap / ps hyperbolic	Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja	D: 110 h:76	(****) 26: 36
	Pi spherical cap / ps hyperbolic	Anta 7 da Herdade da Caeira	D: 143 h:78	(****) 30: 1
	Pi spherical cap/ ps truncated cone	Anta 1 da Herdade da Moita	D: 137 h: 110	(*****) 316:15
	Pi spherical cap / ps truncated cone	Anta do Carvalho	D: 62 h: 49	(*****) 316: 16

(*) Compound: Lower part (pi)/middle part (pm) Part (ps) // D: diameter, h: height///
Graphical references, figure or page in the works: (*) Martín and Camalich, 1982, (**) Valera, 2015, (***) Leisner, 1965, (*****) Bueno and Soler, 2021

characterised by one or two horns and a perforation towards the centre of the object. The piece with oculate decoration measures 12.7 x 11.7 x 7.3 (Marques, 1994, Fig. 1). There are other examples, such as the one from Comporta, Setúbal, with a face -nose with appliqué, recessed eyes and incised lines on both sides marking the tattoo- which was first interpreted as a "betyl" (Almagro, 1973, Fig. 17); those from Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, are plain and in one case decorated with incised lines (Valera, 2015, 243), or the one from Angosturas, Gor, with a decoration of parallel angular motifs and a maximum dimension of 12 cm -Figure 6.2.1: 5-. Simple decoration (D2) or complex geometric decoration (D3). 3400-2200 cal BC (Martinez *et al.* 2020).

- *FX/fd./ Loom weights (3)*

  - FX/fd.3 [RBD 57] Ceramic loom weights with symbolic decoration. A fragment with two perforations is acknowledged in the Perdigões record, Reguengos de Monsaraz -Figure 6.5.2: 1-. It is a fragmented piece measuring about 11.5 x 9.7 cm (Valera, 2020, Fig. 6.2). Complex incised decoration (D3)

anthropomorphic on one side and geometric -parallel zigzags- on the other. Its records are extensive and varied, not only do the ones from the Southwest and Andalusia stand out, but also those from inland of the Iberian Peninsula (López Astilleros, 1993) 3400-2200 cal BC (Valera, 2020).

- *FX/fd. Anter (4)*

  - FX/fd.4 [RBD 11] Antler with engraved geometric motifs. Only known from Almizaraque (Siret, 1908, 118 and Plate IX). R. Maicas (2007, 121) notes the presence of two perforations at its wider end, the incised nature of the decoration and the presence of traces of use on the tip. It is more than 22 cm long. Simple geometric decoration (D2). 3000-2500 cal BC.

- *FX/fd. Grinders (5)*

  - FX/fd.5 [RBD 32] A flattened egg-shaped stone object with a groove running across one side. Some decorated with geometric and anthropomorphic motifs. They were presented as "egg idols" from the piece from Chillarón (Cuenca) (Almagro Basch, 1966). When they have a central hole, they are considered to be maces and it is ruled out that the groove represents the vulva, being linked to the fastening system (Hurtado, 1978, 358). Some of these pieces have been found in ensembles with chisels, axes and gouges in Galicia and the interior of the Iberian Peninsula, dated to the first half of the 3rd millennium cal BC.
    Others are solid and show a pronounced groove with traces of use. A piece of quartzite from the record of San Bartolomé de la Torre, Huelva, has geometric decoration on one side (the other is broken). It measures 8.5 x 4 cm (Almagro, 1973, 268 and Fig. 65). They have been interpreted as decorated grinding tools documented from the ancient Neolithic (Piñón and Bueno, 1985). The marble piece from Chillarón, measuring 11.7 x 10.6 cm, is close to the Galician stones and is considered to be a Bronze Age continuation of the type, with anthropomorphic motifs on both sides; the granite one from Puig Pelegrí, Lleida, measuring 19.5 x 15.5 x 14.5 cm, has an anthropomorphic oculate and linear motif (Almagro, 1973, 268 - 270). They can be considered complex decorations (D3). 4900-2200 cal BC (Barroso, 2020).

DECORATED INDETERMINATE OBJECTS. Fx/id

  - FX/id [RBD 33] A prismatic lithic object with complex geometric decoration (D4) made up of engraved geometric motifs of dots and lines. It has an angular cross-section and one of its sides is worn. On one side there is an arboreal motif with a symmetrical composition of lines, dots and large dimpled dots (fruit); the other two sides have compositions of diamonds or angles and dots. Described in great detail (Garrido and Orta, 1964), it was interpreted as a representation of the "tree of life", linking it to the false-domed tomb of San Bartolomé de la Torre, Huelva, although it was found in the surrounding area. The documentation of its unique decoration on a plaque from the Cueva de la Mora, Jabugo, authenticates its megalithic context (Bueno and Soler, 2024). It measures 75 x 20 x 15 mm. Chronology III millennium BC.

SYMBOLIC OBJECTS OF PRESTIGE. Fx/p

- *FX/p/Votive adzes (1)*

  - FX/p.1 [RBD 15] A limestone object made of a single piece containing the handle and the active part of the adze transversal to it, keeping a rectilinear or curved plane, which determines a certain variance -Figure 5.1.2: 6 and 10.3.1: 3- . They are geometrically decorated with linear and lattice motifs. The incised lines may represent the cords of the tool handles they evoke (Cartailhac, 1886, Fig. 137) -such as those from Anta da Estria, Palmela and São Martinho (Figure 10.3.1: 3)-. Siret (1908, 122 and Plate XI) refers to them as " Votive Adzes". In M.J. Almagro´s record (1973, 241 and 244), they are listed in half a dozen sites in the Lisbon region as objects that in their largest dimension are between 10 cm and 20 cm. Simple (D2) and complex (D3) geometric engraved decoration with lines and triangular motifs filled with lattices. 2800-2500 cal BC.

- *Fx/p/ curved elements (2)*

  - Fx/p.2.a. [RBD 10] 'Baculae' of schist and, less frequently, of hard organic materials with engraved geometric decoration, usually on one side and exceptionally on both. Flattened and elongated productions whose shape, rounded at one end, recalls the object that gives them their name, with a hilt or proximal end -sometimes perforated, which allows the piece to be suspended upside down-, an elongated body with straight or curved edges and a distal end or head, with a convex and curved morphology (in fewer cases rectilinear, at a right angle to the body), generally facing to the left (Cardoso, 2021, 171 and 181-183).
    Black or ashen in colour, they are characteristic of the Alto Alentejo -Figure 5.1.2: 1 and 2 and 14.3.1: 5-. They find their similes in cave and megalithic representations, with a probable one in a cylinder from Perdigões (Valera, 2020, Fig. 9: 2) -Figure 6.4.2: 5-. They are interpreted as votive replicas of wooden elements, expressly related to a symbol of leadership (Cardoso, 2021, 171 and 193), for some researchers real weapons (Brandheim, 1995), while for others they are symbols of prestige of agricultural communities linked to axes, as has

been documented in megalithic representations -Dolmen de Soto, Huelva; Dolmen de Alberite II, Villamartín, Cádiz- in which the handle of the adzes is in the shape of a "baculum" (Bueno *et al.* 2018; Barroso-Bermejo et al. 2021, Fig. 5.3; Cardoso, 2021, Fig. 16). Some of them may have exceeded 50 cm in maximum length -as in the case of a fragmented one from the Anta Grande de Olival da Pega, Reguengos de Monsaraz-, the smallest being 4 cm long in the cave of Casa da Moura, Cesareda. Some undecorated specimens (D0) have been identified, and in most of the collection there is simple (D2) or complex (D3) geometric engraved decoration with motifs in "wolf's teeth", "continuous longitudinal bands", "transversal bands formed by triangles", "longitudinal bands formed by triangles" and other geometric motifs (Cardoso, 2021, 186-187). 3600-2200 cal BC (Bueno *et al.* 2018).

- FX/p.2.b [RBD 13] „Sickle". Without considering it "betyl", M. J. Almagro (1973, 89-90) relates in this ensemble a curved limestone piece, with an oval section, with tooth-like protuberances on the external contour, located in the Necropolis of Bautas, Amadora (Leisner, 1965, Taf. 59), as a possible weapon or saw -Figure 10.3.1: 2-. J. Cardoso (2021, 174 and Figure 4), as a weapon in the shape of a sickle. It is a large piece, more than 20 cm long . No decoration (D0) 2800-2500 cal BC.
- FX/p.2.c [RBD 31] Stone and ivory crescent-shaped objects. Characteristic of the Western Iberia, particularly in Portuguese Estremadura, they are known as lunulae (Ferreira and Trindade, 1954, 34). Some have perforations - Figure 4.6.3: 1 – , possibly made later than the manufacture of the piece, so they have been related to pendants or breastplates (Almagro, 1973, 235). The maximum dimension (width) of the whole pieces compiled by M. J. Almagro ranges between 15 and 19 cm. They are also recognisable in ivory in the Perdigões register, but these are narrower and somewhat smaller than the stone ones, also characterised by perforations that are not symmetrically arranged. Maximum size between 10.7 and 17 cm (Valera, 2015, Fig. 5: 2). The shape also appears in megalithic orthostats, and in the decoration of other cylindrical or truncated cone-shaped pieces. Its prominence as part of the representations of Menhir statues from the Alentejo is noteworthy, which again provides a long diachrony. Plain (D0) or with simple geometric linear decoration (D2) or complex (D3) on one or both sides. 4900-2200 cal BC.

o *FX/p. Palettes (3)*

- FX/p.3 [RBD 37] "Palette or command staff" (Valera, 2020). A stone object with a rectangular morphology and a semicircular section with a thinning at the base like a handle. Almagro (1973, 88) refers to it as a "betyl" and presents the one from Cova da Moura, Torres Vedras with a "needle" to drive the object into the ground. It is identified with the object carryied by one of the human figures - Figure 4.6.2: 3 - and has the simple linear decoration (D1) characteristic of truncated cone-shaped stone artefacts. In Perdigões, another coarser piece manufactured in amphibolite has been documented (Valera, 2020, Fig. 5). Both pieces are between 12 and 12.6 cm long. In the most recently published catalogues it appears as a "palette" (Bueno and Soler, 2021), a shape with references in wood in Iberia and engraved in Iberian and European megalithic contexts. 3000-2200 cal BC (Valera, 2020).

○ *FX/p. Sandal-shaped (4)*

- FX/p.4. a [RBD 27] A flattened oval bone object, with a central narrowing (in a figure of 8). It has geometric engraved decoration on one side. It measures 25 x 9.9 x 0.6 cm (Red Ceres). It was described by Siret as a 'large bone plaque from Almizaraque with the shape and size of a sandal', evoking in its decoration the sole of esparto grass (Siret, 1907, 118 and Illustration VI: 1), similar in shape to the pair of limestone sandals from Alapraia (Leisner, 1965, Taf. 69) -Figure 14.4.2: 2-, of a slightly smaller size, about 20 x 8.5 cm (Bueno and Soler, 2021b, 155). Complex geometric decoration (D3) with a band around the edge and within it horizontal composite transverse bands filled with geometric motifs. 3000-2500 cal BC.
- FX/p.4.b [RBD 60] Embossed golden sheet interpreted as the lining of a dagger sheath base (Murillo, 2016. 294). Located in structure 10029 of PP4- Montelirio, Valencina de la Concepción. It measures 20.5 x 9.8 mm (Hurtado, 2010, Illustration XVI; Murillo, 2016, Fig. 17) -Figure 14.4.2: 1. Complex embossed decoration (D4) with oculate motifs -two pairs of sun eyes- and geometric motifs organised in transverse bands that cover the entire surface of the object. 2900-2700 cal BC (Murillo *et al.* 2016).

○ *FX/p. Gold sheets (5)*

- FX/p.5 [RBD 60] Gold sheets. Fragments of objects of undefined shape -Figure 6.5.2: 2 and 4 - located in the Southwest. They are 0.04-0.05 mm thick (Murillo *et al.* 2016, 303). Complex embossed decoration (D3) with oculate and/or geometric motifs that may have been the gold covering of other objects. 3000-2500 cal BC.

FRUIT (FX/fr)

- Fx/fr [RBD 24] Limestone representation in the form of a "pine cone" -Figure 5.1.2: 3-5- with geometric

decoration. Pine cones are characteristic of the Lisbon and Setúbal districts. Elongated in shape, they have a stem that may end in a straight line -São Martinho, Sintra (Apollinario, 1896, Fig. 10)- or thickened hemispherical at one end -Dolmen de Casaínhos, Loures (Cardoso, 2001-02, Fig. 2). The pointed head has different proportions with respect to the stem, and may be longer or shorter than the stem and wider or narrower. With a pointed conical shape and evenly curved surfaces, it may be plain (D0) or complexly decorated (D3) by means of carving. The decorative motifs are geometric in the form of a grid, with others being serpentine, as in the specimen from the Casainhos dolmen. The length of those collected in the corpus of M. J. Almagro (1973, 94-98) ranges between 7 and 17.6 cm. The representation of acorns in ivory or stone provides evidence that allows them to be identified in this way, being associated with grave goods from the first half of the 3rd millennium cal BC in Montelirio, Seville. 2800-2500 cal BC (Bueno *et al.* 2016a).

Chapter 10
Crafts, Workshops and Functionalities

The ensemble of pieces we are dealing with are small objects that require the methodology applied to the study of the materiality of the past. In addition to their contexts and the need to provide quality C14 chronologies, it is necessary to analyse their raw materials, place of extraction, technology, and the techniques used for their decoration and reuse. Only in this way will we be able to approach from different points of view the objectification of the biographies of these objects in order to establish their social and cultural significance. In almost all cases, the weight of the pieces is missing and it is difficult to find exact measurements or graphic documentation. Photogrammetry and 3D are essential for a database that allows specialists and the general public to access quality images of these pieces.

Although the difference in raw materials between the various *items* has been mentioned since the beginning of the research, no identification protocols have been established, and there are not many analyses of the composition of the clays in the pottery pieces, the type of stones used, their provenance, or the identification of the bones used. The greatest efforts of this type have been applied to the study of the provenance of the ivory. The techniques used in the decoration have been identified in bulk, -engraving and painting-, without details on the diversity of engraving techniques, including sculptural resources, the application of pigments, their characterisation or their maintenance sequences.

There is not much information on their uses. There is a lack of trace studies to confirm that some pieces were used as pendants, or if their holes were used to insert textiles, hair or ornaments as is the case elsewhere in Europe. We have no data on the traces of work on the media to confirm adjustments to fit into handles or other fixed parts.

The discussion on functionality has focused on the distinguishing of objects with respect to ideomorphic pieces, in the understanding that the fact that they may have had a use would distance them from their role in rituality, but utility does not exclude them from representing human forms, nor from the role that certain objects may have played in the different daily and funerary rituals. They could have been tools and also represent human forms, revealing humanised objects. Or even, they could have gone through different phases throughout their biography, as functional objects and ideomorphic pieces, these are all aspects that have yet to be developed in a large part of the Iberian specimens (Bueno, 2010, 2020; Bueno *et al.* 2016a).

The most accessible inventories are those of the publications themselves, from the oldest to the most recent versions (Lancharro and Bueno, 2020, 380). They usually group together *items* of specific typologies oriented to their more general reading (Bueno, 1992, 2020; Hurtado, 2010; Lillios, 2008; Maicas, 2007; Soler, 2017). Studies of specific pieces are abundant, some of them within the framework of projects such as the *Placa Nostra* project by the Uniarq team in Lisbon. Or the publications of sites that include figurines, the most recent being the work carried out on the analysis of these objects at Perdigões (Valera, 2020, 2021); but there are not so many formalised, updated and accessible inventories. There are basically two more directly manageable ones. That of the digital network of museums in Spain (CERES) and that of K. Lillios' project on decorated plaques (ESPRIT, https://iberian.its.uiowa.edu). To these must be added the information housed in the Arquivo Leisner in Lisbon (Sousa, 2021), which brings together all the documentation of the German researchers, which is useful as a historical record for studies of these pieces.

The shortcomings in these areas are very noticeable, making it difficult to make an accurate reading of the level of specialisation of some of the crafts of these pieces, the movement of raw materials, or their operational chain. It is not easy to establish workshops, nor to follow distribution circuits, despite some proposals in this sense (Andrade *et al.* 2021; Bueno, 1988, 1992, 1992, 2010, 2020; Calado and Roque, 2013; Soler, 2020) which should be consolidated with more analytical references.

This lack of information represents a challenge for the future, as well as a bias that we have to assume regarding some of the questions we deal with in this chapter, which are still hypotheses to be verified. A more argued discussion lacks the necessary contrasts that we hope will be one of the lines of future work with these pieces.

10.1. The manufacture of clay.

The numerical representativeness of clay figurines throughout Europe is indisputable. In Iberia there are not so many, nor are they so widespread until the 4th and 3rd millennia BC, reflecting a panorama shared with the clay

figurines found in the South of France, with which the Iberian ones share some common features. The same is true for the Atlantic seaboard, so that it has been suggested that the whole of this European sector would have been less receptive to a Mediterranean impulse offemale representations, some of their stone versions being more sculptural and later (Scarre, 2020). It has also been proposed that it is possible that the ancient figurines in these territories were mostly made of organic materials that have not survived to the present day.

Versions of anthropomorphic vases in Iberia are known from the Early Neolithic to an advanced Chalcolithic period. This long diachrony of anthropomorphic vases has been contrasted with the chronologies from the 6th to the 4th cal BC of those from the rest of Europe, placing the pre-Chalcolithic pre-Bell-Beaker vases from Millares -called symbolic ceramics in Iberian repertoires (Martin and Camalich, 1982)-as the latest versions on the continent and those that denote a greater graphic personality with their sun-eyes (Becker, 2020, 135).

Technological analyses or analyses of the provenance of clays and the treatment of anthropomorphic vases are very scarce. This is why the study of the specimen from the variscite mines of Gavá -Figure 10.1.1-, in Barcelona, is an interesting point of reference. The clays confirm that this is a local production (Calvo *et al.* 2021, 8). The way of working the decorated vessel is similar to the rest of the vessels from the Gavá mine that have been studied previously, including the spatula treatments (Calvo, 2019).

The relief and incision techniques were carried out consecutively on the same piece to obtain a decoration that was completed by applying white colour to the incisions. This combination of techniques seeks to project a more "sculptural" presence that coincides with the intention of making anthropomorphic vessels in the cases we are analysing.

There may have been a more careful selection of work for some vessels, decorated or not, as seems to be the case with many of the vessels from the Gavá mines, while others were made with only sun-dried clays, such as the large Totepe vase in Turkey (Becker, 2020). In Iberia there are also pieces with a very rapid technique, such as the Paleta vase in Toledo, or the vessel that accompanies the Congosto burial in Madrid -Figure 10.1.2-, both dated to the 6th millennium cal BC and with decorations of oval motifs engraved in vertical lines parallel to each other. Similar motifs and arranged in the same way as the clothing of the statuette from Valada do Mato -Figure10.1.2-, in Portugal, which, at a similar date, has white paste fillings (Diniz, 2021). The fragments analysed from the Congosto vase, Madrid, come from the grave burial of an adult and a child dated C14: 6015±50 BP (5041-4788 cal BC) and also contain crushed bones. These additions to the paste are interpreted as an improvement in the firing process by accelerating drying and avoiding the risk of fractures. They also help to reduce the weight of the pieces and facilitate their transportation (Diaz del Río *et al.* 2011, 120).

The use of poorly fired clays was applied indistinctly to specimens with the same decoration, as indicated by the fragment of a vase from the flint mines of Casa Montero, in Madrid -Figure 10.1.1.1. Very similar to the Gavá vase, but dated earlier, 6th millenium cal BC, the Madrid fragment is coarser, although it retains the same technical tools for the representation of the eye that can be seen: a small circular relief hollowing out the clay from the back, subsequently polished and from which fine incised lines emerge to represent the rays of the sun (Bueno and Balbín, 2009).

The incision on soft clay or post-firing, including scraping, printing or sgraffito (incision after firing) as a characteristic technique of the Gavá vase, reveal the use of decorative techniques that are also known in parietal art or in various examples of portable art, forming a repertoire that equals the chronology of engraving and painting in Iberia, at least from the 6th millennium cal BC.

This hypothesis is confirmed in other examples -Figure 3.3.1 and 10.1.1.1. As in the case of the anthropomorphic vase from Costamar, from the 5th millennium cal BC, where the sun eyes like those of Gavá and the nose are very clear, or the fragments from Sima del Conejo and Sima del Carburero, in Granada or Cueva de los Murciélagos in Córdoba, the latter with a necklace of hanging lines identical to the one from Gavá (Bueno and Soler 2021c, 195; Carrasco et *al.* 2006; Martínez *et al.* 2020, Fig. 2). All of them without precise chronologies, but in contexts that have been dated from the middle of the 6th millennium cal BC and throughout the 5th millennium cal BC. In these cases, red is used to fill in.

The extensive development of anthropomorphic vessels in the 4th and 3rd millennium cal BC extends to Western Iberia with outstanding examples such as Monte de Outeiro -Figure 4.4.8- or the one from Anta Grande de Zambujeiro -Figure 7.3 and 7.4- and even very similar to those from Millares, such as the one from Perdigões -Figure 7.4 and 10.1.3-, in Portugal, reaching an increasingly extensive inventory, which still has a long way to go in terms of study. They offer images very close to cave paintings -Figure 4.5.2-, such as the incised face of the vase from La Encantada - Figure 10.1.3-. Sun-eyes similar to those on early Neolithic vessels are sometimes associated with breasts in relief like those of the figurines and with some incised themes (zoomorphic, bitriangular) well known in parietal art.

Moulding anthropomorphic vessels was a careful task in some circumstances, with funerary contexts and

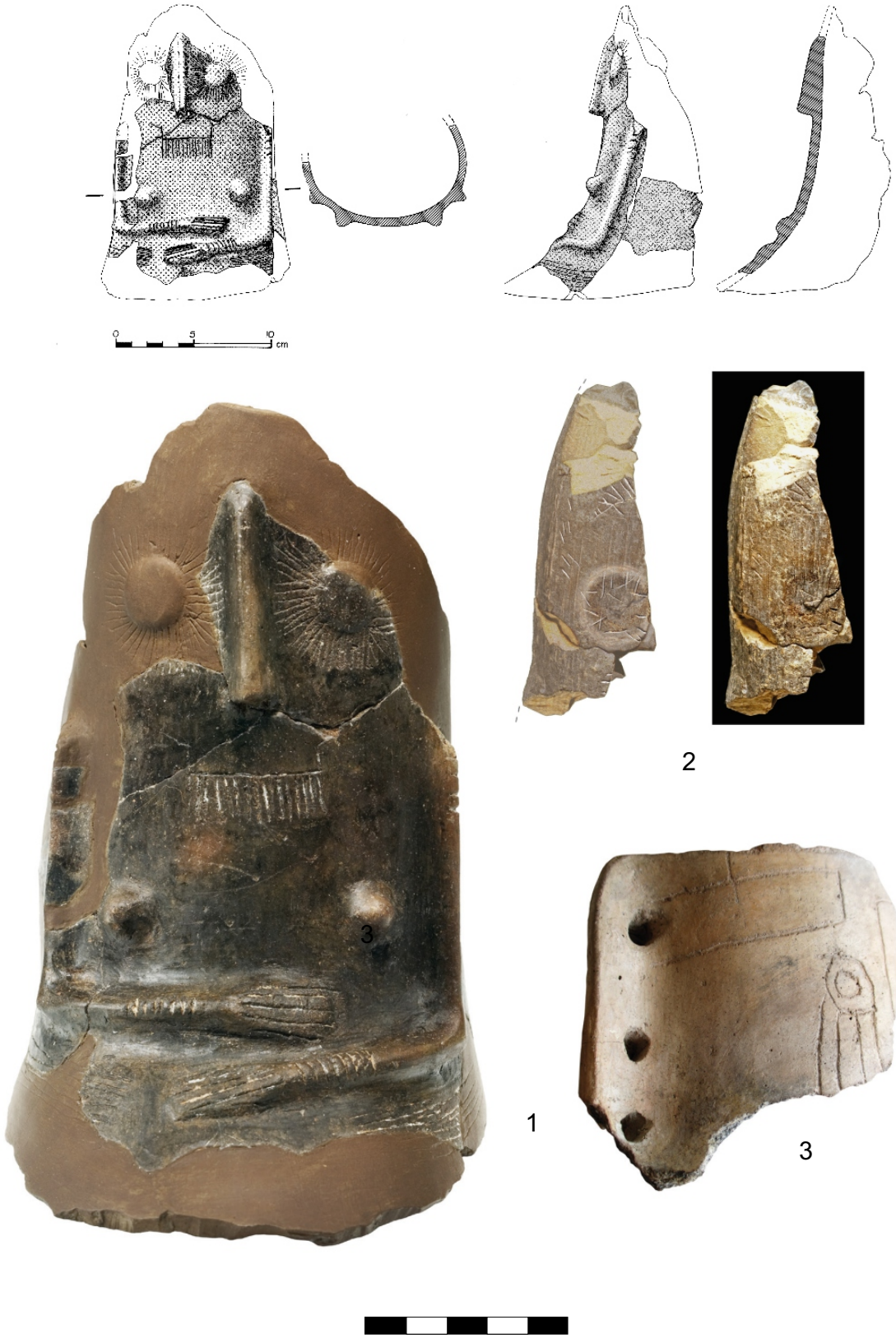


Figure 10.1.1. Neolithic vases with symbolic decorative expressions - 1. "Venus de Gavà", vase with anthropomorphic decoration. Gavà-Can Tintorer mines, Barcelona. Drawing of the piece and sections, Ramón Álvarez (Calvo et al. 2021, Figure 3); - 2. Ceramic fragment with an oculate expression. Minas de Casa Montero, Vicálvaro, Madrid (Bueno and Balbín, 2012); - 3. Ceramic fragment with incised oculate motif. Cueva de Los Murciélagos, Zuheros, Córdoba. Museo de Gavà (1), Museo de Córdoba (3) and Museo Arqueólogical Regional, Madrid (2). Photographs: Depository institutions.

Figure 10.1.2. Neolithic figurative expressions: vases (1) and anthropomorphic figurines in pottery: - 1. Anthropomorphic vase from La Paleta, Toledo (Jiménez et al. 2008); - 2. Anthropomorphic figurine "Encantat de Begues", Cova de Can Sadurní, Begues, Barcelona; - 3. Torso of a human figure, Valada do Mato, Évora; - 4. Congosto vessel, Madrid. Museo Arqueológico de Toledo (1), Centre d'estudis Beguetans, Begués (2), UNIARQ - Centro de Arqueologia de la Universidad de Lisboa (3), Museo Arqueológico Regional, Madrid (4). Photographs: 1.R De Balbín 2. Jordi Maroto, 3. DGPC/ADF- José Paulo Ruas and 4. Museo Arqueológico Regional de Madrid.

those associated with extractive activities having the most documented archaeological data. Coarse versions of vessels made from sun-fired or under-fired clays also formed part of burial deposits from the earliest examples. In Europe, this type of treatment has been linked to storage vessels, connecting the tasks of stewardship of collective possessions with women, which would explain why these vessels mostly reproduced female bodies. The idea that the links between women and fertility extended to the fertility of the land has also been assessed, transferring the concept of natural fertility to the bodies of the women who guarded the fruits of the earth (Becker, 2020; Hofmann, 2020). The difference between the finer and coarser vessels may have been related to the functionality of each vessel in the contexts for which it was configured.

The earliest figurines are easily integrated into the ceramic technology of the Early Neolithic. This group includes the triangular-headed appliqué from a Cova Fosca vase, dated to the beginning of the 5th millennium cal BC (Escriba, 2023), which could have been used like the appliqués on continental anthropomorphic vases (Becker, 2020), adding another piece of information to the marked connectivity of this type reflected in the earliest Iberian figurines (Bueno, 2020a, 36).

Both Valada do Mato, in Évora, Portugal, and Can Sadurní, in Catalonia -Figure 10.1.2-, maintain the same upright position, frontal view, breasts in relief and open arms (in one they are easily seen and in the other they are not preserved), a position that is also known in later versions of Iberian figurines and which is very common in this type of record in Europe. Valada do Mato was documented in a habitat from the mid-6th millennium cal BC, with no specific context (Diniz, 2021). Can Sadurní was located in a sepulchral context from the 5th millennium cal BC, also without specific association (Edo *et al.* 2016).

In order to make these pieces, it was necessary to shape the central lump of clay for the trunk and to emphasise volumes by pinching the soft mass. It is possible that the head was added on. In Valada do Mato the upper hollow suggests this idea. At Can Sadurní the fragmentation of the neck would suggest this.

It is interesting to note that on both human and animal figurines from the Balkans, the heads were interchangeable (Palaguta, 2020, 99), which is also convincing for the Iberian ones. Their small size and low volume section could argue for their use as pendants, but they do not have holes, nor are they easy to secure so as not to lose them. We are more convinced that they were part of a structure where they were supported.

From the second half of the 4th millennium cal BC, clay figurines are more abundant, focusing on shapes similar to those of Can Sadurni, on the one hand, such as those of La Pijotilla and Estepona, in Malaga, which repeat open arms and breasts in relief. The rest reproduce geometric shapes based on the triangle and cone, like the most widespread Iberian typologies in bone and stone (Martínez *et al.* 2020).

Many of them have bases that allowed them to stand upright, and at least one of them, from Perdigões (Milesi *et al.* 2013), has a groove that justifies its fitting into another piece. The breasts have been modelled with the technology described above for the older figures, with some pieces showing red colouring. Some of the conical pieces are hollow, such as those from Passadeiro and aforementioned ones from Gavá and Casa Montero, and others are compact, the most frequently cited being the one from Possanco-Comporta (Martínez *et al.* 2020, Fig. 4). While the former have been interpreted as hoods or lids of other pieces or vessels related to the working of salt, the latter have sometimes been interpreted as andirons which would validate that some objects took human or animal forms (bovine horns, for example), which reproduce those of the figurines.

In the most recent versions, there is also evidence of the different quality of the workmanship. The poor finish of the three figurines from the megalith of Montelirio is particularly noteworthy, with traces of the fingers in poorly fired clays, which were painted with zigzag bands of cinnabar -Figure 10.1.3-. These pieces are very similar to the one published by Hurtado (2013, Figure 9) -Figure 10.1.3- from Cerro del Mármol in Valencina, without greater precision. Bitriangular with breasts, completely painted in red and with better clay and treatment than those from the *tholos*. Once again there is a notable difference in quality between very similar wares.

The variety of zoomorphs reveals similar techniques to those described above, with the addition of a mastery of hand-moulding the clay to make legs, heads, ears and tails. Some of the zoomorphs are vessels that tend to reproduce rectangular interiors like the square-mouthed Neolithic vessels. The ones from the Zarcita *tholos* in Huelva, the Perdigões tholos, and the Marcela tholos, both in Portugal (Figure 10.1.3), stand out. They reveal an exhaustive knowledge of animal nature (Bueno *et al.* 2016, 387), as well as data on the economy of these human groups and the relationship they maintained with animals (Valera, 2021; Valera *et al.* 2014). Pigs, bovids, horses and birds in clay or ivory, along with little rabbits in stone or bone - Figure 14.1.1 – showing a spectrum of fauna in which deer, so abundant in parietal art and in some ceramic decorations, have no place for the time being. Zoomorphic figurines appear in burials, as do animal remains indicating ritual meals.

On the European continent, zoomorphic artefacts have been shown to be of poorer quality (Palaguta, 2020,

Figure 10.1.3. Ceramic vessels with symbolic decoration: - 1. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora and - 2. La Encantada, Cuevas del Almanzora, Almería; - 3 - 4. Zoomorphic ceramic vases: Marcela (3), Vila Real de Santo António, Faro and Necropolis of La Zarcita , Santa Barbara de Casa (4); -5. Clay figurine with breasts painted in red. Cerro del Mármol, Seville -6. Not to scale: clay figurines painted with bands of cinnabar. Montelirio dolmen, Castilleja de Guzmán, Seville (Bueno and Balbín, 2016). ERA Arqueologia, Lisbon (1), Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (2), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (3), Museo de Huelva (4), Museo Arqueológico de Valencina de la Concepción (5), Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (6). Photographs: António Valera (1), José Manuel Sáiz (2), DGPC/ADF- José Paulo Ruas (3), María Klauss (4) Archiv Museo de Valencina 5) and R. Balbín (6).

106), appearing mainly in settlements. Few cases have been documented in burials, the most cited being that of Alfold in Hungary (Palaguta, 2020, 107). They do not appear with anthropomorphic figurines except when they are represented in altar friezes.

Direct dating of earthenware productions poses problems that have been explored in many specialised works. In recent years, TL results have been obtained from direct dating of figurines. One was made on the torso of the Nerja cave, an articulated piece - Figure 7.2 - perhaps a doll, dated to the second half of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Simón and Cortés, 2007). Another one on a piece, perhaps an andiron, from Córdoba, also dated by TL to the middle of the 4th millennium cal BC (Martínez and García, 2009).

We lack trace analysis in the study of these pieces, a systematic approach that has reported excellent data in eastern sites (Dyove Roig *et al.* 2023) and that has only begun to emerge in the study of schematic art paintings (Martínez Sevilla *et al.* 2020). It is to be hoped that the implementation of these analyses, including DNA analysis, will open up new areas in the discussion on who made these productions. The study of the traces on the Tell-Hallula pottery points to a young male. The contexts of much of the pottery in Europe are fundamentally domestic, integrating these manufactures into everyday processes in which women must have played a significant role, along with boys and girls, as well as the elderly who were left in their care. This framework of social action is the most comfortable starting point for this discussion.

The lack of studies on working methods makes it hard to determine whether there are clay figurine workshops, although the enormous similarity between sizes and shapes of some pieces within the same context: Cabezo Juré, in Huelva, La Pijotilla in Badajoz, La cueva de la Pileta in Benaoján, and some others, reveals sets of local production without, for the moment, being able to confirm whether these local productions moved in larger or smaller circuits, which is to be expected. Their size and, as mentioned above, the sometimes flat sections suggest varied uses that may have included ceramic appliqués and other earthenware or perhaps organic bases (Martínez *et al.* 2020, 150).

This brief review raises the enormous range of possibilities still to be explored in the production of clay figurines. We could say without hesitation that we are in the most superficial layer of the analytical, technological and functional possibilities of their study. Most of the chronological ascriptions are made *visually*, based on parallels with a wide chronological range, the general tendency being to date them in their most recent range.

10.2. Bonework.

Bone figurines bring together a variety of media ranging from sheets to special selections of animal parts. Two media of this type are the most common: phalanges and long bones. Like ceramics, they have Neolithic precedents that date back to the end of the 5th millennium cal BC in the group of so-called spatula idols, interestingly some continental versions are close to Iberian ones even in the fact that they have a funerary context and in the association of long bones with phalanges -Figure 3.1.3 and 3.2.2.2- (Bueno *et al.* 2015; Sidera, 2000).

Concentrated in the interior of the Iberian Peninsula in the Ebro, Douro and Tagus valleys, these are objects whose functionality is related to the interior hollow of the bone, almost always ovicaprid tibiae, and the worked spatula at the end - Figs. 2.1.3 and 10.2.1. On some of them, traces of dye have been detected that have not yet been analysed. The upper area, which acts as the handle of the spatula, is decorated with a single line with a deep incised engraving, or with several parallel lines that reproduce the working methods used in bone ring moulds from the Early Neolithic (Mujika, 2008; Yravedra *et al.* 2008). This way of working is the same as that observed in some bone pendants with grooves typical of the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic in both the West and East, or in the pins with grooved heads, which are sometimes detachable (Nieto, 1959, Fig.7; Soler, 2020, Fig. 308). Some of these pieces have been dated by C14 in Portugal. They are six pins with detachable heads from the caves of Furninha, Casa da Moura, Bugio, Palmela 3 and the western chamber of Praia das Maças. The oldest are from the range 3600-3200 cal BC, while the rest are all from the first half of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Cardoso and Soares, 1995). The evidence mentioned confirms the Neolithic/Calcholithic diachrony of the technical resources applied to the symbolic bone pieces.

The decorated spatulas reproduce long-established production methods. Sawing, smoothing, scraping, hammering and incision are the techniques used to shape and decorate these ovicaprid tibiae (Mujika, 1998). Some are more basic, with only lines differentiating the head from the rest of the body, while others show hair, breasts and geometric decorations. They stand out for their similarity to the decorations on the long bones. In particular, the pairs of circles on one of the pieces from El Miradero, Valladolid (Villalobos *et al.* 2020, Fig. 4) are very close to the theme of the double paired shapes of the long bones, even with a similar scraping technique. This theme, pairs of circles, had not been related so far with the ensemble of sun-eyed productions, but the information on the decorative patterns of the long bones justifies such a relationship, as well as adding evidence of the common knowledge revealed by both productions.

Their close relationship with funerary deposits in megaliths coincides with that of the rest of the Iberian figurines. They have been dated directly to the beginning of the 4th millennium cal BC (Fernández Eraso and Mújika, 2015) in the dolmens of San Martin and Kurtzebide, in Rioja Alavesa. Their presence in megaliths throughout the 4th millennium

Figure 10.2.1. -1. "Spatula-idols". El Miradero, Villanueva de los Caballeros (Valladolid). Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): long bones with oculate decoration. - 2. Abrigo de las Nogueras IV, Santiago de la Espada, Jaén; -3. El Fontanal, Onil, Alicante. Museo de Valladolid (1), Museo de La Carolina, Jaén (2) and Museo Arqueológico de Alicante, MARQ (3). Photographs: Museo de Valladolid (1) and José Manuel Sáiz (2-3).

BC and even in the first half of the 3rd millennium cal BC reveals a diachrony similar to that of the Iberian figurines ensemble.

The techniques used on these pieces are also applied to prepare phalanges and long bones, which -as far as we know for now about their chronologies- are the most common forms from the second half of the 4th millennium cal BC, without direct C14 dates having been made on any of these specimens. The former are more widespread and the latter more restricted to the East and they are pieces with different functionalities.

The phalanges have a base on which to rest, being displayed standing and seen from the front - Figs. 4.2.4. and 6.5.1.; or at least this is the case in the pieces on equine bones. In others, the abrasion of the base has been identified to give them greater stability (Maicas, 2020, 295). The

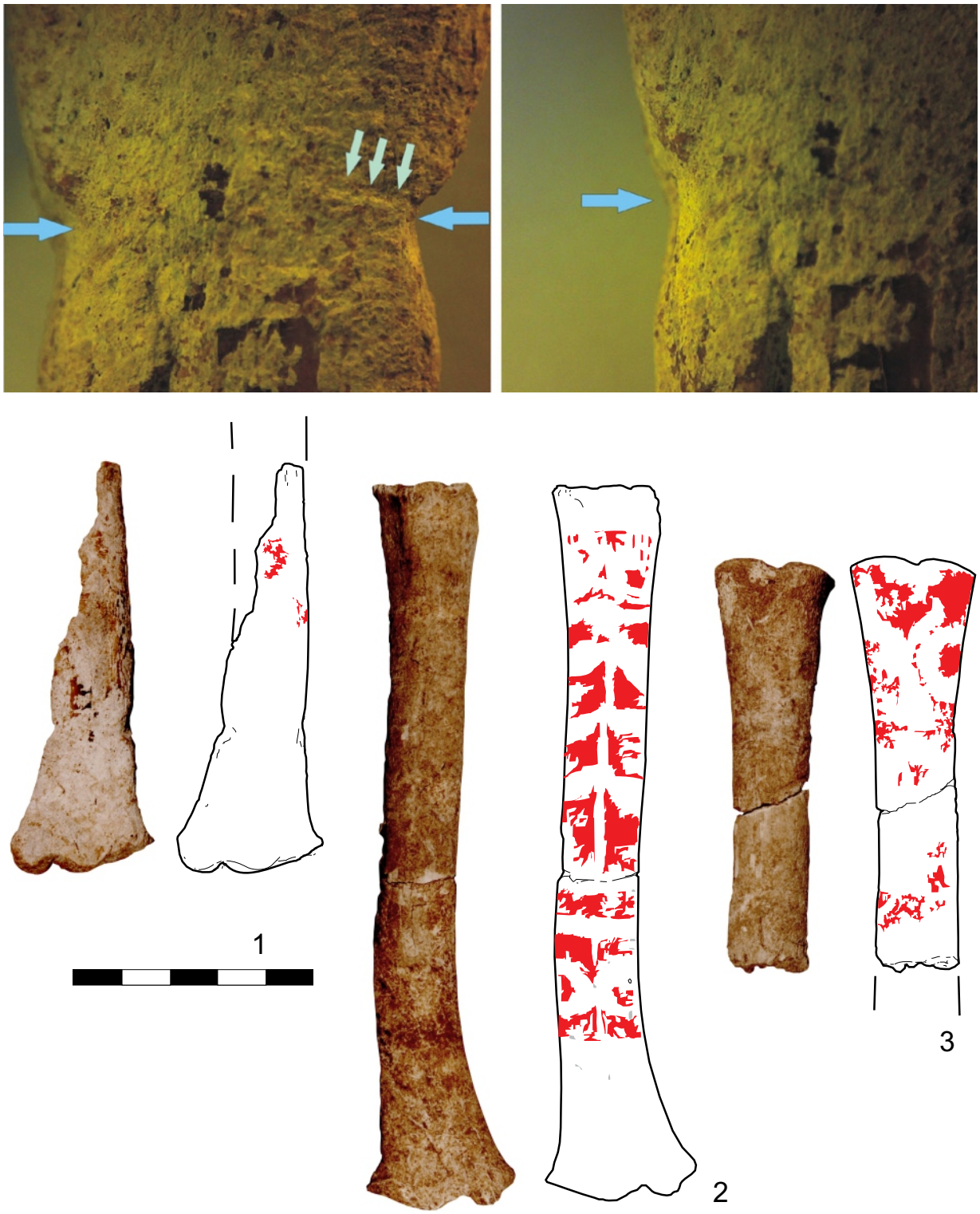


Figure 10.2.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): long bones with painted oculate decoration. - 1-3. Cova del Barranc del Càfer. Pedreguer, Alicante. Photos and drawings J. A. López Padilla, in Soler, 2017. Figure 7.34. Above: Cutouts in the lateral faces of the proximal area of the diaphysis and signs of wear on the front of the bone BC2-162 (Num. 1, below), (Benito, 2017, Figure 8: 5). Museo Arqueológico y Etnográfico "Soler Blasco", Xàbia.

long bones appear in groups, like the spatulas, and could only stand upright if they were inserted into soft surfaces where they could be staked, as they have no bases. Nor are they pieces for hanging due to their size, with the exception of the piece from the Cova del Barranc del Càfer whose surface shows marks compatible with the friction of a rope of plant matter that could have been used to hang it around the neck -Figure 10.2.2.2-, marks that have not been detected in other pieces (Benito, 2014, 378).

Since Siret's publication, observations have been made on the technology of the phalanges. Siret noted their precision and regularity, even if they had little decoration. The most decorated specimens showed "paintings, engravings or mouldings", which affected the bone tissue, perforating it or corroding it by the pigment applied (Siret, 1908).

Breuil points out the use of ox and horse phalanges, as well as others from small ruminants. He describes them as being productions that required little work, such as the adjustment of the base or proximal epiphysis, and the alignment of the sides that affect the appearance of the distal joint or upper part of the piece. He shares with Siret the criterion of considering the bone form itself as human figuration, taking into account that most of them are not decorated; he also shares the idea that they were decorated with pigment, and that this would be the cause of the apparent imperfect engraving that characterises them (Breuil, 1935, 125).

The updated identification of species highlights the important role of equids, followed by cervids and ovicaprids, including some specimens of goats, probably wild. Therefore, both wild and domestic animals are used for these artefacts, although their proportion is not the same in all the sites, nor does their decoration seem to be the same. The impact of the use of wild species has been assessed as an argument for the representativeness of hunting among the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic societies, including equids among the wild species, as has been pointed out for the specimens from Marroquíes Bajos and Polideportivo de Martos, in Jaén (Martínez and López, 2020, 271).

In the Siret collection, there is an abundance of horse phalanges, the same is true in the west such as the Perdigões collection and in the Huerta de Dios collection in Badajoz. There are also pieces on deer and ovicaprid phalanges. Andalusia has almost 600 phalanges (García Pérez *et al.* 2020, 248), many of them undecorated, which, according to Maicas (2020), would invalidate their inclusion in this panorama of ideomorphic representations.

It is indisputable that this variety of animals provides economic (Valera 2015a, 2015b; Valera *et al.* 2020) and palaeoenvironmental data, highlighting the relevant presence of horses, unpublished until the first studies that evidenced their use for these *items*. It has also been pointed out that selection may have had a strong local component. At La Pijotilla, there is a proliferation of deer phalanges over those of equids, a trait that is repeated in the phalanges from the Huerta Montero *tholos*, also in Badajoz (García Pérez *et al.* 2020, 248). However, other factors may have played a role in these selections, such as the grouping of different sized pieces with the intention of representing ensembles (Maicas, 2020, 296), an aspect that can be transferred to other types of figurines in Iberia and the rest of Europe (Bueno, 2020; Vella Gregory, 2020; Palaguta, 2020, among others). These sets have been interpreted as possible game tokens in the case of the phalanges from the southeast and in other cases, as representations of different genders and ages in family or lineage groups.

The phalanges could represent human torsos constituting the upper part of a piece that was completed with legs and arms of other materials (Maicas, 2020, 296), which is consistent with the interpretation we have mentioned for some ceramic pieces and which we will also point out in lithic pieces. In some cases detected in the Siret collection (Maicas, 2020) they are awl handles and, therefore, are included among the ideomorphic objects. An argument to add to the fluidity between objects and figurines already mentioned at the beginning of this section.

The decorated long bones were mostly made on ovicaprid radii, more specifically on the front legs, cutting the bone at the elbow (Benito, 2017, 376). The use of ribs - Figure 10.2.3 - is less frequent, but is documented. The selection of ovicaprid bones brings them closer to the raw material of the *spatula-idols,* which seems to emphasise the domestic as opposed to the hunting aspect that has been suggested for the selection of the phalanges. There are also some specimens in *Bos* bones and deer antler -Figs. 4.4.1: 1 and 6.2.6: 7- (Pascual, 2010, 91), having mentioned the exceptional use of lynx bone (Lizcano, Nocete and Péramo, 2009, chapter 2.7: 1) -Figure 6.2.6: 1.

The raw material was obtained by disarticulating the animals using flint tools that left cutting marks. The ulna and distal epiphysis were then removed to leave a flat side, as in some phalanges. This removal and subsequent smoothing produces a flatness that makes the anatomical characteristics of the bone disappear (Benito, 2017, 376). The proximal epiphyses are also smoothed by abrasion. The main surface is prepared with the same technique in a smooth manner for decoration. The finer or more superficial incision -scraping-, as well as the extraction of bone material are basic techniques in decoration, accompanied by painting (Pascual, 2010, 93). In the cases in which analysis has been carried out, such as in the pieces from the Juan Barbero cave in Madrid, the use of more sophisticated techniques such as pyrography has not been precisely documented (Martínez Navarrete, 1984, 40). Some questions have been raised about the pictorial techniques that need to be verified, such as

Figure 10.2.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -1-3- and ideomorphic objects (FX) -4-5- in bone (1-4) and ivory (5). - 1. Rib with engraved oculate and geometric decoration. Almizaraque, Campos del Almanzora, Almería; - 2. Rib with painted oculate and geometric decoration, Terrera Ventura, Tabernas, Almería; -3. Long bone with oculate decoration. Cueva de Juan Barbero, Tielmes, Madrid (drawing, Martínez Navarrete, 1984); -4. Crook, Cova da Moura, Torres Vedras (drawing Cardoso, 2021, fig.7.2); -5. Crook with geometric decoration, Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (1 and 3), Museo de Almería (2), ERA Arqueologia, Lisbon (5). Photographs: Archivo MAN- Ángel Martínez Levas (1) and Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (3), Museo de Almería (2) and Margarida Santos (5).

the supposed corrosion of the bone with the application of paint, which would explain the bands with eroded bone, such as those found in the Cova de Bolumini and Abrigo de Nogueras IV (Figs. 6.2.6 and 10.2.1); or the process of submerging the bone in a corrosive liquid in pieces to which an engobe with resin and wax would have been applied (Siret, 1908, 196). The possible intervention of metal objects in the decoration of the long bones was proposed by Siret and has been taken up again for the Almizaraque ensemble (Soler Diaz, 2017, 326). A future line of work will have to specify the role of metallic tools, as the chronology of the decorated spatulas suggests that non-metallic tools must also have been used. Establishing technological differences will be important for the study of these records.

The process of preparing the bone must have been conscientious, macerating it in boiling water, letting it cool, putting it in water for at least two months and changing the water (Benito, 2017, 377), so that a complete operational chain of these productions included an advance forecast of long bones to be decorated in certain time frames.

The detailed publication of ensembles such as El Fontanal - Figs. 6.2.6 and 10.2.1 - or the commentary on those of Almizaraque (Soler Diaz, 1985 and 2017), has made it possible to argue links and differences, as well as to confirm the synchrony and even mixtures of the versions of long bones and phalanges or long bones and plaques. The first has interesting evidence in pieces from the west, such as the phalanx from Valencina published by V. Hurtado or the one from the circular tomb of La Pijotilla with arms in the shape of an upside down seven -Figure 6.5.1: 1-, a common solution in the designs of the long bones from Extremadura -Figure 6.5.1: 6-. The second has its best example in the Almizaraque ensemble, in Almería. Here, decorated long bones and phalanges are associated, with a rectangular piece on a bone rib decorated like the Alentejan plaques -Figure 10.2.3: 1. Its manufacture demonstrates the knowledge of these pieces, with extended features in the long bones as a whole, such as the rectangular outlines of the eyes, a solution also shared with the classical pieces from the west.

Once again, local production explains sets of pieces that maintain a common air with versions differentiated by the resources used in their decoration, as can be seen in Alicante for those of the *Pastora Type* (Soler, 2017, 324). It is not possible to differentiate workshops, although it has been suggested that some of these pieces moved from the East to the interior (Martínez Navarrete, 1984), as in the case of the Juan Barbero pieces -Figure 10.2.3: 3- or those from Fuente La Mora (Soler, 2017, 333) -Figure 6.2.6: 2- Efforts will have to be made to offer analytical arguments that reinforce some of these hypotheses, without neglecting to point out that their artisanal handling could be one of the consequences of the movement of women who knew about these productions, as has been proposed for the expansion of some ceramic decorations (Becker, 2020; Hofmann, 2020; Naumov, 2017).

The arguments for production methods shared between phalanges and long bones are reinforced by the presence of pieces sawn at both ends that constitute the base of boxes with some content. On the outside, there are engravings and paintings characteristic of long bones, confirming that they are reused pieces. Not yet studied in deatil, the specimens that come close to this type of use are found at sites in Huelva, the dolmen of Soto and the site of La Orden-Seminario, with the suspicion that at least one of the three pieces from Juan Barbero is a reuse of long bones. An exhaustive review of the old collections would probably offer more extensive evidence of the reuse of pieces to make up new objects that have prominent roles in shared offerings.

In the deposit of the habitation area of the Orden-Seminario they are associated with cylinders and some vessels, arranged vertically as a group. Their appearance as tubes with lids on both sides supports their use as "boxes" taking advantage of their hollow interior. The lighter coloured lids suggest that they may have been made of ivory, although they have not been analysed (Vera *et al.* 2010, 224). Unfortunately, we do not know much about these pieces, as the cleaning and restoration procedure has not yet begun at the Museo de Huelva. We suspect that they are very similar to the Eastern ensembles, which provides an interesting reference for their functional diversity and for the role of the reuse of this type of pieces based on specimens that may have arrived from the East . On the other hand, their use as containers is clear, although we have no information about the contents. The bone tubes with lids from the Cova des Càrritx in Menorca dated to the 3rd millennium cal BC contained the hair of the buried (Lull *et al.* 1999). As for the long bones, their possible use as handles has been mentioned (Maicas, 2020), including them among the ideomorphic objects that accompany the ritualised deposits in which the figurines are the protagonists.

The use of ivory in the production of decorated supports has been increasing in number as more and more prominent sites in the south-west have become known. In addition to the evidence already collected by G. and V. Leisner in the Lisbon hypogeum, we can add the remarkable finds from Perdigões (Valera *et al.* 2015) and the Guadiana sites (Hurtado, 2008) or the spectacular data from the area around Valencina de la Concepción, in Seville (Luciañez *et al.* 2021). Less known is the projection of these ivory pieces in megalithic sites in Cadiz, where possible small boxes with missing lower lids, with checkered decorations similar to those of the classic ones from Lisbon or those recently documented in Valencina de la Concepción, Seville (Luciañez *et al.* 2022, Fig. 11; Narváez Lazarich, 2019) present

several specimens. Other pieces such as the one from the dolmen of Juncal, in Cádiz (Gutiérrez, 2007), open the prospect of an expected extension of evidence.

Ivory had already been detected since Siret's work, but the identification of its provenance has enriched its study. Asian elephant and African elephant ivory has been detected in pieces from the Southeast and Southwest of the Iberian Peninsula (Luciañez *et al.* 2016; Nocete *et al.* 2013). Inland, possible uses of ancient mammoth ivory recovered from Palaeolithic sites have been reported, as in Sardinia (Liesau and Schumacher, 2012). Hippopotamus ivory from Cerro de la Virgen de Orce in Granada and whale tooth ivory from western sites (Schumacher, 2013; Valera *et al.* 2015), as well as the Almizaraque dagger sheath (sandal) made from whale skull bone (Maicas, 2007, 121), confirm exogenous provenances to establish the level of peninsular connectivity (Castrillo, 2020; Schumacher, 2017). The identification of sperm whale ivory in the V-shaped buttons associated with Bell Beaker burials from the Gruta da Cisterna, in Torres Novas, adds to the variety of sources of acquisition of ivory during the 3rd millennium cal BC (Zilhão *et al.* 2022). The raw material could well have been obtained from whales stranded on the Lisbon coast, as part of the exploitation of coastal resources used by these communities.

Various objects with very elaborate decorations are gathered together in very rich grave goods. This is the case of the so-called artichoke or pineapple idols (Almagro Gorbea, 1977), with the carving, work and format of acorns made of ivory or stone, which is why we have proposed interpreting them as such (Bueno *et al.* 2016a). Acorns were sometimes used as pendants, such as the ivory acorns from Montelirio, Seville. On other occasions they were the decoration of pin heads, as in the series from Vila Nova de São Pedro, near Lisbon. Their larger representations in limestone or marble are part of the 'object' models that accompanied the funerary deposits on the Lisbon Peninsula. It stands to reason that acorns would have been part of the food offerings that accompanied the buried. An example is provided by the acorn from the burial site of Lorca, Murcia (Ayala, 1987).

The zoomorphs also have versions in ivory, notably the suids from Montelirio, Seville, which -displayed on a comb- are represented on sumptuary objects similar to the comb from Millares 12, with which they also share painted decoration (Bueno *et al.* 2016a, Fig. 13). Its horizontal position and the appendages for attaching to another object are reminiscent of the zoomorphic bone pieces identified in Murcia, in this case with holes for hanging, with references in the west (Soler Diaz, 2020, Fig. 2) -Figure 14.1.1.1.-. Highly refined craftsmanship was necessary to obtain the quality of these miniatures.

The small and delicate ivory staff from Perdigões - Figure 10.2.3 - shows the mastery of a craftsmanship that is well acquainted with ivory working methods. Its size ensures that it is not a tool but a "model" that reproduces forms well documented in funerary contexts of Western Iberia. Another staff, also small, in this case undecorated in bone, was documented in the Gruta da Cova da Moura -Figure 10.2.3. Like other pieces in this repertoire, the upper shape possibly reveals axe blades. The generic classification of the staff includes reproductions of handeled axes of which we also have examples engraved on megalithic orthostats (Barroso *et al.* 2021).

The African provenance of the Montelirio ivory did not imply the direct importation of the finished objects, as in the nearby tomb 10049 of PP4 Montelirio, one of almost a hundred funerary structures around the famous *tholos*, a woman was buried with an unworked African elephant tusk, providing a unique piece of information about the raw raw material for these objects (Luciañez *et al.* 2016, 266). An ostrich egg in the same grave goods consolidates the close relationship with North Africa. Bipartite or tripartite flat human figurines made of bone -Figs. 6.2.1 and 6.2.5-, like those made in stone in the Southeast, are very common in the West, where there are also versions made in dark stone (Pozuelo) -Figure 4.4.3.3. Different sizes in height and thickness, which in the case of bone are veritable sheets, perhaps part of clay structures, or of applications in clothing or objects. None of the widely known ones in either the Southeast or Southwest have analyses of their raw material.

The so-called "anthropomorphic idols", mostly in African ivory at sites such as Perdigões - Figure 8.1 - denote a very high level of meticulous workmanship in bone (sawing, polishing, incision), with small fitting pieces for the two parts of the body, the arms and legs, as well as heads that were interchangeable -Figure 5.3.1.1 - as we have noted for the ancient clay figurines. It is likely that they were products that were manufactured, moved and later assembled for use, although no site has been documented that allows us to confirm this hypothesis. The heads are decorated with the basic oculate decoration throughout their Iberian trajectory, and in some cases the triangular shapes characteristic of the pieces with these geometric bases. The eyes appear with empty sockets, in order to distinguish the person they represent by including coloured stones, shells or coloured clay -Figure 10.2.4. These productions vary greatly in size, reaching up to 20 cm in height or perhaps a little more, resembling small statuettes.

The level of mastery of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic bone artefacts from the Iberian Peninsula shows an outstanding knowledge of their manipulation that reflects the technical and, on occasions, formal trajectory of the hunting groups from the end of the Palaeolithic (Mújika, 2008). So far, there is no record elsewhere in Europe of such sophisticated productions in this number and variety, placing the focus of future work in this field on the potential for study of Iberian sites.

Figure 10.2.4. Faces of human figurines (FH) known as 'anthropomorphic idols'. - 1. Ciudad de la Justicia, Marroquíes Bajos, Jaén (bone); - 2. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora (ivory); - 3 and 4 Cerro de la Cabeza, Valencina de la Concepción, Sevilla (bone); - 5. La Pijotilla, Badajoz (stone); - 6. Llerena, Badajoz (bone?). Museums of Jaén (1), Arqueológico de Sevilla (3 and 4) and Arqueológico de Badajoz (5); Era Arqueología, Lisbon (2) and José Iñiesta Mena Collection (6). Enlargements of photographs by Vicente Barba Colmenero (1), José Paulo Ruas (2), J. M. Sáiz (3-4), Eva Rocamora (5) and José Iñiesta Mena (6).

10.3. Stonework.

The use of lithic raw materials in Iberian typologies constitutes a continuum of unquestionable variety, and concurrent specific selections of colour and geology. Two areas, which in a certain sense are also two cultural areas, are the most relevant. The selection of dark raw materials for the production of schist plaques and staffs, and that of whitish raw materials for cylinders, betyls, bi- and tritriangulars and a long list of sumptuary objects.

If we go into detail, the issue becomes more complicated as there are very few geological analyses that justify exact identifications of provenance in these two large selections of media. Fortunately, in recent years there have been some advances (Cardoso, 2022; Dias *et al.* 2018; Thomas *et al.* 2022), especially since the exhibition Ídolos. *Miradas Milenarias,* which has given impetus to the renewal of studies of Iberian figurines (Bueno and Soler, 2020, 2021a, 36).

The various types of schist and sandstone from the Tagus and Guadiana landscapes, which are the protagonists of the plaque and staff media, are not only the result of an opportunistic strategy but evidence of the close association between landscape and culture. Their overwhelming prominence in the Alentejan media characterises them as veritable emblems of megalithism in the region (Bueno, 2020b, 223). In places where there is no schist or similar materials (especially serpentinite) for the production of plaques and staffs, these pieces appear, which means that some of them were moved through processes of acquisition or the circulation of people. This is the case of their documentation in areas around Lisbon or in the far Southwest (Parreira and Morán, 2021). Obviously, we should have more conclusive analytical data that would include the study of the provenance of schist pieces in areas further away from the Alentejo, such as the Guadalquivir, the Southeast, Catalonia and the South of France, in order to determine the real impact of possible exchanges or uses of more local raw materials with similar aspects.

The selection of stones for the construction of the megaliths has also been related to the origin of people, confirming the identity and ideological value of these presences (Bueno and Soler, 2021b, 36; Scarre, 2010).

Along the same lines of the relationship between raw materials and cultural identifiers, the extensive use of limestone can be interpreted in the production of vases, betyls, cylinders, axes, etc. which are highly representative in the Lisbon Peninsula. The analysis of materials of this type from Perdigões has provided, for the first time, a lithotechnical library with which to reference future studies, such as those that have begun to be carried out on similar pieces from Vila Nova de São Pedro (Martins *et al.* 2021). The first ones have detected an artificial covering of very pure limestone on some of the objects (Dias *et al.* 2018, 1364) that would increase their white colour.

Taking into account their mineral composition, the Perdigões materials are in some cases unidentifiable, while in others they can be traced to the nearby Estremoz-Borba-Vila Viçosa triangle. Only the vase analysed appears to be from a more distant source, near Badajoz, in Moleanos. Both sites, Estremoz and Moleanos, are quarries that are still industrially worked today. That it was worked in great detail is evidenced by the very thin walls of the vessel that confirm the high level of control of the polishing and finishing techniques of the pieces (Dias *et al.* 2018, 1364). Also in Vila Nova de São Pedro, the provenance of some media from the Estremoz-Borba-Vila Viçosa triangle has been determined, which suggests that these raw materials were moved between the Guadiana and the Tagus at the height of the Chalcolithic period.

There are particularly sophisticated objects such as the limestone axes and adzes from the Lisbon caves (Figs. 5.1.2 and 10.3.1). The deeply incised checkered decoration on them repeats decorations very similar to the small boxes, the geometric bands of some betyls from the area or even the ceramics. This is a common look for grave goods that may have represented objects that were handled during their lifetime. The limestone piece with appendages from the Gruta de Carenque, Amadora - Figure 10.3.1: 2 - reproduces in stone some knives and sickles documented in wood at La Marmotta. There is also a wooden object at La Marmotta -Figure 10.3.1- whose shape is very close to the spectacular schist "staff" from Anta 4 at Herdade das Antas -Figure 5.1.2: 1-. In the palaphytic settlement, it has been related to flax work (Mineo *et al.* 2023).

For objects in limestone and other white stones, from Siret onwards, references to the Near East were noted, which from the work of Almagro and Arribas on the Millares focused on the references to alabaster and marble in Predynastic Egypt. We now know that there were relations with North Africa, we have already mentioned African mammoth ivory and ostrich eggs, and also with Near East Asia. However, the Egyptian parallels traditionally proposed for these pieces are rendered obsolete by the reference to La Marmotta, highlighting the few references we have to wooden tools which, from the earliest Neolithic period, formed part of the daily life of these human groups (Brandheim, 2020). In fact, the systematic presence of staffs and handled axes in ancient menhirs and in megalithic orthostats provides images of pieces that may also be made of wood, which add arguments to their antiquity and trajectory in Iberia (Barroso *et al.* 2021; Bueno *et al.* 2007). For this reason, the Iberian idiosyncrasy is even more relevant, which is explained by its own cultural power.

The "palettes" are famous (Leisner, 1965, Taf. 151), which may also have reproduced wooden pieces in stone. Their association with ivory figurines has been proven at the Perdigões site with a stone piece (Valera, 2020, Fig. 5: 3; fig. 8.1:7). Perhaps more common in wood, the stone specimens that have come down to us, and the information on how they were held, represented the activity of those who were buried or their social role.

Other stone pieces with elaborate decorations are added to these ensembles. We are referring to grinders, usually on oval shapes in hard stone with a central groove, abundant traces of use and incised decorations on their sides and base. They abound in the presence of functional pieces with careful decorations which, in this case, are reminiscent of the famous circular pieces known as *balls* in the archaeology of the megaliths of the British Isles.

It has been observed that some plaques were made with talc and gypsum in the style of the pieces with a white geological base, with the interest that these examples show themes that are characteristic of the usual media with these coloured bases that were made in bone -Figure 6.2.5.-. This is the case of some plaques containing tritriangular designs - Figure 4.4.3:. 1 -, or of many of the sculptural specimens - Figure 4.2.7 and 4.3.3: 5 - which probably emulate figurines in a symbiotic version which usually has the triangular cut-out of the head of these plaques and the sculpted arms in a position close to that of one of the Malagón pieces - Figure 5.3.2 -.

The opposite is also the case, tritriangular pieces such as those from the dolmens of Pozuelo, in Huelva, are manufactured in dark stone characteristic of the decorated plaques. We have no identification of the raw material of these pieces, something which would certainly provide arguments for more detailed deliberation, seeing as decorated plaques have been documented in the same dolmens (Cerdán *et al.* 1952).

Other simpler lithic materials were also used as media for these objects. Siret already alluded to the use of quartzite in the Millares figurines. Pebbles on which the legs and the pubic triangle were represented (Maicas, 2020); or stones with more mass that served as a medium for the

Figure 10.3.1. - 1. “Draghetti” or notched wooden tool from La Marmotta, Rome (Mineo et al. 2023, Figure 9); -2. Ideomorphic object. Lime stone. Necropolis of Carenque, Amadora, Lisbon; -3. Adze with geometric decoration. Necropolis of São Martinho, Sintra, Lisbon. Museo Nazional e Preistorico Etnografico “Luigi Pigorini”, Rome (1); Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (2 and 3). Photographs: Juan Gibaja (1); DGPC/ADF - José Paulo Ruas (2 and 4).

betyl ensembles, which included pieces of other raw materials.

The prominence of quartzite river pebbles is overwhelming in the statuettes from the outer areas of Iberian megalithic art. On the one hand, in oval shapes without any type of artificial work to delimit their contours, but with incisions that reinforce their anthropomorphic intention. On the other hand, carved edges to mark narrowings in the upper area, or in the central area, even delimiting arms. They usually appear in groupings with simple and complex shapes, sometimes accompanied by small stelae and menhirs and betyls, as is the case at Los Millares. In Almería, Granada, Málaga, Cádiz, Algarve, Spanish Extremadura, Northern Portugal, Galicia -Figure 6.6.1- and the Basque Country, their evidence is spreading as the external areas of the megaliths are excavated (Bueno, 2020b; Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2008, 2008, 2009, 2023; Fábregas *et al.* 2020; Sanches *et al.* 2021). Some of these pieces are easily related to the typologies of Iberian figurines, as Fábregas (1999) has already pointed out, but most of them are anthropomorphic versions with strong Mesolithic reminiscences (Arias and Suarez, 1990; Bueno *et al.* 2007a), which add a reference to the profound diachrony of the symbolism of the Iberian producer groups. The stones from the open area of the dolmen of Chã de Arcas, in northern Portugal (Sanches *et al.* 2021, 9), provide decorations typical of megalithic media (Figure 10.3.2), raising the possibility that these versions were made at the same time as the most ancient symbolism of Iberian megalithic art.

Similar pieces in other areas of Atlantic Europe (Bueno *et al.* 2022a), confirm the weight of Iberian influence in the symbolic display associated with the construction and maintenance of megaliths (Bueno *et al.* 2015a).

The relationship with the stelae and menhirs is another factor to be taken into account, both in terms of the confluence of their raw materials and the similar working and carving systems they share, offering data for a joint reading of these expressions.

The determination of workshops in the lithic productions has arguments in the existence of shape modules, types of raw material and decoration, as we proposed in the case of the plaques with hands - Figs. 4.2.7, 6.3.1 and 14.2.1 - and their sculptural versions in the megalithic complex of Crato-Nisa-Portalegre (Bueno, 1988, 1992). The circuits through which these pieces moved can be followed in the case of the Extremaduran ones, towards the Duero area, reaching dolmens in Salamanca, such as Galisancho (Bueno, 1992, Fig. 18).

This reasoning could be extended to productions that have been mentioned since their discovery due to their enormous similarity in shape or decoration, such as those with a tattooed face and a ribbon with braids on the back, like the plaque from Chelas, the same as one from the circular tomb of Cabezas Rubias in Huelva (Zbyzewski, 1957), another from Anta das Cabecinhitos, in Évora (Pina, 1971) and yet another from Valencina de la Concepción, in this case without the braids - Figure 12.3.1 -; or the plaques with identical double circle eye formation as those with the tattooed face and a ribbon with braids on the back, such as those of the Gruta de Casa da Moura, Vila Nova de São Pedro and Anta dos Brissos (Cardoso *et al.* 2018, Fig. 8), repeating a circuit between the Lisbon Peninsula and the Alentejo, which can also be seen in the exchange of raw materials, as we have pointed out with the provenance of limestone and marble, and in the movement of people (Melo *et al.* 2020).

Shapes, raw materials and decoration define groups in other productions, especially the cylinders. The proximity between the Coruche workshop in the lower Portuguese Guadiana and the Conquero workshop -Figure 4.4.5-, at the same end of the Guadiana in Huelva, is one of many examples that could be added to assume that there were workshops that produced figurines more extensively than their archaeological traces allow us to confirm.

Some of these pieces have had uses throughout their biography. In the case of the plaques, there are surfaces with convexities typical of mill bases. Breuil (1935) pointed out that some plaques had traces of colour and grease on them as a result of having been used as a support for the preparation of other pieces, in line with Cartailhac's (1905) interpretation suggesting that they were used as palettes to hold colouring, in the style of Egyptian make-up palettes. This hypothesis was also put forward for the specimen from the Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy (Llobregat, 1962) -Figure 11.1.2-. Fine polishing grooves have been identified, perhaps used to sharpen delicate pieces, an option that has been particularly developed to explain the pieces that have not been decorated, a common feature in the schist plaques in megalithic grave goods from Northeast Iberia and Southeast France. In the recent study of the pieces from the Saint-Eugène monument in Laure-Minervois, J. Vaquer (2019) describes the 14 plaques as palettes made of schist probably from the nearby Montagne Noir, although their raw material has not been analytically identified. *Visually,* the schists appear different in colour and texture, although all the pieces are worked in a similar way, rectangular, sub-rectangular, or trapezoidal with rounded sides, smoothed surfaces with working incisions and, on occasions, traces of red colour analysed with Raman microscopy as haematite. The close relationship between these objects and those from Catalonia is unquestionable, but also with the undecorated series from Almería and the Alentejo, which offers arguments to suggest that many of the plaques had functional uses related to polishing work

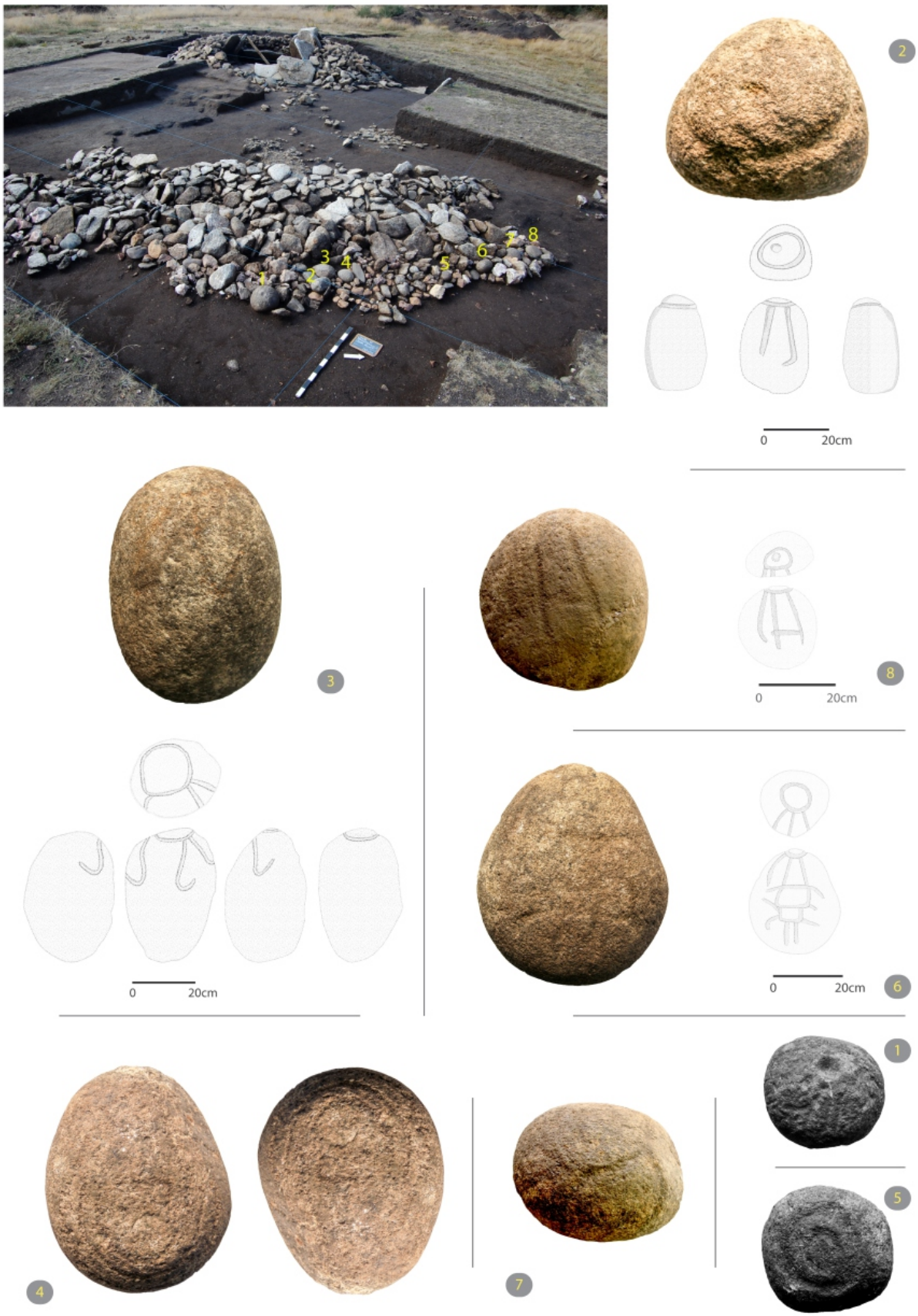


Figure 10.3.2. Monument 3 of Chã de Arcas - Vila Pouca de Aguiar. Photo of the excavation of the monument with identification of the "idol-shaped stones" still inserted in the stone ring transversal to the access axis; photographic record according to Sanches et al. 2021, Figure 2.

on delicate pieces. Vaquer (2019, 240) does not consider it possible to confirm their use as make-up palettes, but suggests their use as a base for cutting small pieces, as well as for smoothing them.

This reference becomes even more valuable in view of the increasingly abundant evidence of links between the interior of the Iberian Peninsula and Southeastern France, not only through the movement of raw materials such as cinnabar, but also through shared symbologies in parietal art, vase decoration and anthropomorphic representations (Bueno *et al.* 2019b; Cerrillo *et al.* 2019).

We have already mentioned above the staffs that may have represented, such as those described in bone and ivory, handled axes and knives, as well as the staffs associated with shepherding. All of them are "models" of instruments related to the work and daily life of those who made them. Some of these tools have an important social value, perhaps as identifiers of the specialisation of certain lineages or of their social role in the exchange of agricultural or livestock surpluses (Bueno *et al.* 2016a).

In the Alentejan pieces, plaques and crooks, the study of engraving systems using general frames and elaborate geometric themes has been repeatedly detailed by Gonçalves and his team. Recent experimentation provides evidence for the use of quartz in the process of the engravings, which would explain the type of grooves and the markedly whitish trace in some cases.

Aiguas Frias, in Alandroal, is the largest documented workshop for the manufacture of decorated plaques in the Alentejo. Calado describes it as a group of plaques in various stages of production, accompanied by numerous fragments of quartz, a fact that would confirm this experimentation (Thomas *et al.* 2022). Pieces of granite have also been found which may have been used for the polishing preparation of the surfaces.

Many of the plaques have not yet been perforated, suggesting that this task was the last phase of their design (Thomas *et al.* 2022, 34). The presence of holes was used to interpret them as pendants, and although this option has undoubted arguments (Gonçalves, 2003), it should be noted that some of the perforated pieces were not worn in this way, as we can deduce from their size and weight. They may have been used as stelae supported on some organic or clay structure, so the holes could have been used to include ornaments, hold wigs or support them in more complex structures. Unfortunately, we do not have traceological studies on the holes that would provide fundamental data for this debate.

Notably smaller and dated to the 3rd millennium cal BC, a plaque workshop has been detected in the Chalcolithic settlement of Cabeço do Peda Erra, Coruche, interesting as this is not a schist area. Gonçalves and Sousa (2017) suggest that an itinerant craftsman travelling with the raw material was the author of the ensemble.

Other figurines have been included as possible functional objects. This is the case of the cylinders, some of which show traces of having been used as mashers (Diniz *et al.* 2021), although it is not possible to establish clearly whether these uses are part of the reuse of ideomorphic pieces or whether functionalities and human representation coincided over time.

This suggests that there were local workshops together with centres of greater distribution capacity. This idea of local workshops or perhaps mixed sites is supported by deposits such as the one at La Orden-Seminario, in Huelva (Figure 5.1.1), with cylinders in different stages of processing, or the deposit at Almizaraque, in Almería, with long bones in the process of working or reworking.

With respect to other typologies, the interchangeable heads of the anthropomorphic figurines, as well as their assembleable bodies, recall archaeologically documented systems in Mediterranean sites from the 3rd millennium cal BC, with smaller and larger workshops, including the movement of manufactured pieces that are reworked and finished in local workshops. The accumulation of marble pieces with an unfinished figurine at the settlement of Skarkos in the Cyclades has been interpreted as an occasional workshop. Marble and emery would be the two elements necessary for these tasks, which are not considered to be full time (Papadatos and Venieris, 2017), but rather circumstantial, depending on the needs. Interchangeable heads have references in the most ancient Balkan and Iberian figurines, which suggests that this hypothesis of moving productions that are finished in occasional workshops may have been inherent to the ways of working the figurines, or at least some of them.

The working of stone to obtain pieces of high social value characterises Iberian Neolithic and Chalcolithic societies. Failing more detailed studies, what we do know indicates that objects of varied appearance formed part of deposits that reproduced shapes in wood or other organic components for which we have little archaeological evidence. The excellent preservation of the collective burial caves in Lisbon offers some of the most sophisticated elaborations of what would have been 'mock-ups' of real objects. Actions such as milling, polishing, tree cutting, body adornment, domestication of animals, hunting of wild fauna, or knowledge of various plants, can be deduced from the important accumulation of objects whose study still has an important analytical path to follow. Their symbiotic connection with codified human representations offers a unique argument for approaching the ideology of these human groups.

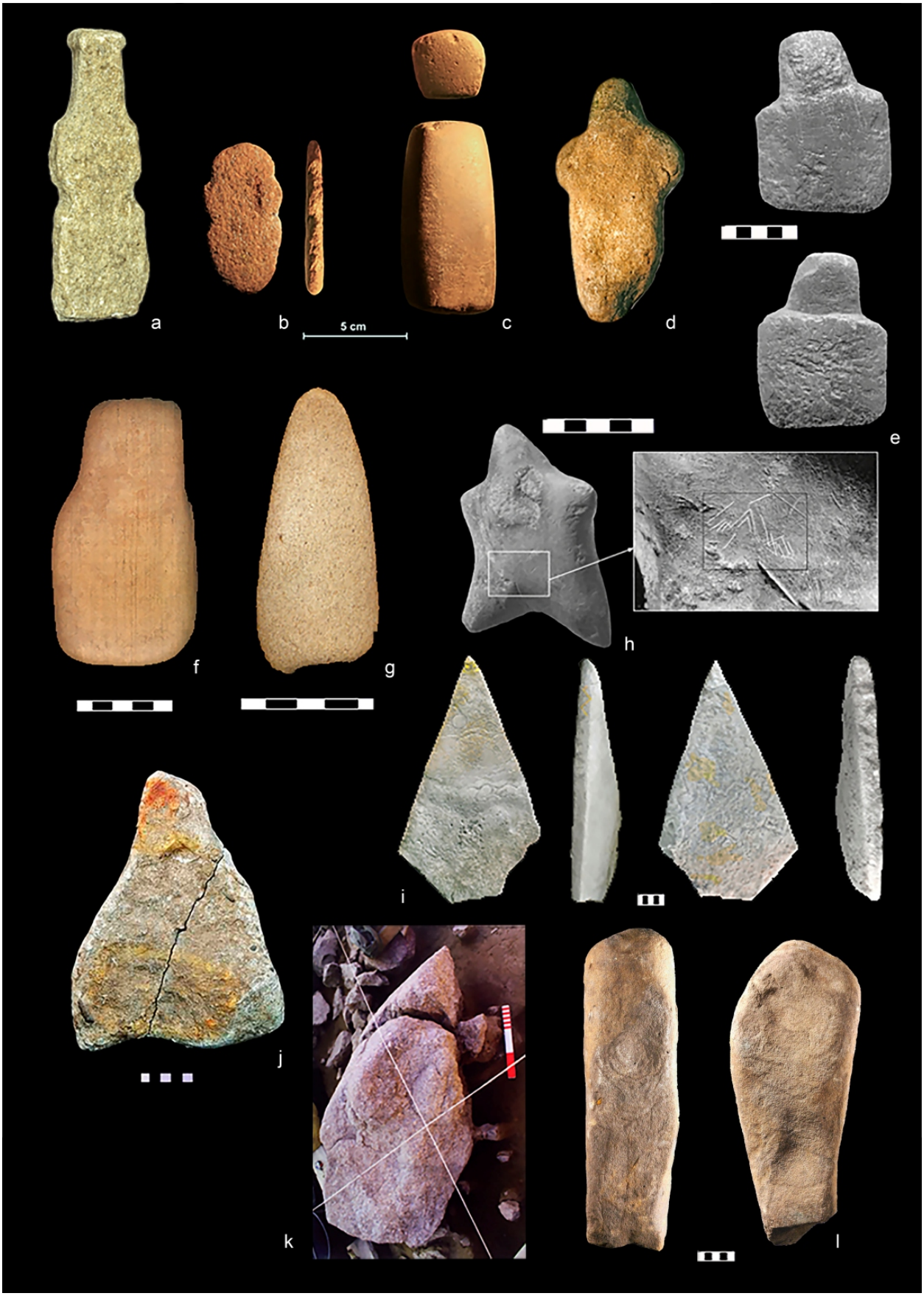


Figure 10.3.3. Small megalithic stelae (Bueno et al. 2022a): a. Dombate; b, c. Monte dos Remédios; d. Pumares; e. Westray; f. g. Douet; h. Pool, Sanday; i. Bury; j. L'Hirondelle; k. Bois de Fourgo; l. Mendigana, Images from Benetau, 2012; Bueno Ramírez et al., 2009a; Bueno Ramírez et al., 2019a; Fábregas Valcarce et al., 2020; Hernanz et al., 2016; Large and Mens, 2017.

10.4. Colour selections and artificial applications.

Throughout these pages we have collected the most relevant data on the production processes applied to clay, bone and stone in the ensemble of decorated objects and anthropomorphic figurines and vases from the Iberian Peninsula. However, none of these productions can be truly valued if we do not take into account that colour is part of their codification in a play in which nature and culture come together (Bueno *et al.* 2015a).

The basic colours of the raw materials used (a range from red to black in the case of ceramics), from white to pink for bone or the two large light and dark groups in the lithic selection, coincide in general terms. Red, white and black and their colour ranges are the main features of the raw materials of these pieces, but also their artificial applications, supporting the hypothesis that the artificial colours seek to emulate nature, providing better finishes or developing specific themes on the media we are dealing with.

In the grave goods, other colours stand out, such as the green of the raw materials used for decoration, in some cases also of exotic origin (Rodriguez Rellán *et al.* 2020), or the shine of gold, both of which are widely found in European megalithic contexts. In Iberia they are associated with some figurines, especially the most recent ones.

From the earliest studies of the 19th and 20th centuries, applications of artificial colour were mentioned without much attention being paid to the characterisation of pigments and the possibilities of obtaining C14 dates from those that include organic matter in their composition, as has been done in megalithic paintings (Carrera and Fábregas, 2002). Most specifically in themes that we know of in the portable sphere, as in the case of the painted plaque in the dolmen of Antelas, in northern Portugal (da Cruz, 1995), although it has been questioned that these pictorial applications were part of the original decorations, assessing them as impregnations of the figurines included in funerary deposits in which the bones were coloured (Gonçalves, 2021, 153).

Assuming that it is very likely that in the face of such a varied accumulation of decorated items, the causes were also varied, we are in a position to confirm that a good part of the figurines of different typologies, including Alentejan plaques, had pictorial applications (Bueno, 1992, 2020b; Maicas, 2020; Soler, 2020). This evidence brings the operational chains of the figurines closer to those of the parietal art in the open air and in the megaliths, all synchronous expressions, so it is reasonable that they share knowledge (Bueno *et al.* 2022b).

Finds of painted shelters are spreading as research and documentation strategies are implemented that go beyond the traditional division between the East and West of the Iberian Peninsula (Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2012a, 2015a; Figueiredo and Batista 2013; Rodríguez Rellán *et al.* 2019; Sanches 2016). Open-air paintings in red also appear on some menhirs (Gomes, 2007, 152), an aspect that must have been more abundant if we take into account the conservation problems of absolute open-air painting.

The role of painting in funerary scenarios is very relevant, both on the objects of the grave goods, whether ceramics, figurines, textiles, ornaments, weapons or tools, and on the corpses themselves, as well as on the floor and walls of the tombs (Bueno *et al.* 2016b, 2019a, 2019b, 2023d). The same happens in natural caves used for collective burials (Alcolea *et al.* 1993; Carvalho, 2014, 94; Lomba and Zapata, 2005, 16-31; Serrão and Marques, 1971), and in megalithic structures. Both funerary solutions are found in territories where the rest of the graphic manifestations mentioned above appear at the same time, forming a variability of funerary containers that has in the presence of painted and engraved decorations one of its most solid common points (Bueno Ramírez and Balbín, 2002; Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2004, 2009a).

Undoubtedly, red is most prominent on the walls of megaliths. From an interpretation restricted to very specific geographical areas and a few monuments (Shee Twohig, 1981), the extensive use of this resource is unquestionable (Bueno and Balbín, 1992, 2006c, 2009c, 2007a; Carrera, 2011). The megaliths where protocols aimed at the documentation of pigments in the materials have been applied have provided convincing data (Bueno *et al.* 2012b, 2015a and 2019a). Therefore, it is possible to assume the hypothesis that in European megaliths as a whole, the materiality of symbolic discourses is reflected not only in engravings and sculptures (stelae, menhirs, idols), but also - and especially - in pictorial applications where the colour red plays a prominent role. The relationship of this colour with black or white in these same contexts is another interesting piece of evidence, which we will not go into detail here (Bueno *et al.* 2016a: 190; 2014b: 76).

The Iberian Peninsula has the largest and most varied collection of painted media during the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, an area of research in which a notable increase in analytical studies is to be expected. Its most ancient representations of sun-eyes are connected with the ceramic productions of the early Neolithic.

The colour of the inlays of some Neolithic vessels has been determined as haematite and cinnabar, reds of different origins, the former local and the latter from the Almadén mines in Ciudad Real. This provenance provides one of the most ancient evidences of connectivity between different territories in Iberia during the Early Neolithic, which were traditionally considered not very permeable and with supposedly late chronologies for

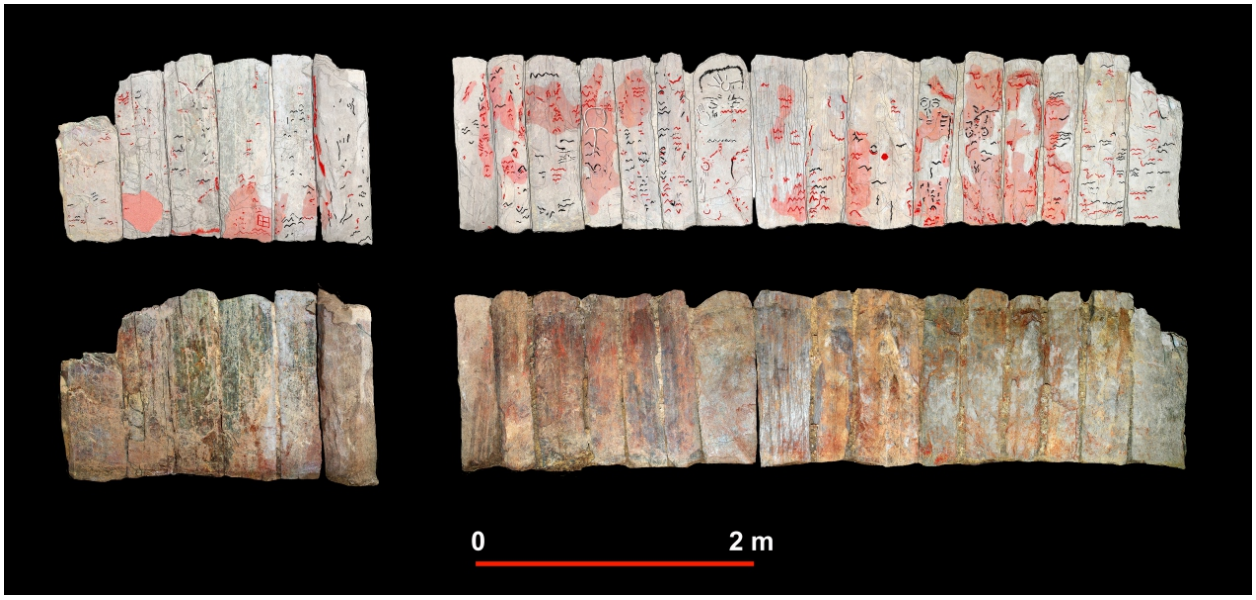


Figure 10.4.1. Graphic reading and photographic elevation of the engravings and paintings of the chamber of the dolmen of Montelirio, Castilleja de Guzmán, Seville, (Bueno et al. 2016). Photographs by R. de Balbín.

their Neolithic productions (García Borja *et al.* 2016; Hunt *et al.* 2011). The movement of cinnabar provides information about operational chains that from the earliest Neolithic period reveal systematic access to exogenous raw materials in inland Iberia, integrating the two extremes, west and east, of Neolithic Iberia. In this sense, the use of cinnabar offers an unprecedented argument to demonstrate the dynamism of an area neglected in research (Bueno *et al.* 2019b, 2020).

The prominence of cinnabar in the decoration of portable pieces has been confirmed in recent years in clay and stone specimens. The former are those already mentioned from Montelirio, Seville, whose analytical characterisation confirms the origin of the pigment from the Almadén mines (Bueno *et al.* 2016a) -Figure 10.1.3-. In the decorated plaques from Trincones (Figure 6.3.1), in Alcántara, and in those analysed from the dolmen complex of Reguengos de Monsaraz, in Évora, the red colour has also been obtained with cinnabar (Bueno, 2020c; Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2008, 2016b; Rocha *et al.* 2018). The combination of hematite and cinnabar reds in the megalithic contexts, hematite on the walls and cinnabar on figurines and corpses, provides relevant data for their interpretation. It is likely that figurines and corpses, treated in the same way, were interpreted in a similar way. Following this argument, at least some figurines would have represented the people buried. This hypothesis has an additional argument in the fact that the missing leg of an anthropomorphic figurine from Perdigões was completed with a human bone (Valera, 2021).

Finally, it has been observed, especially in the analysis of decorative objects, that some coloured coverings mixed cinnabar with ochre, which could be explained by the fact that cinnabar was more difficult to obtain and the aim was to make the most of it (Odriozola *et al.* 2017).

Some of the flattened bone artefacts - Figure 11.2.1: 9 - and many phalanges show traces of red colour, although they have not been analysed, but the group that is most representative of the painting is that of the long bones, in which this technique was part of its characterization from the first discoveries. Siret (1908) observed the Almizaraque pieces under the microscope and argued that the bone would be submerged a combination of resin and wax before being engraved with a sharp object. It would then be introduced into a corrosive liquid that would set it in order to add the polychrome that would be common in these productions (Benito, 2017, 377). The procedure would actively and inseparably link engraving and painting as two phases of the same process. However, for the moment there is no conclusive analytical evidence to uphold this hypothesis.

Ballester (1945, 123) proposed the use of a caustic paint associated with the action of engraving. An engobe of clay and haematite has been analytically documented on one of the pieces from El Fontanal. These do not have engraved decoration, but do have paint in at least two shades of ochre (Soler, 1985, 27). In La Ereta, a white paint base was coloured brown on top. The information known so far allows us to assume the coexistence of painting and

engraving in the decorations of the long bones, which does not prevent us from differentiating regional specialities in which the techniques are combined in a singular way (Soler, 1985, 32).

The detailed study of the Alicante artefacts suggests that previous painted designs were used to frame the graphic device, in a similar way to those used in other types of figurines, such as those mentioned for the decorated plaques. Probably the post-depositional events added to the problems of bone conservation explain the difficulties in obtaining more conclusive analytical data (Benito, 2017, 377).

Haematite red is used in applications on ceramic figurines, as in Valencina de la Concepción (Hurtado, 2013), where a wider role has yet to be analysed. In some betyls of the external areas of the necropolis of Los Millares, there is red colour, on monuments where paintings on the orthostats have also been documented (Almagro and Arribas, 1963, 169; Bueno *et al.* 2009b, 145). Similar pieces outside the Alberite dolmen, in Cádiz, were painted in red, which suggests that this type of object should be studied taking into account the possibility that they may have been painted (Bueno and Balbín, 1996; Bueno et *al.* 2008a, 2016b).

Both the most ancient vessels and the earthenware figures have white fillings. The analysis of the Gavá vase identifies it as calcite. This has also been found in more recent decorated vessels, in the late Neolithic from Perdigões and in Ciempozuelos-type Bell Beaker vessels (Odriozola, 2011; Odriozola *et al.* 2012), confirming long trajectories in the ways of decorating vessels.

A strong local component and Neolithic-Chalcolithic diachronies can also be traced in the use of crushed bone in the filling of the decoration of the Valada do Mato figurine, in Évora (Odriozola, 2008) and of the Neolithic ceramics from the flint mines of Casa Montero, in Madrid (Diaz del Rio *et al.* 2011), an interesting reference to ensure shared knowledge in the Central Iberian Neolithic, as we have pointed out for the movement of cinnabar. There are no known analyses of the white filler of the Costamar vase decorations, in Castellón, nor of the spectacular vase from the Malalmuerzo Cave, in Granada (Carrasco *et al.* 2006), but their quality brings us visually closer to the role of colour contrasts in the production of anthropomorphic vases.

The composition of these white-coloured pastes obtained with calcite or crushed bone ensures that this was an artificial component in ceramic decorations from the earliest forms, as well as in the decorations of clay figurines. In sites in the rest of Europe the white colour was obtained with gypsum, as has been documented in the embossed breasts associated with anthropomorphic representations on the wall of an LBK house (Hofmann, 2020, 122).

Colour constructs a specific vision of these vessels in which different engraving techniques are associated with painting to design complex decorations. This impression does not imply that exogenous origins do not play a role, but rather that reproducing visible qualities seems to be the most important objective, probably by emulating the best quality dyes, such as cinnabar for the red, or the most sought-after raw materials, such as marble or ivory for the use of white calcite pastes. These coloured engobes could be interpreted as imitations of quality materials, essentially marble/alabaster and ivory, suggesting that as with other megalithic grave goods, emulation was part of these funerary displays (Bueno *et al.* 2004a).

The same can be applied to portable figurines. On the phalanges, the analyses confirm coatings of crushed bone to make their white external appearance uniform. A very pure limestone covering has also been detected on limestone objects from the Perdigões site in Évora, indicating that this type of external treatment was common on several *items* related to funerary deposits (Dias *et al.* 2018, 1364).

Resins have been detected that may have contributed to showing an ivory colour to emulate this raw material (Maicas, 2020, 296). It is possible that these external treatments are similar to those of the long bones for which resin coatings have been proposed. Microscopic observation has also detected traces of fabric on a horse phalanx from structure 21 from Almizaraque (Maicas, 2020, 267), which reveals gestures of interaction with these pieces that could have been dressed in different ways, as has been mentioned in figurines from the rest of Europe.

With the exception of the long bones, the technical component of colour in Iberian figurines has not usually been considered. The cases we have briefly described allow us to differentiate between incised fillings that form prominent themes, complete coloured grouting and also specific decorations that may represent clothing, ornaments or anatomical details. This last aspect has been studied very little, as was the case for a long time with the Cycladic figurines in which the enormous informative value of their ignored painted decorations has been demonstrated (Sotirakoupolos, 2020).

The few analytical studies that do allow us to assess the pigment applications in anthropomorphic figurines and vases herald great expectations about the social component of the colours used, the great synchrony of similar solutions such as engobes of coloured clays and about the prominent role of colour in these sophisticated portable versions of recent Iberian prehistory (Bueno *et al.* 2019 a).

Chapter 11
Geographies and Contexts of Figurines in Late Iberian Prehistory

Since Siret's compilation (1908), the distribution of Iberian figurines has shown that they are predominantly from the south. This hypothesis had been established in the first studies by Estacio da Veiga, Leite de Vasconcellos and others who, based on finds in the South Western megalithic area or in the Southeast, defined a territory that even today is the one that groups these productions.

Two developments have begun to change this idea. On the one hand, the increase in knowledge in the South itself has overturned the initial prominence of the Southeast. This is the case in the area between the Tagus and the Guadiana, with Perdigões and Pijotilla (Hurtado, 2010; Valera, 2020) as relevant case studies. This area has been joined by the Guadalquivir where the compact cluster of dolmens and habitats of Valencina de la Concepción - Castilleja de Guzmán adds updated data with identification of raw materials and C14 chronologies (Bueno *et al.* 2016a; Hurtado, 2013). A powerful and demographically compact Southwest also has evidence in its far Southwest, Algarve, Huelva and Cádiz. The revisiting of old sites and the discovery of new locations extends the Alentejo and Lisbon connectivities (Linares *et al.* 2022; Parreira and Morán, 2021).

As a whole, these are easily accessible coastal areas that in recent years have been valued as potential ports when it comes to maximum splendour of these sites, at the end of the 4th and at least three thirds of the 3rd millennium cal BC. The Guadalquivir access to Valencina, that of Alcalar via the Guadiana and the still under study Guadiana access to the large megalithic sites of the Janera, are so far underdeveloped arguments, with a high potential for analysis. All of them share a similar location to the Tagus estuary sites on the Lisbon Peninsula. Maritime contacts can also be proposed in less explored areas such as Cadiz or Malaga, not to mention Almeria or the Eastern areas. The increase in knowledge in this area combines the possibilities of maritime traffic with the more studied possibilities of fluvial and terrestrial movements, which we can follow from the movement of raw materials, largely used in funerary exhibits (Bueno *et al.* 2023a).

Evidence of a Neolithic and Chalcolithic occupation with shared symbols between the Southwest and the Northwest is growing from the first signs in fortified habitats (Jorge, 1983), and figurines (Fábregas, 1998), to the recent discoveries of spectacular schematic art including classical oculate images (Figueiredo *et al.* 2014; Sanches *et al.* 2021).

Inland prominence has been extended since the discovery of the pieces decorated on long bones from the Juan Barbero cave in Madrid (Martínez Navarrete, 1984). A review of the sector reveals the potential of the Ebro route towards the Pyrenean passes, which explains the quantity of plaques fashioned in a similar way to those from Alentejo in Catalonia and Southeast France, and, above all, a relevant inventory of menhir statues indebted to Iberian graphic products and related to the movement of prestige dyes, such as cinnabar (Bueno *et al.* 2009b, 2019b; Cerrillo *et al.* 2019). The plaque from the Bosquet cave in Reus -Figure 6.1.2.2 - brings together horizontal decorations in wolf's tooth bands with a belt and the most common limestone raw material in megalithic statuary (Bosch, 2010).

Some portable versions with extensive records in the Southwest are the ones that have more data in Northeast Iberia and Southeast France. Similarly, very widespread codes in the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana are the most representative so far in Northwest Iberia (Bueno *et al.* 2010). This proposal makes broad Iberian connectivities viable, as well as the role of the interior with the passes from the central areas towards the Ebro and the Mediterranean on the one hand, and towards the Continent on the other. It also strenghens the links between the North and South of the Iberian Atlantic seaboard, relegated by the idea of influences only between the Southeast and Southwest.

In the course of analysing this information we cannot ignore the relevance of stelae in the megaliths, a relevance that was interpreted as exclusive to areas where there were no figurines (Pinto, 1929), which has been assumed on the Continent as a relatively accepted explanation (Hoffman, 2020; Scarre, 2020).

The wide representation of figurines in funerary contexts has also undergone notable changes as they have been documented in habitation and aggregation sites (Andrade *et al.* 2021; Valera, 2020, 2021). It can be said that Iberian figurines have "outgrown" their interpretation as final and hidden deposits in megaliths, enriching their social significance as part of manufacturing circulations that had biographies within the framework of everyday life.

Their notable presence in settlements in Continental Europe and their scant funerary representation has been established as a difference with the preferably funerary locations both in Iberia and in the Mediterranean islands. Perhaps these differences will become more nuanced

as research on Iberian sites was influenced by the fact that, almost until the 21st century, it was doubted that megaliths were associated with habitation sites (Enríquez, 1991). The increase in these records has led to significant changes in the distribution and quantity of Iberian figurines. It is reasonable to suspect that the maximalist ascriptions of settlement *versus* necropolis are too firmly anchored in interpretations that need to be renewed.

Figurines in areas where they have little portable representation may have been made of organic materials or clay (Scarre, 2020). In fact, the codes that identify them form part of the decorations of the Atlantic and Contintental megaliths, as well as of the sculptural representations or house decorations and even of ceramic representations in these same territories (Becker, 2020; Bueno and Balbín, 2002; Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2015a; Hofmann, 2020). A situation similar to that described in Northwest Iberia, where the total absence of these graphic codes was assumed to be a cultural barrier between the Atlantic and the Mediterranean (Bueno *et al.* 2012, 2016b, 2021a).

11.1. Portable images in Western Iberia.

Taken as a whole, the figurines from Western Iberia have a significantly higher count than those from the Southeast, a recognisable fact since Almagro Gorbea´s publication (1973), as mentioned above. At that time, perhaps it was not considered due to the marked influence of the orientalist hypothesis that established the arrival of this type of products from the Near East, with Los Millares as their first point of arrival on the Peninsula.

In any case, the historiography compiled in previous chapters has always assumed the prominent role of decorated plaques in schist and related lithic materials in Southwestern megalithism, which means that in total numbers stone figurines are more abundant in the West and bone figurines in the East (Bueno and Soler, 2020b, 61).

In recent years, decorated plaques such as the portable images of human bodies associated with the megaliths of the Alentejo have become a reality which, due to their quantitative representation and ubiquity, are a true emblem of the megalithic expressions of the area (Bueno, 1992, 2020b). Possible Near Eastern parallels can always still be referred to, but the accumulation, personality, development and diachrony of the Iberian pieces form an unquestionable cultural compact, far removed from the episodic Cypriot or other examples.

From what we know today, the location of the decorated plaques defines central areas with very compact distributions and extensions of varying intensity throughout the West, towards the Guadiana and towards the Duero, towards the centre and Southeast of Andalusia, towards the Iberian interior, towards Catalonia and towards Southeast France. It is therefore the Iberian figurine typology with the greatest geographical and iconographic impact (Bueno, 2020b).

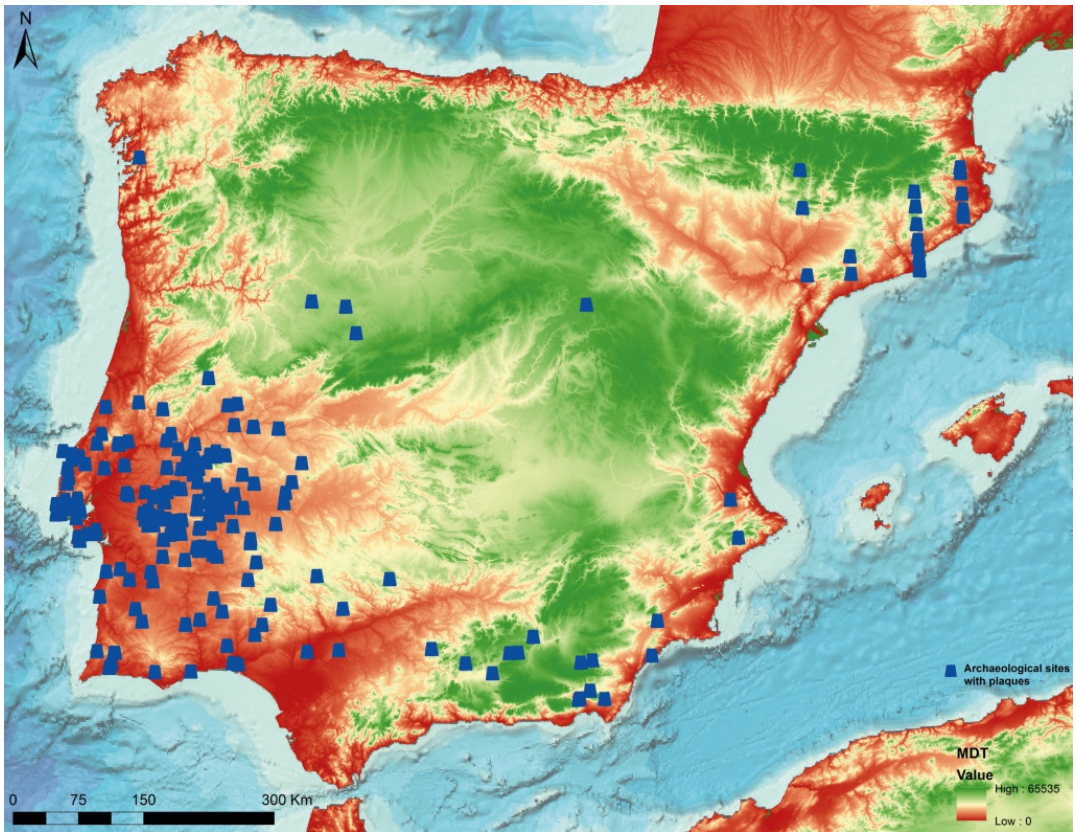
In the Alentejo, the highest concentrations are found between the north of Portalegre and the south of Évora, forming a triangle which, to the eastextends to the Spanish border where it reaches the necropolises of Valencia de Alcántara, Alcántara, Santiago de Alcántara, Herrera or Cedillo (Bueno 1988; Bueno *et al.* 2006; Oliveira, 1995), as to the south the documentation is hardly updated. The Aiguas Frias and Cabeço do Pe da Erra workshops define a powerful focus in the area around Évora, which is compatible with the number of megaliths and the abundance of excavations throughout the 20th century. The relationship with the Lisbon Peninsula and towards the Guadiana, where the finds are fewer, not so compact, are not abundant, although it is also true that the archaeological documentation is very outdated. In the Spanish area of the Guadiana, the finds are concentrated in Badajoz, offering burial cave contexts in Huelva (Cueva de la Mora, Jabugo), a fact that has only been documented in the Lisbon Peninsula (Lapa do Fumo, for example).

Some regional specialisations such as the plaques with hands or the plaques in relief - Figure 11.1.2: 1 and 2 -, veritable sculptural versions in shape, size and use, together with the plaques devoid of arms - Figure 4.3.6 -, are concentrated in Crato-Nisa and Portalegre, reaching Castelo Branco and Salamanca in small numbers (Bueno, 1988). Determining the core of the decorated plaques in this Portalegre/Evora/Tajo internacional triangle is an extremely valuable piece of information for the study of the connectivity of the sector.

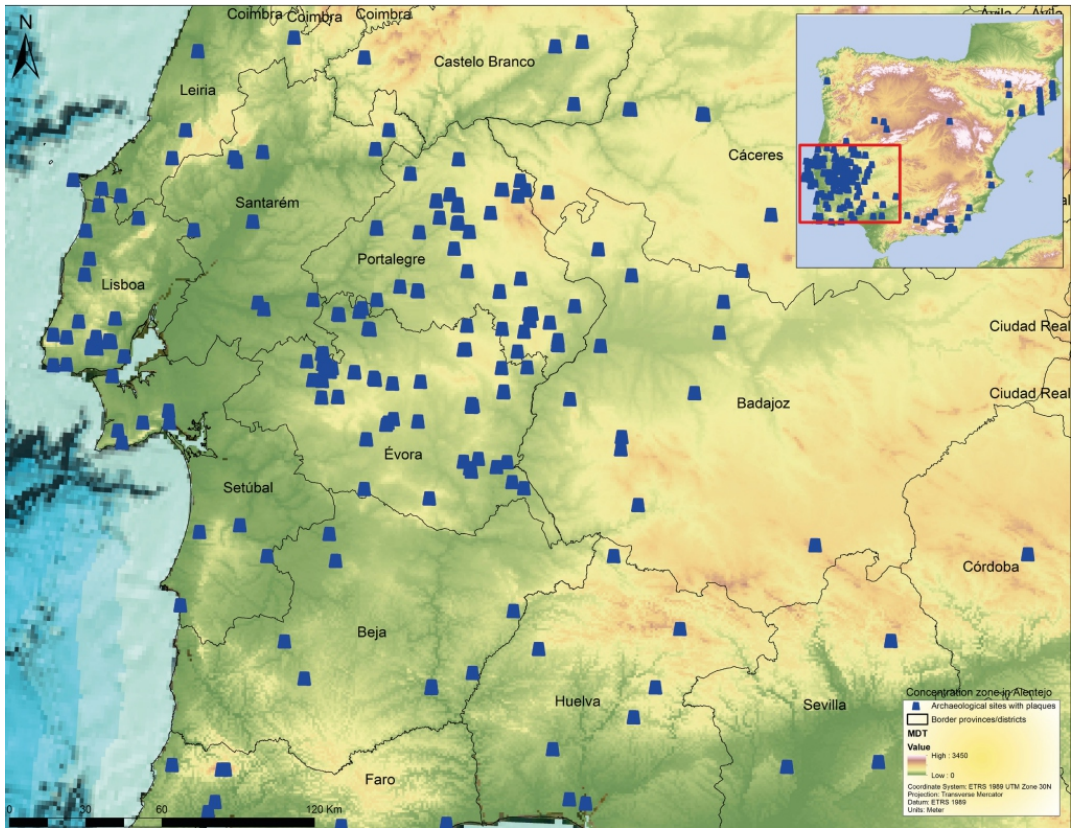
They are not widely present in the Guadalquivir, nor in Almería (García *et al.* 2020, 360). In Los Millares, some plaques are plain like those that characterise the Catalan and Southeastern French ensembles, one of whose specimens could be present in the Cova de la Pastora (Pascual, 2010, plate I, 8) -Figure 11.1.2-. In another case, a hanging plaque from the Cortijo del Canal cave -Figure 5.3.2-, in Granada, made of shell, reproduces shapes with a triangular head and geometric decorations, probably as a local version emulating Alentejan pieces (Martínez and López, 2020, 270).

Their absence in the Northwest was an argument for the cultural difference between the two extremes of Western Iberia, the North and the South (Shee Twohig, 1981; Pinto, 1929). There are isolated examples in the Northwest (Bueno *et al*. 2003; Cruz and Gonçalves, 1995), in addition to the ones we will discuss in the following chapter of images of painted plaques on orthostats and in open-air shelters, which affirm knowledge of these shapes.

In the interior, the plaque from the dolmen of Portillo de Las Cortes, Guadalajara, has been known since Cerralbo's early work. It can be interpreted as a reused piece with the interest that it has been documented in a monument that



1



2

Figure 11.1.1. - 1. Dispersion of decorated plaques in the Iberian Peninsula. Data obtained from Almagro Gorbea, 1973; Leisner, 1951; Bueno Ramírez, 2010 and Lillios, 2004, with updates; - 2. Concentration of sites with decorated plaques in the Portuguese Alentejo (Bueno, 2020, Figures 1 and 2).

also has fragments of a San Martin-El Miradero type spatula (Bueno *et al.* 2016c).

A "slate" example has been cited from the dolmen of Dehesa de Robledoso, in Lanzahita, Ávila (Martino, 2008), which is actually closer to shapes like that of the Alvega piece. This surface find is a small piece used as a pendant and probably reused. A plaque has also been found in Cuenca, for which, like the previous one, there is no contextual information.

Sometimes they appear in ensembles, such as the one at Trincones with coarser versions -Figure 11.1.2- made in quartzite that have not been recorded until the 21st century (Bueno, 2010, 52). These exterior positions, like those described in the Northwest and Southeast, indicate shared locations among all these graphic products that support a known order in the graphic devices of the monuments. Their numbers increase as the external areas of the megaliths are excavated (Bueno *et al.* 1994, 1999, 1999, 2008b, 2011; Fábregas *et al.* 2020; Sanches *et al.* 2021). Many of these pieces are small stelae. Their shape and treatments bring them close to pieces of the same type documented in Southern France, with which they also share artificial applications of cinnabar red (Bueno *et al.* 2019a; D'Anna *et al.* 2015; Hasler, 1998).

The coexistence of decorated plaques with triangular-based typologies constitutes the highest percentage of all Western figurines (decorated plaques and bi- and tri-triangular plaques - Figs. 4.4.3, 6.3.4 and 11.1.3). In Western Iberia, this association is characterised by its documentation in the same grave goods and also by its integrated version, combining decorated plaques and triangular-based forms on the same media. So far, this type of symbiosis has not been identified in the Southeast, although it can be followed to the Northwest, where some megalithic paintings combine characteristics of decorated plaques with linked bitriangular designs inside them (Bueno 2020b, 209), such as the one from the anta of Pedralta, in Viseu -Figure 11.1.3.

The flattened pieces in bone and stone that make up the extensive tritriangular record -Figure 4.3.5- have been associated with the Southeast since their earliest discoveries. Indeed, 53 pieces come from Almería, and 32 from Granada (García *et al.* 2020, 251; Martínez and López, 2020, 268) with specimens in Murcia and Albacete and perhaps another in Catalonia. However the greatest increase is being documented in the West, where, in addition to those from the dolmens of Pozuelo, in Huelva, those from Perdigões (Valera, 2020) have been added, with an archaeological context that places them at a time prior to the classical dates of the Southeast, an aspect to which we will return later. Examples in Jaén and Córdoba are added to the trapezoidal head in bone from a fragmentary piece in the collective burial cave of Tío Republicano, in Romangordo, Cáceres, (Cerrillo and Gonzalez, 2011), the most inland point of the Tajo basin so far documented -Figure 11.1.4.

With the triangular-based specimens, we must include phalanges, "hoppers" and even decorated long bones, some of which have been documented in the Guadiana, in the province of Badajoz (Enríquez and Rodriguez, 1990) -Figure 6.5.1: 6-, forming a remarkable group with 11 specimens in tomb 3 of La Pijotilla (Hurtado *et al.* 2000) -Figure 11.1.4-. They have recently been documented in Huelva, in the settlement of La Orden-Seminario (Vera *et al.* 2010) and in the dolmen of Soto with a piece under study. Phalanges are common in ensembles, and are also documented in dolmens from Huelva and Los Millares, Almería (Martínez and López, 2020, Fig. 3).

The striking deposit of Correio-Mor -Figure 11.4.1-, places them in the Lisbon Peninsula in the form of groupings like those described at Los Millares, but with a somewhat different typology as they are made of stone (Cardoso *et al.* 1995).

In the interior of the Duero, Tagus and Ebro basins, the decorated spatulas are concentrated in the graves of the sector, with a possible expansion to Salamanca and Ávila, perhaps not detected due to the poor preservation of bone material in the granite contexts (Villalobos *et al.* 2020, 221). They sporadically coincide with plaques, but in general, they are unique typologies in these territories. Situating their focal point here as part of the identity expressions of these groups is convincing. The largest quantities are concentrated between Palencia and Valladolid, which is perhaps a good argument for locating this focus in the Duero. Their association with some singular products, such as solid ceramic bottles or those with little interior space and neck in relief, interpreted as lamps, suggests European connectivities that have also been pointed out for the spatulas. These bottles were found in the Continental Neolithic, and examples of them are known from sites of the Seine-Oise-Marne culture, and in Breton megalithic times (Huysecom, 1986). More detailed studies will have to be awaited, but these links reinforce the position of the Iberian hinterland within the framework of the connectivities that characterise the most ancient European megalithic impulses (Bueno *et al.* 2015d, 2023c).

Another large group of western pieces is that of cylinders and other flattened pieces with similar decoration, which, in their decorated versions, can easily be traced in the Guadalquivir and Guadiana (Hurtado, 2008; García *et al.* 2020; Martínez and López, 2020) - Figure 6.4.1 -, with numerically significant examples in the Lisbon Peninsula (Martins *et al.* 2021). Their representativeness in the Lisbon area in less ornate forms and accompanied by decorated betyls that have not yet been documented in other Iberian sites, points to a focus whose evidence is difficult to pinpoint due to the poor quality of the records.

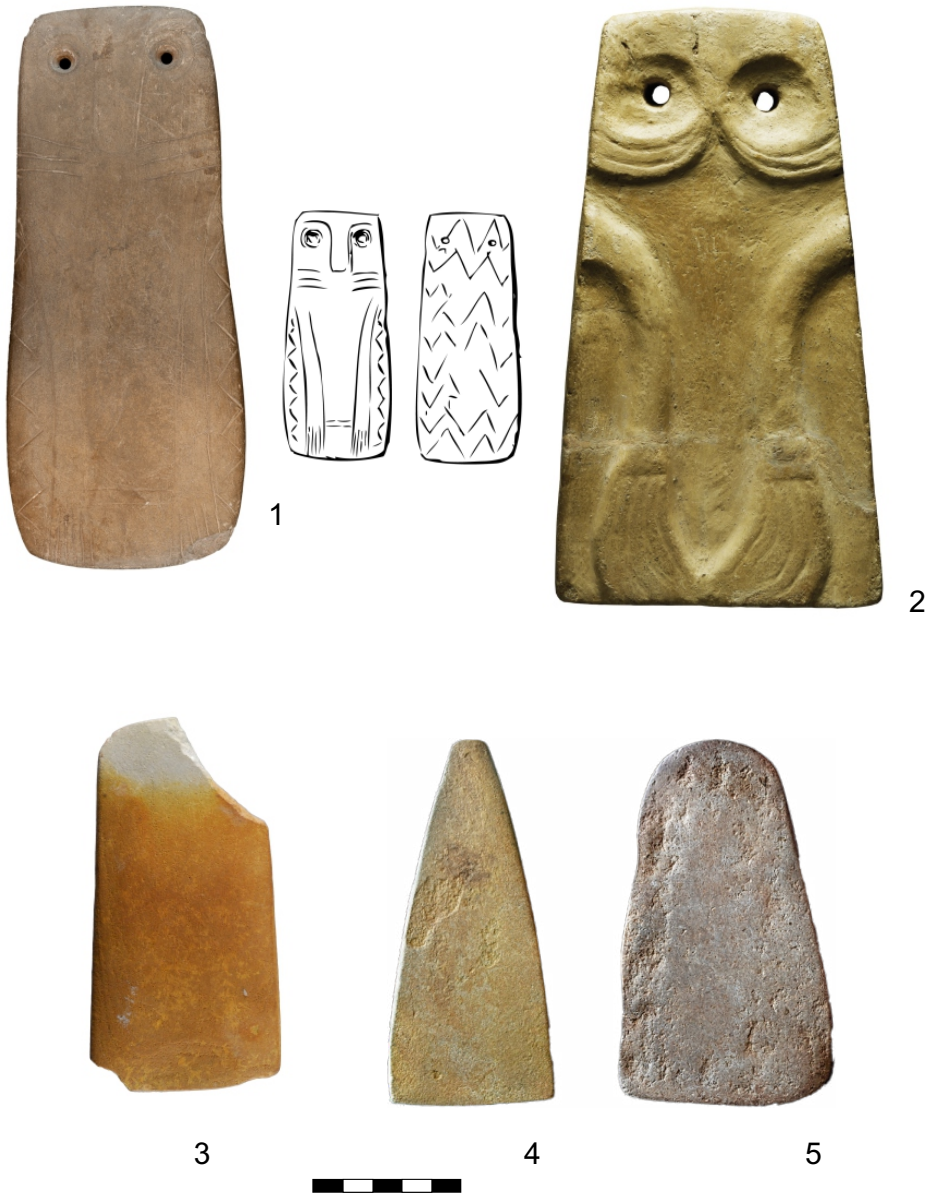


Figure 11.1.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stoneware (1-2), sandstone (3) and quartzite (4-5). Trapezoidal plaques. With face and hands: - 1. With incised decoration: Barbacena, Elvás -unscaled drawing by L. Siret 1908, Plate VIII-; - 2. With decoration in bas relief: Anta do Espadanal, Estremoz, Évora; - 3. Plain: Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy; - 4-5. Roughed: Dolmen de Trincones, Cáceres. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (1), Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa (2), Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia (3), Museo de Cáceres (4-5). Photographs: Archivo MAN - Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (1), DGPC/ADF- José Pessoa (2), Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia (3) and R. de Balbín (4-5).

The relationship between Lisbon and the Alentejo is specified in the Perdigões specimens (Valera 2020, Fig. 4) -Figure 6.4.2-. Their concentration stands out in La Pijotilla, Badajoz, and in the area around Valencina de la Concepción, Seville -Figure 6.4.1-, La Pijotilla being the site with the most specimens of bone oculates accompanying the stone ones, which are mostly flattened with flared ends -Fig, 5.3.3.3.-. The documentation from Perdigões shows a similar representation with versions in African ivory like La Pijotilla, adding arguments to those already considered about the close relationship between the two sites.

Their number and technical and thematic proximity allow one of the focal points for these pieces to be established in the Pijotilla - Perdigões area. Some more isolated examples in the Tagus, such as the flattened piece from Fonte Quente - Figure

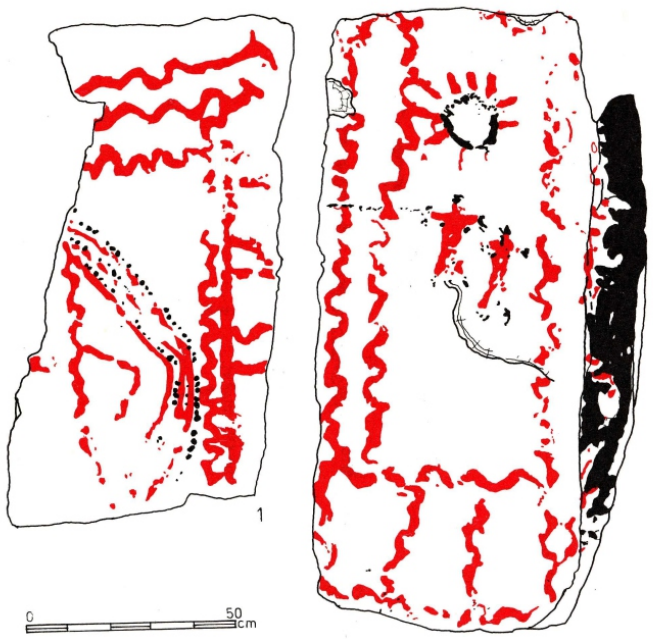


Figure 11.1.3. Above. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone (1) and bone (2-3): - 1. Trapezoidal oculate plaque with incised tritriangulars. Mértola, Beja, unscaled drawing by V.S. Gonçalves, 2006, Figure 10; - 2-3. Tripartite flattened figures ("tritriangular"): Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora (2) and Praia de Samarra, Sintra, Lisbon (3). Below. Tracing of the Anta de Pedralta. Porto (Shee, 1981). Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (1), Museu Geológico, Lisbon (3), ERA Arqueologia S.A. Lisbon (2). Photographs: DGPC/ADF- José Paulo Ruas (1 and 3) and A.C. Valera (2).

Figure 11.1.4. Geometric anthropomorphic bone figurines (FAG): - 1. Phalange. El Juncal, Getafe, Madrid; - 2. Flat composite with head, Cueva del Tío Republicano, Romangordo, Cáceres. Drawing, Cerrillo and González, 2011, Figure 15; - 3-6. Oculates on long bones: La Pijotilla, Tomb 3. Drawing, Víctor Hurtado. Museo Arqueológico Regional de Madrid (1), Museo de Cáceres (2), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (3-6). Photograph: Mario Torquemada -Archivo MAR (1).

6.2.2 - very similar to those from La Pijotilla (Mateos and Pereira, 2008), point to extensions of these records. The similarity between the cylinders from the far Southwest, from Alcalar, Sines, Ervidel, or Santiago do Cacem, Portugal, and from Huelva, with some of those described (especially the one from La Pijotilla, -Figure 11.1.5: 2-), places another possible focus in the extreme Southwest of the Iberian Peninsula, however more information is required to define this.

The cylinder fragment from Motmaurin (Clottes, 1977) -Figure 11.1.5: 4- in Southern France, with sun-eyes and lines of facial tattooing prolonged at angles on the sides, could be added to the connectivity of the plaques or spatulas mentioned above, to indicate the dispersion of symbolic peninsular references to Southeastern France, some of which influenced their statuary, parietal and ceramic representations (Bueno *et al.* 2009b). Its fragmentary state prevents us from properly assessing its similarity with typical examples from the Southwest, such as the one from Conquero -Figure 4.4.5-, Moncaparacho -Figure 11. 1.5-, Alcalar -Figure 6.4.1- or with others such as the recently presented one from Herdade de Cariola, Ervidel -Figure 11.1.5-. It should be noted, however, that its archaeological decontextualisation casts reasonable doubts on the authenticity of its origin.

Traditionally assigned to the Southeast, the betyls, truncated cone-shaped pieces, have been increasingly referenced in the West since being documented in some monuments in the Algarve (Leisner, 1959), with well-documented archaeological contexts in the necropolis of Alcalar (Parreira and Morán, 2021). The close relationship between betyls and small/medium-sized menhirs is a noteworthy factor, as some pieces would fit easily into these versions. This is the case of Alcalar and others such as those forming part of alignments, like Alcoutim, in the Lower Guadiana (Cardoso *et al.* 2002, 121). In the Tagus and in a similar position, outside the monument, there is another menhir / betyl at the entrance to the dolmen of Lagunita III, Cáceres (Bueno *et al.* 2008).

They join ensembles such as that of La Orden-Seminario, in Huelva, with very similar pieces such as the undecorated cylinders. Excavations in external areas have revealed the betyl from the Alberite dolmen in Cádiz (Bueno *et al.* 1999, 2007) with painted decoration similar to the pieces from the exterior of the Madorras dolmen in Northern Portugal (Cruz and Gonçalves, 1995). Almargen, in Antequera, has been included as a betyl (García *et al.* 2020), although it is not portable, and responds to statuary forms in the sense mentioned for the small menhirs of the Algarve.

Just as the plaques are emblematic of the Tagus, the cylinders are emblematic of the Guadiana, although they reach the Guadalquivir. However, their dispersion is more restricted (as far as we know so far), as they have not been documented in their classic versions in the Southeast of the Iberian Peninsula. The flattened lithics from La Pijotilla -Figure 5.3.3.3 and 11.1.6- and from other immediate contexts such as Monte Pombal -Figure 11.1.6- have many similarities in their decoration of sun-eyes under knitted eyebrows with some of the bone ones from Fortín 1 at Los Millares -Figure 6.2.2.2: 4- and another located at El Tarajal, which together with the small bone piece from Las Angosturas (Martínez and López, 2020, Figs. 4: 5 and 4) leads us to suspect that the cylinders will eventually be documented more extensively in Southeast Iberia. As in other large sites, the capacity to generate new shapes over the most widespread ones is a fact. In this case, the flat oculates from La Pijotilla, Badajoz, are a local production that tends to be syncretised with the bitriangular ones, which they surpass in size, sometimes coming close to the image of developed archer's armlets, such as the spectacular piece with breasts from Cabezo Juré (Nocete *et al.* 2004) in Huelva -Figure 7.1: 5-. Their presence at Millares provides another argument for concrete connectivities between the Perdigões-Pijotilla focal point and this important fortified site.

The relevant inventory of human figurines grouped together under the name "anthropomorphic idols" in the Guadiana (Hurtado, 2010; Valera, 2020, 2021), proposes a reflection, still in early stages, on the potential for social information of pieces that cannot be understood without the tradition of technique and shape of the Iberian figurines as a whole (tattoos, sun eyes, triangular bases). Of different sizes, especially the one from Malagón -Figure 5.3.1-, the one from La Habilla -Figure 8.1- and one of those from Perdigões which reaches 20 cm in height (Valera, 2021) confirm that, as with the plaques, some of them are statues. The anthropomorphs in bone or ivory share the position of arms crossed over the belly, triangular or rounded heads, incised hair like that of the cylinders and empty eye sockets, especially in La Pijotilla - Figure 10.2.4. Some singular positions, such as that of the Malagón woman - Figure 5.3.2 - recall versions known in Sardinia (Paglietti, 2020, Fig. 7): shoulders in a single line, high breasts at the level of the shoulder blades and very white stone, which should be identified. The sculpted arms resting on the sides of the hips abound in this reference, but the lower limbs and the triangular head correspond to the Guadiana formulas. Links with an area from which we know some of the raw materials used in funerary deposits come from cannot be ruled out, but this case will have to be studied in detail together with another from La Pijotilla (Bueno and Soler, 2021d, fig. 31,163), which shows the lower area compact and rounded from a waist where the arms become a relief rather than a naturalistic representation, in a style very close to that of the aforementioned figurine from Sardinia. This reference is valid in both directions, as we do not have precise chronologies in either case.

Phalanges and the biconical pieces known as "hoppers" - Figure 11.1.6: 3 - are more widespread in the West and East, while the so-called "anthropomorphic idols" are located in

Figure 11.1.5. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in limestone. Oculate cylinders. - 1. Herdade da Cariola, Ervidel, Beja; - 2. La Pijotilla, Badajoz; -3. Moncarapacho, Olhão, Faro; -4. Montmaurin, Haute-Garonne. 1. Museo de Sines, 2. Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz, 3. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs: Gonçalves, 2022 Figure 3 (1); Eva Rocamora (2); DGPC/ADF- José Paulo Ruas (3) and Clottes, 1977, Figure 35 (4).

a very similar way to the cylinders, with a notable focus in the Guadiana in the Pijotilla / Perdigões area and specimens in Granada and Jaén which, so far, have very little documentation in Millares.

Together with simpler products made on quartzite and mainly on pebbles, the plaques and triangular-based figurines (bitriangular, tritriangular...) make up the bulk of Western figuration. To the latter phalanges, "hoppers" and even some long bones must be added . Cylinders and cone-based pieces (betyls) make up sets with marked regional preferences.

At least two focal points of identity typologies are to be found in the Alentejo, most probably with the centre in Évora, and in the Guadiana, with the Pijotilla - Perdigões duality as the most powerful source. Plaques, trianglars, cylinders and anthropomorphs are the symbolic products of Southwest Iberia, extending with varying intensity, the most notable being the plaques. At the same time, the connections between the Lisbon Peninsula and the Alentejo are well documented, with the Alentejo possibly playing the role of a link between Lisbon and the symbolic products of the Guadiana, as can be deduced from the representativeness and uniqueness of the cylinders in Lisbon. The confluence of all these shapes, together with phalanges and "hoppers" in large sites such as Perdigões -Figure 11.1.7-, supports the interpretation that it is an aggregation site where people from different areas of the aforementioned regions joined together (Valera, 2021).

The focal point of decorated spatulas from the Duero confirms the validity of identity versions of the figurines. Their distinguishing characteristics are indisputable, as is the level of influence of some versions on others. In the case of the spatulas, their proximity to the long bones provides an unprecedented argument about the connection between the interior and the East in older chronologies than suspected (Bueno *et al.* 2023c).

The reality of figurines in the Northwest remains to be resolved, although the clay versions documented at the large site of Montelirio (Bueno *et al.* 2016a) are a reference to be taken into account along with possible models in wood or other organic components (Scarre, 2020). The prominent group of stelae and anthropomorphic stones at the entrance of the monuments - Figure 11.4.1 - with repeated formulas of open arms, betyls or plaques, could be explained in the use of stone for pieces that were located outdoors. The increasingly intensive work on dolmens and painted shelters in the sector will probably provide some answers that will help us to understand the quantity of parietal representations as opposed to the scarcity of portable ones, the hypothesis that they were unknown having been largely overcome.

The clay figurines replicate stone and bone shapes, portraying human images with a marked prominence of the triangle-based versions. In different sizes and proportions, they accompany funerary and habitational contexts (Martínez *et al.* 2020). Utilitarian (anthropomorphic vessels, loom weights, andirons), dolls (torso from Nerja -Figure 7.2-), or portrayals of people and various zoomorphs, their number has been growing in Iberia along with the interventions in aggregation areas (Martinez and López, 2020; Martins *et al.* 2021; Valera, 2020, 2021).

11.2. Portable images in Eastern and Southeastern Iberia

The greater incidence of bone figurines in the Eastern Iberian has been highlighted since the earliest studies. Both the famous "cruciforms" and long bones are the most widespread versions in this sector, together with phalanges, biconical pieces or "hoppers", and in the lithic pieces, betyls (Martínez and López, 2020; Soler, 2020).

The section above saves us from returning to certain issues such as the scant representation of decorated plaques in the Southeast, or the absence / scarcity of cylinders and 'anthropomorphic idols'. It is possible that the number of specimens may increase, but this data is relevant to determine a prominent role in the generation of portable pieces in the West that has never before been confirmed, objectified or even dated (Bueno, 1992, 2010; Valera, 2020; Soler, 2020).

The classical hypothesis made Almería, and the Southeast in general, the origin of the bi- and tri-triangular shapes, flat pieces of human forms with a triangular base which, in stone or bone, accompany a good part of the funerary repertoires of the region - Figure 11.2.1. The archaeological documentation of Perdigões, in Évora, (Valera, 2020, 2021), together with the graphic information of open air panels or on the megaliths, for the moment paces the greatest antiquity of these pieces in the West and in Cova d'En Pardo, in Alicante (Soler, 2020). We can add their "dependent" position in the representations on decorated plaques where the flat triangle-based figurines are included in the main medium, the Alentejan plaque. If we assume that the plaques are representations of lineage and identities, their symbiosis with the triangular forms compacts them as elements deeply woven in their social meaning.

The majority use of lithic raw materials in the Almeria tritriangular productions gives them an image of their own, in addition to the fact that working them would be somewhat more costly than that of the bone tritriangular sheets (Soler, 2020, 312). These are not usually devoid of arms - Figure11.2.1: 11-13-, although their parietal references are, as in the case of Abrigo de Justo, Yéchar (Murcia) -Figure1.2.1- , which leads us to suspect that they may have been painted on the bone supports. Dressed, these images were a seal of identity for the classics of historiography, which to a certain extent could be maintained for the lithic

Figure 11.1.6. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in limestone. Flat bipartites with oculate decoration: - 1. La Pijotilla, Badajoz and - 2. Monte do Pombal, Monforte, Portalegre. Truncated biconical ("hopper") in stone: - 3. Pêra, Silves, Faro. 1. Museo de Arqueológico Badajoz, 2 and 3. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photographs Víctor Hurtado (1) and DGPC/ ADF- José Paulo Ruas (2 and 3).

Figure 11.1.7. Perdigões. Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Above, enclosures (geophysical image) and burials. Below. Detail of the restoration of the wooden structure associated with the "wooden circle" in the central area. Images: António Carlos Valera. NIA - Núcleo de Investigação Arqueológica - ERA Arqueologia S.A. Lisbon.

Figure 11.2.1. Composite lithic (1-8) and bone (9-13) geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Flat: bipartite with arms: - 1-3. Llano de la Rueda I, Tabernas, Almería and - 7-8. Loma de la Torre, Cantoria, Almería; - 9. Fragmented tripartite. Castillejo del Bonete, Terrinches, Ciudad Real ;- 10. Cruciform ("anchor-shaped") and -11-13. Tripartite ("tritriangular"), Cova de la Barcella, Torre de les Maçanes, Alicante; - 4. Fragmented with body and head, Abrigo de Viñas Viejas, Elche de la Sierra, Albacete. Truncated biconical volumetric ("hoppers") in stone: - 5. Rambla de las Pocicas, Almería and - 6. Southeast Iberian Peninsula. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid (1-3 and 5-8), Museo de Albacete (4), Museo de Ciudad Real (9), MARQ (10-13). Photographs: MAN Archive - Ángel Martínez Levas (1, 5-8) and Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (2 and 3); Gabriel García Atiénzar (4); Gabriel Menchén Herreros and Luis Benítez de Lugo Enrich (9).M. A Cabrera (10); Soler Díaz, 2017 (10- 13).

productions with open arms -Figure 11.2.1: 1-3 and 7-8- which though not being original -there are versions of open arms in clay and stone-, reveal a recognisable nucleus of representations in the the area of the Millares territory. This hypothesis should be tested in more detailed studies.

The current inventory has increased in the number of pieces on bone sheet ranging from highly stylised pendants to human figures in sets of varying sizes. In Perdigões, and Huelva (García *et al.* 2020; Martínez and López, 2020; Valera, 2020), it is clear that these forms were widespread in the West in the 4th millennium cal BC, were easy to make and difficult to preserve, precisely because of their size and fragility, which may explain why some of them have not survived to the present day. Their concentration in collective burial caves between Alicante and Murcia is a fact (Soler, 2020, Table 3), which can be related to the power of other expressions in bone, such as long bones and anchor-shaped pendants -Figure 11.2.1: 10-.

We have noted the representation of objects of personal adornment in the East, such as pins with grooved heads, sometimes detachable, or some zoomorphic pendants similar to the better known ones from the Lisbon Peninsula (Soler, 2020, Fig. 1). The connections between the mouth of the Tagus and the interior of the Meseta have references in Madrid and Toledo (Bueno *et al.* 2005b, 2023a); but the best known route during the Neolithic for the eastern area of La Mancha is the one linking the Andalusian sierras and those of Murcia with Albacete and Ciudad Real, with elements along the way such as the flattened anthropomorphic lithic and bone productions in contexts in Albacete, the Abrigo de Viñas Viejas -Figure 11.2.1- or the Abrigo del Tobar de Letur -Figure 6.2.5: 9-. The presence of a pin very close to the best studied series from Vila Nova de São Pedro in the Lisbon Peninsula, and others with a grooved detachable head in the collective burial of the Cerro Ortega shelter, in Ciudad Real (Benítez de Lugo *et al.* 2019; Soler, 2020), establishes an inland point in the movement of specific crafts, which confirms developed knowledge and shared materials in both ends of the Iberian Peninsula, with a notable development towards the East and the Southeast (Soler, 2020). Their coexistence with tritriangular figurines offers an association hitherto unheard of in any other site in the Iberian Peninsula, which will have to be studied in depth. It is to be hoped that a greater intensity of documentation in the far Southeastern area of La Mancha will help to specify these connections.

The long bones and their engraved and pictorial decorations - Figs. 4.4.1 and 10.2.1 - are a unique object in the Iberian context due to their size and extensive decoration. Their complex iconography surpasses in number the personages represented in the decorated plaque / tritriangular associations of the Southwest, presenting multiple images through the use of several pairs of eyes sometimes associated with female triangles (Soler, 2017 and 2020) -Figure 6.2.6 and 11.2.2.2. This display of personages is only matched by the decorations on the sheaths of possible ritual daggers such as those from Millares, Lisbon Peninsula and Valencina de la Concepción in bone and ivory, as well as in stone, with holes for sewing gold sheets decorated with double pairs of sun-eyes -Figure 14.4.2-, or other materials that have not been preserved. A possible wooden case of a small support of this type could correspond to the grave goods of the child buried in the Sacred Cave of Lorca, Murcia -Figure 6.2.6: 9-. Some anthropomorphic vases also have more than one pair of sun-eyes -Figure 4.2.3: 7-, as is the case with parietal panels grouping several personages.

This way of presenting pacts or lineages on long bones seems to be original in the East, at least in the form in which it has reached us, extending to the ostentatious displays of death in western enclaves on other materials and media that form part of the funerary ritual. In the Southeast, its representation takes on the most characteristic iconographies of the East, which can be followed without difficulty in prominent enclaves, such as Almizaraque (Soler, 2017, Fig. 7.28; 2020, 309).

Long bones are less common in the West, but they are found in the Guadiana and Alentejo areas, helping to determine the influence of a focal point in the East that may have been shared between Alicante and Almería. These productions are not yet known in the Lisbon Peninsula, but the similarity of the profiles of the pieces on antler from Caravaca de la Cruz and Ereta del Pedregal -Figure 4.4.1: 1 and 6.2.6: 7-, in Murcia, with some of the singular objects that we have described in the Lisbon Peninsula, suggests possible emulations. The presence in the Juan Barbero cave -Figure 10.2.3: 3- in Madrid, together with the fragment from Fuente de la Mora, also in Madrid -Figure 6.2.6: 2- point to extensions of the Levantine connectivities, which have long been pointed out for Bell Beaker vessels (Garrido, 2000).

Another piece of information about the influence of long bones in the West has been found in the painted arms of the phalanx from Valencina de la Concepción -Figure 6.5.1: 5- and the one from the circular tomb of La Pijotilla -Figure 6.5.1: 1-, which also presents hands, arranged in the same way and with the same technique as in some long bones from Badajoz -Figure 6.5.1: 6- Other phalanx decorations point in the same direction (as in the case of the piece from burial 7 at Los Millares, Leisner and Leisner, 1943, Taf. 12.1: 50), presenting as syncretic media in which engraving proliferates over painting, unlike the long bones, but indebted to shared formulas, beyond the singularisation in the case just mentioned.

In any case, the phalanges represent a single personage, with no documented cases so far of aggregated pairs of sun-eyes as in the long bones. Would the size of the long bones

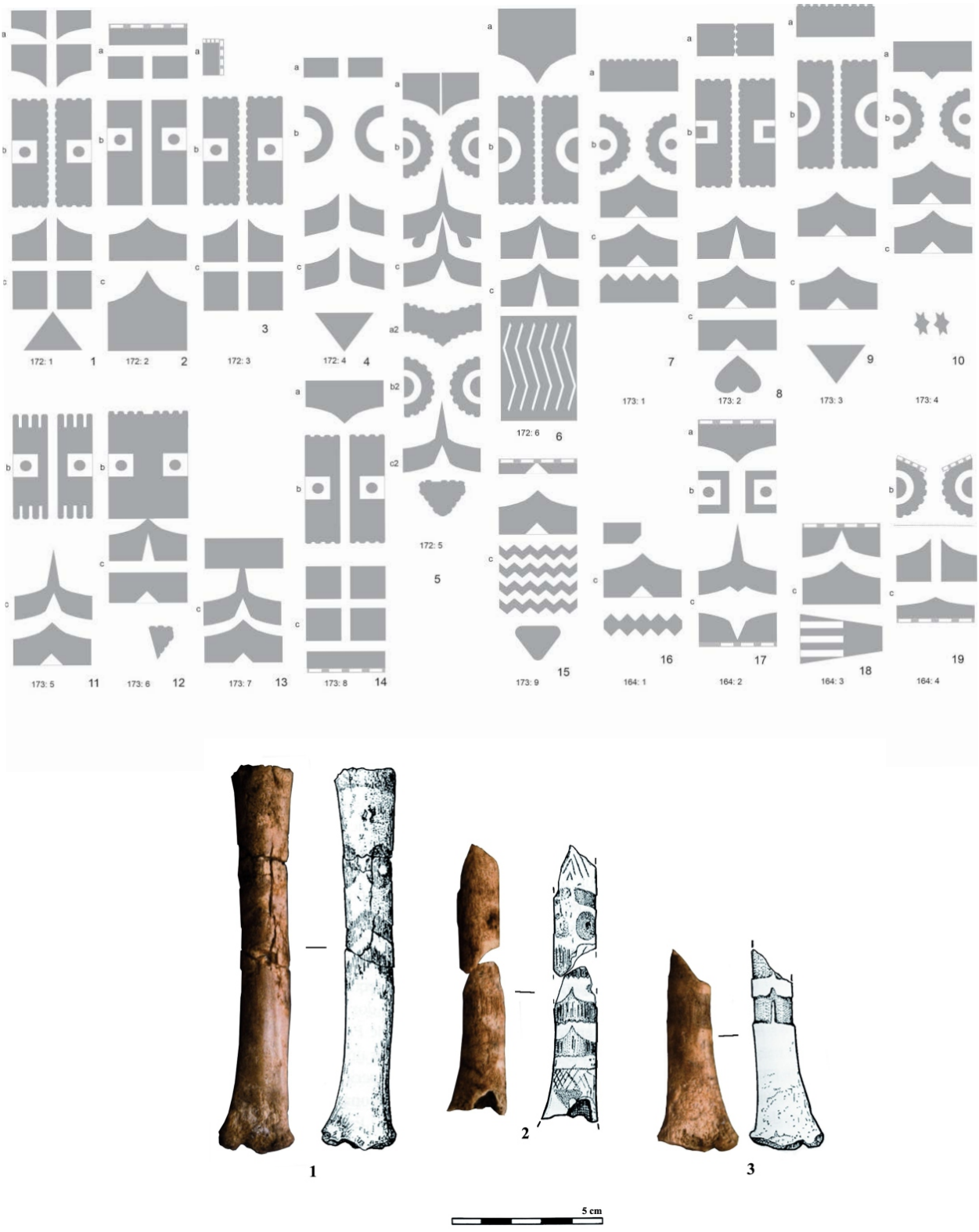


Figure 11.2.2. Decorative designs painted on 19 oculates on long bones. Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy (Soler, 2017, Figure 37). The reference of the drawing of the original piece is indicated (Soler, 2002, vol. II). Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): long bones with oculate decoration. El Niuet, Alqueria d'Asnar (Pascual Benito, 2021, 85.) Museo de Arqueológico Municipal de Alcoy.

provide the medium of group expression and the phalanges that of individual representation?

Decorated phalanges are widely inventoried in the Southeast, although in both the West and the East, decorated pieces are in the minority. The total number in Andalusia has been estimated at around 500 (García *et al.* 2002, 249), although as mentioned above, it is doubtful that all of these pieces can be considered ideomorphic objects (Maicas, 2020). The phalanges are concentrated between Granada and Almería (Martínez and López, 220, 270), while they are absent in Alicante, Valencia and Murcia. These absences help to situate the abundance of long bones in the East as a speciality of the area that developed parallel, at least in part, to the emergence of phalanges, whose iconography is influenced by long bones.

The similarity in shape with the "hoppers" is clear and has been acknowledged on several occasions. From their arrangement in sets of different sizes (Maicas, 2020, Fig. 12), to their presence associated with phalanges, these pieces in bone or stone and even in clay, also form part of Western repertoires and are absent from Eastern ones.

The versions with breasts (Los Millares burial site 7, Maicas 2020, Fig. 6) - Figure 4.2.1 - provide yet another case of syncretic formulas that include references to the clay pieces, the bitriangular pieces and the phalanges. They share both the fact that they could be exhibited standing and the interest in all cases to appear in ensembles.

In stone, the typology that most identifies Los Millares is the betyls -Figure 11.2.3- which were arranged in the external areas of the tombs. In varying sizes, some are very similar to the short menhirs in the Southwest corner of the Peninsula, while others may have been used as pendants (Martínez and López, 2020, Fig. 5.1). Most of the cases in which they have been documented *in situ* coincide with a position in the external areas. They may well have had painted decorations and, as is the case with phalanges and "hoppers", there is no record of their presence in the Eastern area. On the contrary, we have evidence in the North of Portugal, in Galicia or in Salamanca, as well as in the different classical enclaves, Lisbon, Reguengos, Algarve and the International Tagus, with recent data in Cadiz. Their presence in the European Atlantic is also known (Bueno *et al.* 2022a), as versions closely related to the forms of carving and use of menhirs that characterise a good part of European megaliths.

The so-called "anthropomorphic idols" personified in two famous figurines from Almizaraque -Figure 4.2.1: 2 and 6.2.4: 5-, represent the lower part of female bodies, a splitting similar to those that characterise the anthropomorphic idols of the Guadiana in order to assemble them with the upper part (Maicas, 2020). The sculptural style of both pieces is consistent with the finest bone and ivory artefacts, although the upper part is missing, perhaps it was made of clay? This hypothesis lacks more convincing references, but it does suggest understanding them as an emulation in coarser materials and techniques, of the quality productions of the Guadiana. Some of them must have reached the Southeast if we take into account the small head from Fortín 1 at Los Millares -Figure 5.3.2: 2-. ;but like other *items* from the Guadiana area, they are not found in the East.

The updated studies of the figurines from the Southeast and East point to new nuances that will have to be specified in future research. Millares and the Southeast in general reproduce western formulas, without any of them being strictly their own, with the exception of the long bones and the anchor-shaped pendants, both with a marked representation in the East, where it is reasonable that their main focal point is to be found. The plausible impression that Millares is a place of aggregation as a result of the connections with the Southwest can also be argued considering the raw materials found in its collective burials, such as gold from the Tagus, or copper from Sierra Morena. The real antiquity of the first figurines in the area is certainly not clear, an aspect which we will discuss below.

We cannot be sure whether the quantification in the central areas of the South, especially between Eastern Seville, Cordoba, part of Malaga and part of Jaén, is more related to the low level of research in these areas than to the reality of the past. This would make it possible to understand the scale of the inventories in Granada and Almería as a result of more than a century of research. This hypothesis becomes more real with work such as that of Marroquíes in Jaén, which has provided relevant anthropomorphic figurines together with various "western" typologies in remarkable number and quality, confirming the great extension of the Guadiana records.

The inventories from the East are closer to those from the Lisbon Peninsula, which confirms the relevance of land and river movements through the interior (Bueno *et al.* 2005b, 2023c; Soler, 2020). In any case, the uniqueness and level of craftsmanship of the Levantine long bones ensures a powerful focus for the generation of symbolic codes between the 4th and 3rd millennium cal BC with the interest of their relationship with collective burials in natural caves and not in megaliths. This location must be taken into account when discussing the cultural value attributed to territories without megalithic architecture in the context of recent peninsular prehistory.

11.3. Deposits in population and aggregation facilities.

The different works published in 2020 and 2021, collect the wide repertoire of aggregation sites that have changed the mostly funerary association of Iberian figurines. Some of these sites have become unquestionable references due to the quality of their records, the level of their

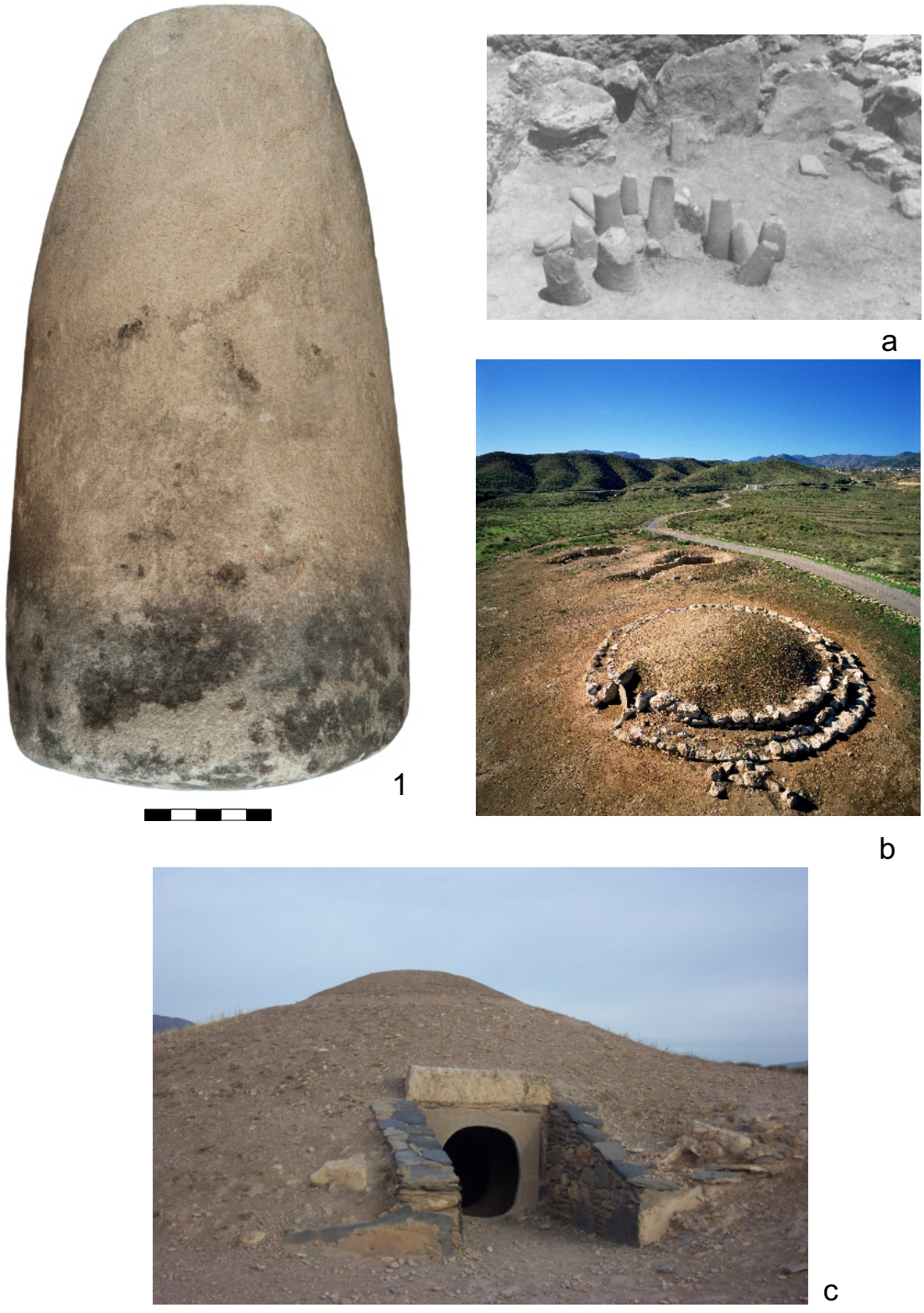


Figure 11.2.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG), lithic, truncated cone shaped ("betyl"). Los Millares, Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería. Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid. Photograph Verónica Schulmeister Guillén - Archivo MAN. Images of the necropolis of Los Millares: a) deposit of "betyls" at the entrance to Tomb 9 (Almagro Basch and Arribas Palau, 1963); b) images of tombs 52-54 after consolidation; c) View of reconstructed tomb 17 (Molina, 2021). Photographs. Images: Paisajes Españoles / M.A. Blanco. GEPRAN Research Group, Dept. of Prehistory and Archaeology, Univ. of Granada. Images taken from Molina González, 2020.

Figure 11.2.4. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) on bone supports: long bones (1-3) and phalanges (5-6) with oculate decoration; truncated biconical - "hopper" - (4). - 1, 3 y 5. Almizaraque, Cuevas de la Almanzora, Almería; - 4 and 6. Tombs 40 (4) and 7 (6) from Los Millares, Santa Fe de Mondújar, Almería. Drawings, Siret, 1908, Plate IV: 1 and 2. (Museo Arqueológico Nacional) Photographs Archivo MAN- Miguel A. Martínez Levas (4) and Verónica Schulmeister Guillén (1 and 3) and José Manuel Sáiz (2).

ensembles, the incorporation of new dating or the functionality of the structures that house the deposits. Each of these facets defines certain contexts that allow us to discuss the role of figurines in everyday life or their absence. Starting with the latter, none of the sumptuary objects from burial sites: bone or ivory boxes, decorated stone axes and adzes, staffs, stone, bone or ivory acorns, or dagger sheaths, as well as gold bands, gold bracelets, earrings and other ornaments, have been documented in settlements.

A first assessment, taking into account this absence in the habitats, places these objects in the funerary sphere, probably with specific ritual roles. On the other hand, the figurines found in habitational aggregations show more complex biographies, certainly longer than assumed and perhaps more associated with death than could be deduced from their location in the settlement.

The first question lies in the very characterisation of the moat enclosures and fortified sites as such settlements. Some have a high level of funerary deposits inside them, as in the case of Perdigões, so we cannot place their contexts in the sphere of habitation in a decisive way, although there is also evidence of habitation, however ephemeral it may be (Valera, 2020). There are settlements with funerary areas outside their necropolis, so that the figurines documented would be related to these contexts. This is the case of Porto Torrão and São Pedro (Andrade *et al.* 2015; Valera and Filipe, 2004).

Others show remains of huts, such as Fuente de la Mora, in Madrid, or were part of the social activities of the operational chains dedicated to the extraction and preparation of copper, such as Cabezo Juré, in Huelva (Nocete *et al.* 2004). Large sites like Marroquíes in Jaén or La Orden-Seminario in Huelva, must have been used in different ways throughout their active life, in which habitation constituted a component to be taken into account due to evidence of seeds, livestock or mills, as in Valencina de la Concepción (Diaz del Rio, 2004; Martínez Sevilla *et al.* 2020; Nocete *et al.* 2004; Vera *et al.* 2010). Fortified sites such as Zambujal, Leceia, Vila Nova de São Pedro, in Portugal, or Los Millares in Almería, have been related to defensive sites (Kunst, 2001). All of them are associated with necropolises of long use, which offers a more posed and everyday aspect than that of exclusive specialisation in warfare.

The various figurines found in these and other enclaves appear fragmented on multiple occasions, as in Fuente de la Mora, Leceia, Vila Nova de São Pedro and others (Martins *et al.* 2021, 107), perhaps recovered from funerary sites and reused (Valera, 2018, 134), a very revealing aspect to situate their earliest chronologies. Here we will highlight their documentation in joint deposits that offer a more detailed look at their associations, possible functionalities and organised structures with relevant information on their social value.

In recent years Perdigões presents as the site with the most documented symbolic evidence in quality contexts, allowing us to differentiate the pieces included in the pits -tritriangular, a fragment of plaque and a fragment of symbolic pottery-, during the late Neolithic, from those associated with burials, already Chalcolithic: decorated betyls, flat cylinders, phalanges, anthropomorphs in bone and ivory, and a staff (Valera, 2021, 209). The fact that this difference is chronological at Perdigões does not mean that other considerations should be overlooked, as we have older references to those from the Chalcolithic tombs of Perdigões for the betylss and for the phalanges.

The deposit of five flat bone tritriangulars opens the deposition of pit no. 12 (Valera, 2012, 22) -Figure 6.2.5-, establishing a size grouping that could allude to family ensembles.

The important inventory of La Pijotilla, Badajoz, is divided between the surface collection in the settlement and the records of its necropolis, which offer the most specific data. At the nearby site of San Blas, Badajoz, the association of a betyl and a limestone plaque in the style of those found at La Pijotilla was documented, next to the fire of the delimited hut (Hurtado, 2004, 151).

The accumulation of plaques and preforms from the workshops of Aiguas Frias, in Évora, and Cabeço do Pe da Erra, in the same territory, has already been pointed out in another chapter of this book. The interpretation of workshops or ritual deposits has been the subject of recent discussion as an argument to differentiate between the two situations.

The plaque workshops cited at Évora contain a significant number of *items as* well as pieces in preparation and, most revealingly, working pieces, all evidence that the documented plaques are the result of a working process that was part of the population's activities.

The deposit of five flat bone tritriangulars opens the deposition of pit no. 12 (Valera, 2012, 22) -Figure 6.2.5-, establishing a size grouping that could allude to family ensembles.

The important inventory of La Pijotilla, Badajoz, is divided between the surface collection in the settlement and the records of its necropolis, which offer the most specific data. At the nearby site of San Blas, Badajoz, the association of a betyl and a limestone plaque in the style of those found at La Pijotilla was documented, next to the fire of the delimited hut (Hurtado, 2004, 151).

The accumulation of plaques and preforms from the workshops of Aiguas Frias, in Évora, and Cabeço do Pe da Erra, in the same territory, has already been pointed out in another chapter of this book. The interpretation of workshops or ritual deposits has been the subject

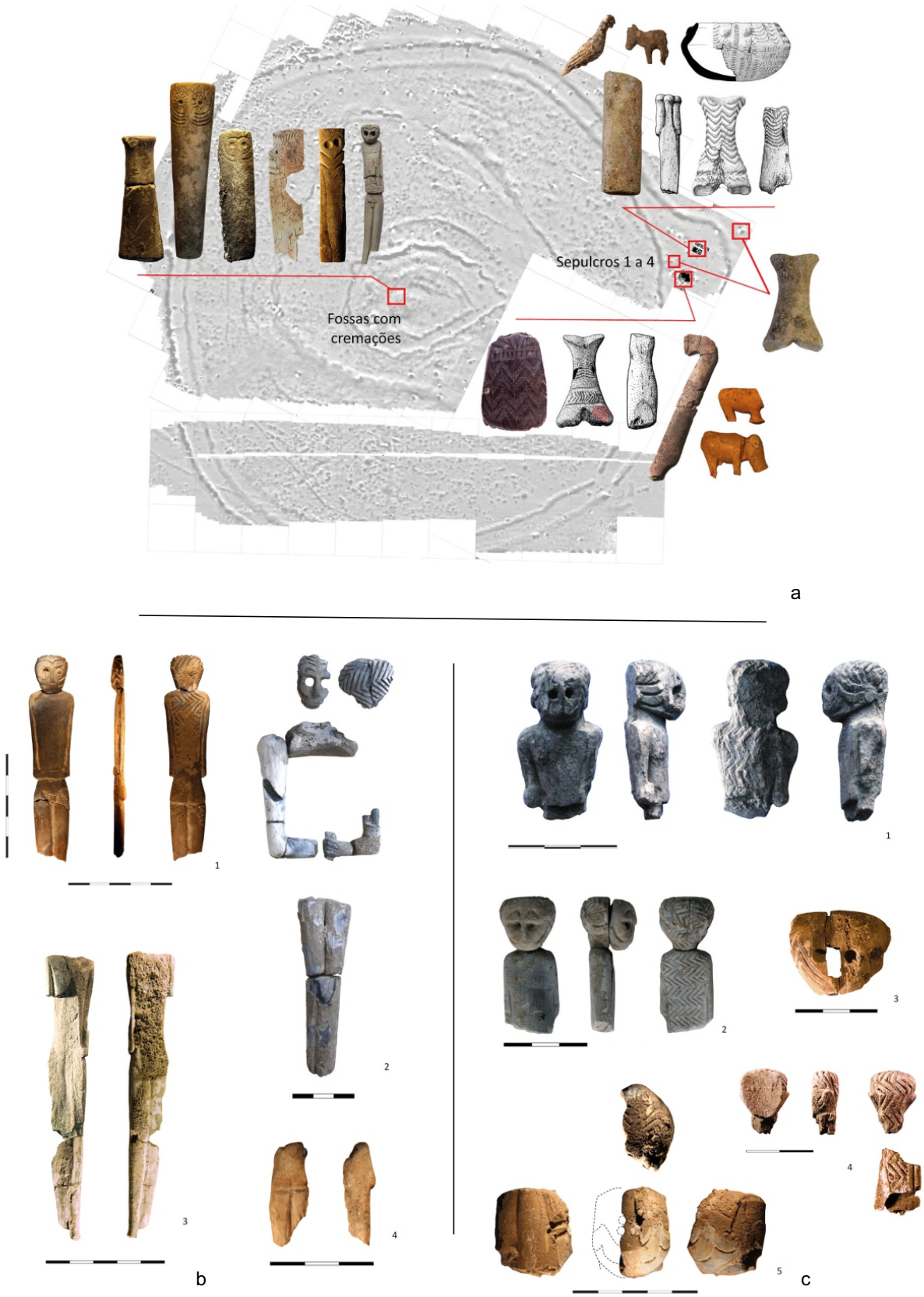


Figure 11.3.1. Perdigões, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora: a. Distribution of pieces in the site (Valera, 2021, Figure 5). Human figurines and fragments. Ivory (b and c) linked to the cremated human bones from Pit 40, (Valera, 2020, Figures 2 and 3).

of recent discussion as an argument to differentiate between the two situations.

The plaque workshops cited at Évora contain a significant number of *items as* well as pieces in preparation and, most revealingly, working pieces, all evidence that the documented plaques are the result of a working process that was part of the population's activities.

The deposit of the Orden-Seminario - Figs. 5.1.1 and 6.4.1 - is the most outstanding find in the western area. Firstly, because of its presence in Huelva, an area where figurines were not very abundant, although the Conquero cylinder (Figure 4.4.5) was one of the first finds to be made public, together with a piece from a private collection of Juan Prats Tomás (Almagro Basch, 1952). Two aspects are relevant for the interpretation of this deposit. On the one hand, possible remains of work *in situ*, including pieces in different stages of preparation. On the other hand, their insertion in structures whose functionality is known in the necropolis associated with the site.

Two excavated circles associated with silos, but without recognisable functionality (Vera *et al.* 2010, 219), group all the pieces together. The archaeological documentation brings us closer to the processes of reuse of the structures in open settlements that end up becoming palimpsests, sometimes amortized by funerary occupations. It is in this area where it seems comfortable to approach the possible meaning of the grouping of figurines. Both are very similar to those described as funerary structures in the oldest area of the site's occupation (Vera *et al.* 2010, 216), the latter even coinciding with the hypogean floor plan characteristic of its necropolis.

In the simplest one, an occupation as a metallurgical workshop was followed by the deposit of figurines, reflecting a bipartite organisation documented in hypogean burials from the West and interior of the Peninsula (Bueno *et al.* 2005b). On one side, remains of mollusc consumption associated with a ceramic vessel, and on the other, a group of seven marble cylinders, decorated and undecorated, three bone artefacts and two more fragments. All the bones were hollowed out, preserving lids on both sides, so they would have been containers. Their original position must have been standing, perhaps arranged in a circle (Vera *et al.* 2010, 224), accompanied by a marble vase. The structure at that time had a roof of mud and vegetal components, which fell on the pieces when it collapsed. Ceramic fragments were found on top of the collapse, especially bowls, carinated pots, as well as some flint and remains of malacofauna.

The second structure reflects the characteristics of the hypogeum even more, with a vertical shaft entrance and a space in which two successive accumulations of pieces were deposited with a total of 22 cylinders, with no documented previous use. The oldest floor presented 14 decorated and undecorated cylinders, three hoppers, three bone pieces, a betyl, a boar skull, some fragments of pottery, malacofauna and remains of clay, perhaps from the covering of the structure at that time. On top of these, a new floor was used, formed by the fall of the roof and the input of outside earth that dipped towards the East. In its deepest area a bowl, a copper awl, a polished piece and a fragment of a cylinder with traces of use were placed. After this, the structure collapsed with soil from the outside in which there were some ceramic and malacological remains.

As far as we know today, the syncretism between the hypogean funerary structures of the same site and those that house the two deposits, which repeat very similar patterns, is revealing. The prominence of cylinders placed vertically and their direct association with food consumption point to commensal events that may have been related to the ancestor cults represented by the figurines. The fluidity between everyday and funerary life explains the references to the world of death described above, as well as the references to everyday life in funerary contexts. It is reasonable to suppose that these deposits also reflect a workshop at the site, due to the different finishes of the pieces, but there is no evidence of carving or tool remains to justify that the workshop was the deposit itself.

Without a specific context, the set of cylinders and hoppers from Pêra, Sines, is very similar in shape to the deposit of the Orden-Seminario, even sharing the same raw material, which includes a translucent limestone (Cardoso, 2002).

In the East and the Southeast, information on deposits of long bones in settlements is not plentiful. Their attribution to the fill of the Niuet ditch, Alicante, in a similar way to that described in Perdigões, repeats behaviours that are starting to show patterns. In the same sense, the proposal to relate the long bones from the Ereta del Pedregal habitat to human remains coincides with funerary gestures known from these large sites (Ballester, 1945; Pascual and Bernabeu, 1994).

The deposit that marked the habitational context in the Southeast for pieces with extensive funerary records was that of Almizaraque, which since the first data published by Siret (1908) has provided interesting details. Siret places the set of long bones between houses 21-30, describing it as a workshop, although he also mentions that it may have been a merchant's batch (Siret, 1907, 54).

The study by Maicas (2007) identified between 65 and 70 pieces, the largest Iberian set of pieces with the same typology in domestic contexts. At least 18 are moulds in the process of being made, and some of the pieces appear to be very fragmented. It is worth noting that the decoration has been erased, perhaps in order to reuse

the pieces by adding other decoration (Maicas, 2010, 127), which could indicate that the workshop not only prepared the wares, but also recycled them. The set of long bones is accompanied by a decorated phalanx and others that are not decorated, a decorated antler and the "sandal-shape" that we have related above to the base of a sheath for probably a ceremonial dagger like the one documented in Valencina de la Concepción.

These two deposits are the most cited, Almizaraque for its historiographical tradition and La Orden-Seminario for its excellent archaeological context. Both coincide in bringing together numerically outstanding ensembles of the same typology, together with similar typologies: cylinders, "hoppers" and betyls in Huelva with bone boxes, probably reused long bones, and decorated long bones and phalanges, in the case of Almizaraque. Therefore, they also concur in the prominence of the versions of oculates on long bones.

The information from Almizaraque is difficult to interpret, but the complex may have been a workshop as well as a deposit in the same sense as the Orden-Seminario (Soler, 2017, 326). We cannot add anything about the structures in which it was housed due to the absence of data on Siret's intervention. On the other hand, the archaeological documentation of the Orden-Seminario offers references to propose its relationship with death. Perhaps hypogeum for funerary use from which the bones were extrated by moving them to another location or monuments created to include the figurines in place of the corpse remains, the Huelva deposit alludes to death in the sense of integrating ancestor cults into everyday contexts. The hypothesis that the fragmentary Late Neolithic pieces included in the Perdigões pit come from funerary sites points in a similar direction (Valera, 2020). Funerary gestures and everyday rituals are closer than what would be deduced from a dichotomy between necropolis and settlements that was not so drastic in the past, nor is it even in present-day cultures.

A cycle of uses and reuses between the everyday and the habitational sphere brings us closer to a better understanding of the social role of the figurines. The pieces were never static, but rather their movement was part of the systems of expression in which they were included, both inside and outside the monuments themselves. These cycles can be observed not only at their peak, at the end of the 4th and throughout the 3rd millennium cal BC, but they must have been commonplace from their earliest references, which are best seen in funerary deposits.

11.4. Funerary deposits.

The arrangement of the figurines in funerary contexts is a numerically significant fact, difficult to analyse due to the age of most of the records.

Although there are not many, there is sufficient evidence to confirm that some figurines were deposited in larger or smaller ensembles of specific typologies, sometimes accompanied by other materials (Bueno, 2010; Bueno *et al.* 2016a; Oliveira, 2006; Soler, 2020; Villalobos *et al.* 2020). This information qualifies the hypothesis assumed by G. and V. Leisner (1959) in their study of the megalithic contexts of Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora, that each plaque would correspond to one of the buried people, as a version extensible to these manifestations. Certainly, in some cases, a figurine would represent the deceased person in the form of amulet-plaque (Bueno, 2010). Today we have data that consolidate the the Leisners idea of individual ascription (Gonçalves, 2003); at the same time, the references to rich deposits at the entrance to the chamber, the corridor or in the external area of the tombs, broaden the interpretation, proposing that some plaques played the role of small stelae (Bueno, 2010). The deposits could have been the final product of processes of display, reappropriation and resignification of pieces from other tombs or from other previous locations (Bueno, 2020b; Bueno *et al.* 2008 b; Fábregas *et al.* 2020).

These associations also provide ud with information of the symbolic depth of these actions, which range from the coetaneity of different versions that had been interpreted as belonging to different chronologies, to the polymorphic meanings of the objects in the grave goods. They also provide data on the existence of clay altars, areas delimited by betyls or platforms with ritual deposits, all of them unpublished structures in the interpretation of western megalithic rituality until almost the 21st century (Bueno, 2010, Bueno *et al.* 2016, 2023b).

The sets of decorated spatulas from the Meseta and the Ebro Valley are the oldest deposits of figurines in Iberian funerary contexts. As with other typologies, the quantities vary between 33 from the Miradero tomb in Valladolid, 20 from La Velilla in Palencia, 10 from Peña de la Abuela in Soria, and the lower numbers , between one and four, from the rest of the monuments (Villalobos *et al.* 2020, 218). Two of these ensembles have undergone combustion processes in the tomb, El Miradero and Peña de la Abuela, so that their surfaces show colours very similar to those known in anthropomorphic specimens from the Guadiana, sucha as those detected in the cremation pit of Perdigões. Only one clear accumulation can be confirmed for an individual, in the Miradero burial associated with grave 7 related to a male: decorated spatulas, as well as a polished piece, three necklace beads, six sheets and a trapezoid. In better or worse state of preservation, at least three of the decorated spatulas show breasts in relief that we can relate to female representations. The rest have horizontal stripes, with the exception of one of the pieces with double circles in relief.

The state of the deposit prevents us from specifying data on the use of these pieces, which have been related to

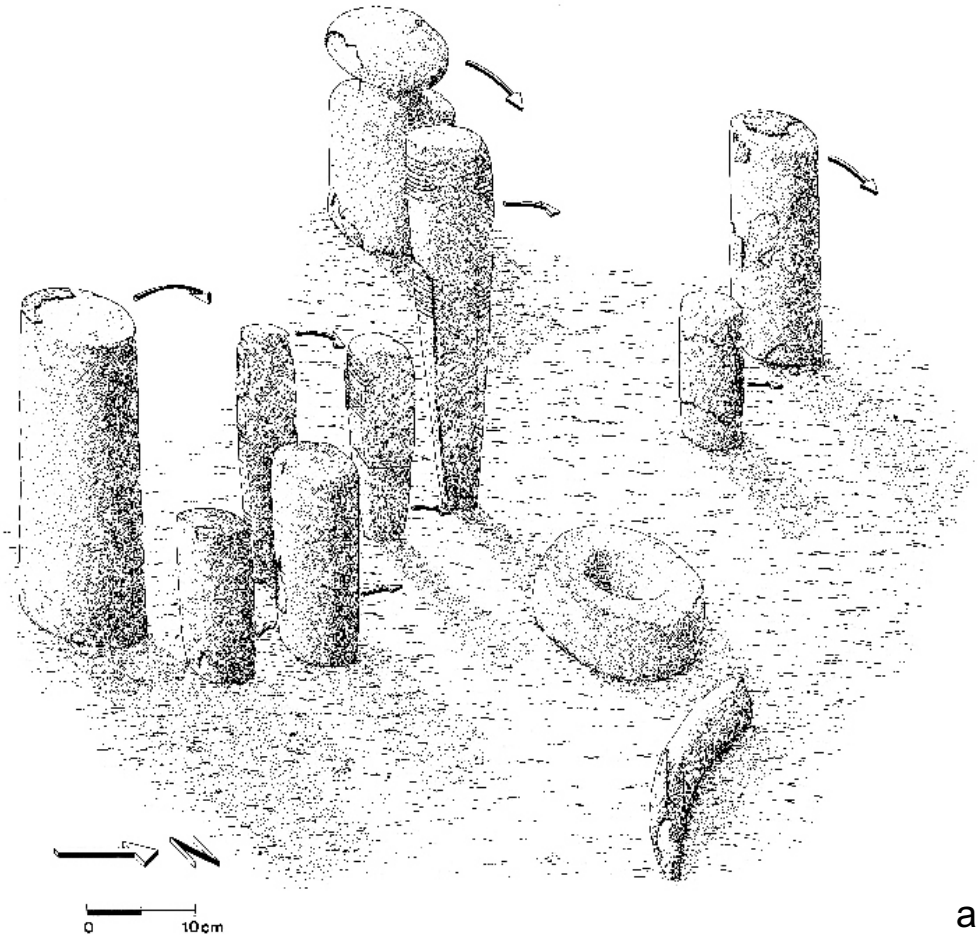


Figure 11.4.1. -1. Gruta do Correio-Mor, Loures. Reconstruction of the "altar-shrine" (Cardoso et al. 1995, Figure 12); -2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG) Bipartite cylindrical ("scale weight"). Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photograph ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas. -3. Dolmen of Dombate, Cabana de Bergantiños, A Coruña. Reconstruction of the row of "idols" located in the excavation, image taken from Fábregas et al. 2020, Figure 21.

drug consumption (Guerra *et al.* 2012). In any case, they are decorated objects with an active part, the spatula, which must have played a role in the funerary ceremonies of these tombs.

The aforementioned proximity to the long bones makes it advisable to include here funerary deposits of these versions which have been suggested to function as a container. They are widely found in natural caves in the East and are best documented in El Fontanal, Onil, Alicante. The pieces were placed in a row, so it is possible that they were deposited on a structure, perhaps made of clay, in one of the four caves that make up the total funerary uses of the site (Soler, 1985, 16). The 14 recovered pieces may have been associated with other grave goods, arrowheads and copper, although it is not possible to confirm this.

An overall impression with a similar technique on similar bones is added to the arrangement of the decoration painted in two tones of ochre, which repeats eyes in the upper area, accompanied by geometric designs (Soler, 1985, 2020). The proximity of these specimens to some from the settlement leads us to the hypothesis that they circulated more than we thought between the two locations.

There are also reasons to consider that the oculates on long bones from the Cova de la Pastora could have formed a deposit. Although published as part of the offerings distributed among the bone packets (Ballester, 1945, 126), none of the 25 inventoried is mentioned in the field diary of the 1944 excavation, after the location "of some bones engraved with traces of corrosion" in a previous excavation. In the subsequent excavation of 1945, three were located, one in sieved earth and two together at the bottom of the cave. It is not implausible that due to the uniformity of their decoration -Figure 11.2.2-, they were deposited synchronously in a cave which, moreover, offers an extensive chronological range in the radiocarbon dates obtained on samples of human bones, which makes it the recipient of a successive burial practice (Soler, 2017, 334-338).

In the West, it has been pointed out that most of the dozen long bone oculates from tomb 3 at La Pijotilla were found grouped together and next to the entrance (Hurtado, Mondéjar and Pecero, 2000, 260), which justifies a similar interpretation to that of the concentration of polished pieces and stelae in megalithic monuments not linked to specific individuals (Bueno, 2010, 58-62; Soler, 2017, 318).

The phalanges offer ensembles of great technical and thematic proximity to the long bones. A deposit of phalanges has been reported in the chamber of the same tomb 3 at La Pijotilla (Hurtado, 1985), and another, more obscure one, in the false-domed tomb of Huerta Montero, in Badajoz. Both sites share the same territory, type of architecture and chronology. They also include decorated, bitriangular plaques and "hoppers" (Blanco Rodríguez, 2020, 123) in associations also found at Perdigões.

In the Southeast there are deposits of phalanges in monuments : Llano de la Lámpara, Las Churuletas and Barranco de Jocalla, in Almería, Las Angosturas and Cueva Carada, in Granada (García *et al.* 2020, 252). "Hoppers" are also found in these megaliths, especially in those with the richest grave goods (Martínez and López, 2020, 273). Some megaliths in Huelva add phalanges and "hoppers" without being able to establish them as ordered depositions of which we have no data in this area, beyond the tritriangular ones in the graves of Pozuelo. The same happens in the area of Almería with abundant hoppers such as tomb 8 of the Rambla de las Pocicas, Tabernas, without the possibility of specifying their original arrangement (Maicas, 2020, Fig. 12). In Lapa do Bugalheira, Lisbon, a set with phalanges was documented (Cardoso *et al.* 1995), confirming that this type of deposition was also made in natural caves.

The mixture of phalanges in bone and clay is evident in sites from Almería and the recent documentation from Montelirio, Seville, adds a new way of assessing these associations. The large tomb with a chamber, an adjoining chamber and a long corridor provides an authentic setting that has been recovered thanks to the exceptional preservation of its records. Painted and engraved walls, a deposit of clay figurines painted with cinnabar, a painted clay stele in the centre of the main chamber and two altars on vases in the corridor. This scenario is completed with ivory, amber and gold pieces, a ritual framework well known in Southwestern contexts (Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2016a).

The first distorting element is that phalanges and betyls, a total of four in number and located on one side of the main chamber, are clay pieces of rapid execution in which the traces of those who made them can still be seen, in addition to the simplicity and accessibility of their raw material compared to the display of richness in the grave goods. This fact allows us to reflect, with unparalleled data until this discovery, on a more than possible extension of earthenware forms that have not reached us, which could explain some of the absences or deficiencies that have been pointed out in other territories. The walls of the tomb preserve sun-eye decorations -Figure 10.4.1.1 - as does the central clay stele, so the symbolic codes are fully reflected in other components of the funerary complex. This is another aspect that we are interested in highlighting, as it proposes that the interpretation of these records must integrate all the components of these funerary scenarios (Bueno *et al.* 2022a). The typological and particularistic analyses that have prevailed in their study decontextualise funerary gestures which, like those we have described at Montelirio, are more complex than would be expected in earthenware productions. Some twenty women, with embroidered cloaks down to their feet, with beads arranged in zigzags that offer a unique reference for

the garments displayed by the dressed figures, whose organisation (cloak in zigzags and sun-eyes) also appears on the artefacts (Bueno *et al.* 2016a).

The data from this sepulchre allow us to imagine how much remains to be discovered about the elaborate funerary scenarios that we are dealing with here. This area of Valencina de la Concepción-Castilleja de Guzmán in Seville conserves around a hundred burial sites around Montelirio for which we still have little scientific information.

Unfortunately, we do not know what deposits there were at the entrance to the monument, as this area was dug up by machinery, but the wealth described here points to possible figurines and other offerings that have not reached us.

A clay altar may also have supported the set of cylinders, decorated betyls, a "scale-shape idol", a stone ring, perhaps a ritual mace, and a probable fragment of another, from the natural cave of Correio-Mor, in Lisbon. The exceptional deposit was placed upright facing the interior of the tomb (Cardoso *et al.* 1995, 110; 2023), highlighting the shape of the scale weight - Figs. 6.4.2 and 11.4.2 - which may represent an individual with a rounded head in the style of some menhir statues. This is the only deposit featuring decorated cylinders and betyls in a funerary context documented so far, including possible maces. Some of the famous ensembles from these natural caves with decorated betyls, axes, adzes, boxes and vessels must have been arranged in a similar way. A clay altar served as a base for the stone stela with sun-eyes from Panoria -Figure 13.3.2-, in Granada (Bueno *et al.* 2023b), confirming the use of these structures to organise funerary scenarios in a similar way to Montelirio, Seville, but in older chronologies (Aranda *et al.* 2018).

The data obtained in recent years in dolmens in the West add structures in which deposits of plaques and objects were accumulated, highlighting their association with polished pieces. The deposit of the dolmen of Trincones 1, in Alcántara, between the corridor and the chamber, has another example in Anta da Horta, in Marvão, completing information on highly structured organisations that reveal symbiosis between figurines, axes and adzes and mill surfaces, an aspect that has been highlighted in polished deposits associated with megaliths in Europe (Bueno, 2010, 2020b).

In Trincones 1, ten polished piecess, a mill base, a flint blade, a small ceramic vessel, two quartzite stelae and three decorated plaques, one complete and two fragmented, are accumulated in a rectangular space that must have had a wooden or clay delimitation. The stelae and plaques were originally standing at the entrance to the chamber, with their faces to the east, while the polished pieces and the millstone were deposited one on top of the other. At Anta da Horta, one deposit was positioned at the entrance of the chamber, like the one at Trincones 1, and two others occupied positions in the corridor and outside. All of them share decorated and polished plaques, with the schist ones gathered in the deposit at the entrance of the chamber. The deposit in the outer area was somewhat more disturbed and arranged in three groupings of plaques, bitriangular, stelae, polished pieces. One of the artefacts also looks like a mill base (Oliveira, 2021).

Trincones and Anta da Horta are dolmens close to each other, with deposits of objects that probably allude to economic activities: chisels, axes and adzes, as well as mills. The association between human images and axes forms part of geographically wider processes, pointing to multiple meanings that may have developed in different ways in the different territories of the megalith-building groups. One example is the deposit of polished pieces of the dolmen of La Miera, in Valencia de Alcántara, delimited by small menhirs or betyls (Carrasco and Enriquez, 1997), which probably played the same role as the stelae and plaques of the deposits of Trincones 1 and Anta da Horta.

The external deposits first referenced in the historiography are those of the betyls of Los Millares, in Almería. Although their structures have not been specified, it seems convincing that they were grouped on clay or stone altars.

The vertical positions of the Correio-Mor ensemble are shared with those of Los Millares, where we suspect that other pieces may have formed part of these ensembles. Some of the images accompanying the book by Almagro and Arribas (1963) support this idea. The deposit of betyls in the external area of burial 9 had at least one plaque that can be seen to have fallen, three flat stelae, and a rounded menhir (Almagro and Arribas, 1963: Plate CXLVIII, b) and c) -Figure11.2.3: a-. The stele that closed the access, located behind the door, adds another human image (Almagro and Arribas, 1963, CXL a and b). None of these pieces is cited or considered in the records of the volume adding depictions of various personages at the entrance to the monuments of this classic necropolis. The information in the diaries written by Flores and preserved in the MAN indicates that these deposits were found in several monuments, with few of the pieces being collected due to their weight. In fact, he mentions a set of 45 betyls of which he says he collected 8 (Maicas, 2020, 292).

External deposits of figurines are also a pattern in the Northwestern dolmens. Their archaeological documentation begins with the work at the dolmen of Dombate -Figure 11.4.1-, La Coruña, which provided not only an accumulation of figurines but also chronological references that had not been known until then (Bello *et al.* 1994). Placed in a curve or straight line in front of the access to the megaliths and in a vertical position, deposits of more or less worked anthropomorphic stones were found in the dolmens of

Figure 11.4.2. Dolmen of Trincones I, Alcántara, Cáceres (a-b) and Anta da Horta Alter do Chão, Portalegre (d-e). Views of the exterior and deposit of figurines of "plaques with hands" and polished pieces. c) Highlights of the Trincones (above) and Anta da Horta (below) deposits. Images R. de Balbín and Oliveira, 2021.

Cova da Moura, Castiñeiras and Axeitos (Vilaseco, 1997), with the possibility that these deposits may have been more widespread. Recently it has been suggested that, as we proposed with the plaque deposits (Bueno, 2010, 2015), the various pieces that make them up are the product of dynamic gestures of transfers and re-appropriations that could also integrate their presence in habitation sites (Fábregas *et al.* 2020, 187).

In the north of Portugal, some pieces from the exterior of megaliths, such as those described in Madorras 1 (Gonçalves and Cruz, 1995), -betyl and plaque with painting-, point in the same direction. The spectacular data obtained in the anthropomorphic stone deposit at Chã de Arcas, Portugal, reveal engraved solar decorations, as well as concentric circles like those documented in the open air. This theme has already been identified in anthropomorphic stones from megaliths in the Basque Country (Bueno *et al.* 2009b). At least eight pieces had been placed vertically on the outer edge of the wall that closed the access to the monument (Sanches *et al.* 2021, Fig. 2).

The terraces surrounding the megaliths of Pozuelo 3 and 4, included altars and upright stelae that would have been visible, as must have been the case in the medium-sized stelae artefacts placed on the tumulus of Lagunita III, in Santiago de Alcántara, Cáceres (Bueno *et al.* 2011).

Some aspects of funerary deposits bring them very close to those described in everyday places. The tendency to group specific typologies, even if they are accompanied by other versions and artefacts, is perhaps the most outstanding. A more than possible diachronic deposition seems reasonable, as they are most probably the product of several re-appropriations from different sites. In the settlements they could have been collected from the tombs; in the necropoles we suspect that pieces from other tombs are brought together in the same grave (Bueno, 2020b; Bueno *et al.* 2008a).

In their totality, the deposits described confirm structured symbolic gestures that repeat similar norms of positioning and probably of use, from their oldest versions (decorated spatulas) to the most recent ones. They reveal structures in organic materials that have never before been assessed in the study the stone structures, adding new elements of microspatial analysis (Bueno *et al.* 2022e). An extended way of expressing shared stories between persons and objects of display and work, structuring ways to embody oral histories on parietal supports. The similarity with the figurations of weapons and objects of the megaliths (Barroso *et al.* 2021; Bueno *et al.* 2018) and with the open-air painted representations of human figures, confirms that all the symbolic formulas of those who inhabited the Iberian Peninsula between the 5th and 3rd millennium cal BC are syncretised in these deposits.

The different positions of these deposits in non-visible areas and in public areas outside the megaliths or in shared areas of the settlements, constitute the clearest evidence of public rituals and of the fluidity between lineage and group expressions in Iberian Recent Prehistory (Bueno *et al.* 2011, 2015a, 2016a).

Chapter 12
People and Small Human Bodies

The collection of Iberian Neolithic and Chalcolithic figurines reveals how those who produced them wanted to represent themselves, making their codification a seal of identity. The variety of shapes, sizes and raw materials allows us to follow their extension and connectivities, providing unprecedented information on the cultural and social links between the 5th and 3rd millennium cal BC. Visible standing in habitation facitlities, mining sites or funerary sites, worn as amulets, displayed on clay or stone altars, they played different roles and were even retaken for new roles throughout their biography.

Their coexistence with the large stone constructions offers a magnifying glass for approaching the small bodies with their clothing, hairstyles, ornaments, complete representations, of torsos, of seated persons, or of articulated pieces. This is a wealth of information that must be combined with the decoration of the orthostats of the dolmens and open-air shelters to obtain a broader and more complete picture. For the moment, Iberia has the largest number of pictorial and engraved versions in the open air and on the media of funerary spaces, contemporary to the figurines in Europe. If in previous chapters we have pointed out the need to integrate their interpretation within the framework of complex funerary scenarios in which each component interacts with the rest, establishing an oral narrative; in this part of the text we must incorporate the information from the rest of the contemporary decorated media.

Analysing their external "wrapping" allows us to identify their close relationship with the same images in another type of medium. This relationship is a useful guide for approaching the stories about people as a group and individual characters that construct symbolic references in repeated codes throughout recent prehistory. The analysis of agency, obtaining data to understand how people interacted with the figurines, must be approached from the broad perspective that the diverse contexts of the Peninsular media justify.

We said in the first part of our text that to focus on the study of human bodies is to select a part of a wider and more diverse whole that includes representations of animals and objects. The latter offer interesting insights into the lifestyles of those depicted, pointing to the social value of livestock, depictions of "aparatus" weapons or odorous substances and perhaps drugs in various small containers, which we will also include in this review.

Some of the objects are "dressed" with the same decorations as the figurines, forming grave goods in a type of association reminiscent of the "sets" of Bell Beaker ceramics: several vessels that were made with the same decorations to be deposited together. All of this reflects a great deal of care in the display of deposits for funerary exhibition, of which the figurines are a very revealing aspect. Despite this, their study has been relegated to typological proposals and discussions almost exclusively centred on their origin or chronology.

This interpretation cannot be isolated from the recognition of a series of geometric forms that are the basis of how the image of human bodies was transferred from the earliest prehistory. Developing this aspect in depth is not our primary objective, but offering some guidelines from cognitive archaeology which propose reflections on the long custom of transferring to figurines of women, men, boys and girls, various zoomorphs and objects, images that form part of portable scenarios of the customs and ways of understanding what surrounded human groups since the Upper Palaeolithic.

12.1 Positions and sizes of human bodies.

Facing the viewer face on, standing or seated, clothed or naked, most Iberian figurines reflect the upper part of the body. When it comes to whole bodies, whether on vessels, on objects such as spatulas or long bones, or on plaques, depictions of the upper and lower limbs are not common, but rather various geometric motifs replace or, more specifically, cover them, with few exceptions. If they are carved as dressed in skirts, the sensation of missing limbs is repeated (Soler, 2020).

On a scale of interest in detailing the body, it is the face with the eyes that takes centre stage, the percentage of pieces showing the arms (decorated plates, phalanges, long bones, anthropomorphs) is not numerous, and even less so those showing the legs and feet (plaques and anthropomorphs). On the other hand, the female sex does have an outstanding visibility that ensures that the lower part of the body has been considered (decorated plaques, phalanges, long bones, clay bitriangles, anthropomorphs, cylinders). The position of the pubic triangle offers an unquestionable reference to determine that in most of the pieces we are dealing with, the body is offered in three quarters of its total length, so it is reasonable to consider that they could have been completed with clay legs or with

organic elements, or simply embedded in a podium that reproduced the foreseeable height of a complete body.

Size is an aspect that has been considered in relation to the preserved measurements without taking into account podiums or altars, a possibility gleaned from the most updated data. Some stelae-plaques are as big as 30 cm (the one from Espadanhal is a good example) -Figure11.1.2- and if they were positioned on a support to project a proportional height of the figure, the type of product obtained would gain in sculptural content, approaching the statues and stelae that also appear in megalithic contexts and which usually exceed 60 cm in height. The anthropomorphic figures of the Guadiana have some examples in Perdigões that are close to 30 cm high, these do include the legs.

The spatulas decorated for their functional use are objects of the funerary ritual, but the long bones may have been included in media that gave the expected height of the not depicted legs -Figure 10.2.1. The same is true of the cylinders -Figure 6.4.1.1 - which, in addition to being used as functional objects, represent three quarters of the body and were perhaps originally displayed on supports that would give them heights comparable to those of the small menhirs and betyls, around 60 cm. A piece that reveals this intention and size is the one from Almargen -Figure 6.4.3-.

We understand that this proposal needs further verification, but some of the recent discoveries, especially Montelirio or Panoría, affirm the role of clay supports/ altars associated with anthropomorphic representations (Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2022). The different sizes include pieces closer to statuary, which is corroborated by their standing locations.

These considerations bring some Iberian figurines closer to products known in the Mediterranean area, where the close relationship between portable models and the larger sculptures that have their peak in the Chalcolithic and Bronze periods has been proven (Sotirakopoulou, Vella, 2020). In Iberia, these processes seem to be older, among other reasons because the data coming from megalithic contexts with larger stelae attest to this (Barroso, 2020; Bueno Ramírez *et al.* 2005a, 2011, 2023b).

A first reflection on the ensemble in question should establish that the statuary elements are more abundant than classical interpretations have accepted, and that these are distinguishable from the small pieces in clay and bone, especially phalanges, bone plaques or various pendants. Not only because they would be more visible, but also because the small pieces are more portable and are closer to real human bodies in the most physical sense of the expression.

The codification of these representations is focused on the face, where the eyes and, on occasions, the nose have a prominent presence. While many studies have been devoted to the former, as we have collected in this text, there are few mentions of noses, which occupy a good part if not all of the face and which are depicted in a strictly geometric manner, so much so that they contribute to the hypothesis that they form part of a mask in which the features of the face are represented disproportionately, like the masks of the "gigantes y cabezudos" (giants and big-heads). Since the Costamar vase, Castellón - Figure 3.3.1 -, these noses have formed part of parietal and portable representations, especially some decorated plaques such as the one from Mértola, Beja, Portugal, and also some statuary representations.

Their eyes sometimes have eyebrows which, in relief or incised versions, sometimes filled in, emphasise this part of the anatomy. The former are related to stelae and to the T-shaped faces of many cave images. The filled in eyebrows resemble the characteristics of the flat cylinders of La Pijotilla - Figure 5.3.3: VII -, providing a further reference to formal exchanges between the different typologies. Sometimes the eyes are filled inside like solar wheels, or have eyelashes, which are the rays. Even eyelashes in movement, such as those on some of the Guadalquivir and Huelva plaques, which have been related to the rotation of the sun.

Facial representations have also been characterised by so-called tattoos, various oblique bands in the case of plaques and curved bands on cylinders, betyls, phalanges and others. The surge of eyes and tattoos without further detail ensures that these lines are part of the elements that make the representation recognisable, playing with abstractions of strong cultural content. This type of code reaches the Southeast France and constitutes a part of the representations of the menhir statues, as we have pointed out above on the basis of other similarities.

Sometimes they have been understood as moustaches (Lillios, 2020), but the arguments provided by the moving images of the parietal art consolidate the hypothesis that they reproduce the means of fastening the sun-eyed masks. These masks could have been made of leather or other organic materials and tied back, as some pieces show, especially the Conquero cylinder -Figure 4.4.5- or the one from Alcalar -Figure 12.1.1.1-. It is reasonable to suppose that they were also drawn on the faces, which would end up forming a stereotyped expression in which some of their components, such as the tattoos, take up confusing positions that almost resemble very schematic arms. In fact, the changes of position in some of the codifications, for example, the position of the breasts when they are depicted, suggest possible mistakes by those who copy/emulate these forms without a great knowledge of them.

After the face, the position of the arms - Figure 12.1.3 - has been another element to establish the codifications of these human bodies. In fact, all the European figurines, as was the case with the Palaeolithic ones, position the

Figure 12.1.1. Above: General view of dolmens 3 and 4 at Pozuelo, Zalamea la Real, Huelva (Photograph by R. Balbín). On the left, images of the stelae to which the burial mounds are related (Bueno, Balbín and Barroso, 2017): Figure 15, and of figurines similar in morphology: back of the human figurine from Almizaraque (Figure 4.2.1) and head of the geometric anthropomorphic lithic figurine of flat and tripartite composite form ("tritriangular") from the same necropolis of Pozuelo (Figure 4.4.3). Below. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG): oculate cylinder in limestone. Alcalar, Portimão, Faro. Museu de Portimão. Photographs ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas.

Figure 12.1.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): oculate faces with and without nose, on different lithic (1,2,4,6-8), bone (3) and ceramic (5) media. 1: Mértola (Figure 11.1.3), 2: Espadanhal (Figure 11.1.2), 3: Los Castellones (Figure 4.2.4), 4: Perdigões (Figure 6.4.2), 5: Monte Outeiro (Figure 4.4.8), 6: Granja de Céspedes (Figure 4.4.4), 7: Anta da Horta (Figure 14.2.1: 4) and 8: Monte do Pombal (Figure 11.1.6).

arms in a similar way with respect to the body in an attempt to transmit specific actions. In those of recent prehistory, although the images are quite static, they attempt to express movement with stylistic features similar to those documented in Iberian schematic art.

Arms open, raised, resting on the sex or on the waist: these are the four versions that we know of in Iberian figurines. Without a doubt, the arms towards the belly, close to the pubis, is the oldest documented orientation in Europe, as it is in the tradition of Palaeolithic female figures. This position is repeated in European Neolithic representations, including those from the Mediterranean, which supports the hypothesis of long-standing representational traditions which, with the new data from ancient Italian Neolithic localities, such as the Venus of Marmotta - Figure 3.1.4 - are plausible (Bueno, 2020a, 30). This way of positioning the arms would be the most ancient of Neolithic figurines and the most widespread across the globe. The posture has been related to that shown by pregnant women with their arms around their belly, a possible feature in the statue from Almargen -Figure 6.4.3.3. What is certain is that these arm positions are more abundant in the decorated plaques than in any other of the Iberian typologies. We could perhaps include these positions some pieces from the set of decorated stones from Northwest Iberia, if the double incised and symmetrical lines on their upper part could be characterised as schematic representations of arms, but they have not yet been sufficiently studied.

Other "Palaeolithic" positions have also been reported, such as the arms at chest level, sometimes holding the chest in their hands and others, with the arms under the breasts. A position related to motherhood, and more specifically, to exact moments of motherhood in the case of breastfeeding.

It can be assumed that the two most ancient documented positions among the female representations depict different phases of conception and nurture, gathering an oral tradition that would come from the stories of the women of the hunter-gatherer groups with learning of gestures and actions that fit easily into their knowledge. This information would be passed on from generation to generation through images that would establish events related to the different ages of the women and their role in the reproduction of the group and in care giving. Part of the research has linked this type of information to the dolls that girls have been using as a way of learning. These are feminine codes both in the way they are materialised and very possibly in the way they are shared, specifically this has been pointed out for the clay figurines (Bueno, 2020a, 32).

The arms, open, cruciform, raised or akimbo, have been interpreted as the portrayal of orants, in relation to the religious role of these figurines. In Iberia, as we have pointed out, the images of schematic art provide data on human depictions painted in the open air with these positions of the arms. These are actions related to dance, which bring together individuals of different sizes, almost always bi- or tri-angular, with arms and legs in movement and wearing masks with sun-eyes (Bueno and Soler, 2021c). The concordance between the sun-eyed masked figures in the schematic paintings and the portable figurines indicates that they reproduce the movement of arms related to the dance: arms open, raised and akimbo.

Therefore, some of the Iberian figurines would represent recreational attitudes of a collective nature, reflecting moments of social cohesion in which music and songs probably commemorated joint events or the exploits of specific people. Bearing in mind that some of the figurines in this position are female, it is reasonable to interpret them as protagonists or participants in events, perhaps as the origin of prominent lineages or collective memories. It is also convincing that masked female characters could be represented by individuals of different ages and genders disguised to dramatize these stories, which would help to understand that the sex of the figures is something assumed because it is part of the cultural facts that are shared in the symbolic codes of these groups.

The masks represent women, although their stories are reproduced by the whole group. Only when the figures are more individualised personages, as seems to be the case with the Guadiana anthropomorphs, is sex a prominent element in the characterisation of the bodies.

The arms crossed under the belly are characteristic of these more individualised images - Figure 12.1.3. Although they have been related to the positions of the arms of the Cycladic figures, there is not a single piece in Iberia with the arms straight and close to the body or folded under the breasts, attitudes that project an impression of "waiting" or even of slow walking, different from that of the arms crossed over the belly. The latter could be assimilated to the gesture immediately after death: closing the eyes and crossing the arms of the deceased. The latest data on the contexts of these figurines suggest that the shrugged shouders with fisted hands have the function of carrying an object (which may have been painted, when it was not engraved) as part of the identification of these personages. We know the stone object (Valera, 2020) from its location in Perdigões and in other Andalusian ensembles (Armenta *et al.* 2024) and the necessary analyses to determine its functionality will be very useful to get closer to the interpretation of these figurines.

While the sizes define more statuary and ceremonial uses, more personal ones, such as pendants and amulets, the position of the arms suggests at least three attitudes. Two of them evoke different phases of procreation (origin, lineage) and of breastfeeding (care, survival), a third reveals that some of these figurines were a mnemonic

Figure 12.1.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -1-3 and 5- and human figurine (FH) -4- in stone (1,3 and 5) and bone (2 and 4) with indication of arms in different positions. On the pubis (1), under the belly (4), open (5), open raised (2 and 3). 1: Anta da Horta (Figure 14.2.1), 2. Blanquizáres de Lebor (Figure 12.1.4), 3. Blanquizáres de Lebor, 4. Marroquies Altos (Figure 8.1) and 5. Deposit: indicated in reference figures and Museo de Almería (3); Photographs: indicated in reference figures and Museo de Almería (3).

Figure 12.1.4. Rock art. Anthropomorphic figurines (1, 5 and 8) and face (6) with masks: - 1. Los Órganos, Santa Elena, Jaén. Tracing: González Navarrete, 1966, Plate 4; - 5. Abrigo de los Oculados, Henarejos, Cuenca. Tracing: Ruiz, 2006, Figure 3 and image by F.J. Ruiz; - 8. Abrigo I Cabeçó d'Or, Relleu, Alicante (Soler, Barciela and Ferrer, 2018, Figure 18); - 6. Penya Escrita, Tárbena, Alicante (Soler and Barciela, 2018, Figure 15). Human figurine (FH) -4- and geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) -2, 3 and 7- in stone (4) and bone (2,3 and 7). - 4. Partial representation in stone, Cova de la Pastora, Alcoy, Alicante; -2. Pair of flattened tripartite pieces ("tritriangular"), Cova d'En Pardo, Planes, Alicante; - 3. Cruciform ("anchor-shaped"), Blanquizares de Lébor, Totana, Murcia; - 7. Long bone with painted oculate decoration. El Fontanal, Onil, Alicante. Museo Arqueológico Municipal de Alcoy (2), Museo de Almería (3), Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia (4) and MARQ (7) Photographs: depositary museums and José Manuel Sáiz (7).

system to set oral traditions transmitted through music and dance. The decorated plaques, which are the ones that present the positions most closely related to procreation, also include the representation of the sun-eyes most common among the dancing bitriangulars in the paintings. It is possible that the postures of the arms ended up being a synthetic amalgam between the values of origin and lineage and the oral traditions fixed in collective dances, together with long and elaborate costumes that may have been related to the rituals of death.

The anthropomorphs synthesise these traditions in totally sculptural versions and with more "industrialised" technical resources: interchangeable heads and torsos, eyes with empty sockets to include more personalised decorations... All of them more direct references to the deceased. Although there are many doubts about the exact chronology of the different pieces, the long range of dates of the Iberian typologies as a whole, at least up to 2200 cal BC, coincide fully with the time when these more individualised versions were in force. These contemporaneities probably express the same tensions between collectivity and individuality that are reflected in other aspects of funerary customs in recent European prehistory, most notably the continued use of collective structures as opposed to individual burials (Aranda *et al.* 2022; Bueno *et al.* 2005b). The positions we have briefly discussed above result in a variety of interpretations of the figurines, which may have represented ancestral images of women dressed for death, making explicit the identity of those who were buried, of characters representing collective dances in which they disguise themselves as the sun, and finally, more individualised images of characters that take up the tradition of those who dressed up as the sun to appear as representations of the deceased, associated with an object that identifies their dedication during their lifetime or their status.

None of these pieces appear alone in funerary and daily rituals, but accompanied by "anthropomorphised" objects that form part of representations of stories with several components in which the figurines probably provide the most information regarding the identity and affiliation of the women of the groups that are the protagonists.

12.2. Geometries of human bodies.

Cognitive archaeology is concerned with recognising ways of transposing concepts and realities to forms, which constitute learning that crosses the temporal and social boundaries of human cultures. The figurines of recent prehistory not only reflect the technical traditions of the productions of groups that practised hunting and gathering, but also reiterate geometries that have even survived to the present day with similar meanings. This is the case of the triangle as a feminine reference and the cone as a masculine reference. We will not detail here the many examples of portable pieces and parietal art which, from the Palaeolithic period onwards, set these geometric symbols as abstractions of people of different sexes.

Some elaborations of these geometrical bases have been presented in chapter 3, showing the antiquity of the use of animal phalanges as representations of female bodies including the pubic triangle - Figure 3.1.3- (Margarit, 2010). Or the references from the European Continent where the continuity of these codes can be followed during the Mesolithic and Neolithic periods (Sidéra and Monthel, 2009). A whole set of versions made in bone, phalanges, spatulas, and long bones have very ancient bases and deep-rooted contents.

The use of the geometry of cone-shaped figures is also very ancient and there is no shortage of evidence that wooden posts were placed in some Mesolithic clusters (Russ, 1940).

Figure 12.2.1. Decorated menhir. Caramujeira, Lagoa, Faro. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon. Photograph: ADF/ DGPC-José Paulo Ruas.

Probably the stone menhirs documented in the 5th millennium cal BC are widespread representations of these wooden pieces, sometimes incorporating phallic elements. There are representations of phalluses in stone during the Palaeolithic, as well as in stone and clay throughout the European Neolithic. In Iberia, their stone versions in large formats -Figure 12.2.1.1 - are associated with the oldest megalithic occupations (Bueno *et al.* 2007a). They also exist in portable pieces among the figures we have presented, especially those from Cabezo Juré or those from the territory of Almería -Figure 6.2.4: 2-.

Rectangular bases have been present since the Upper Palaeolithic as panels depicting human images (Bueno, 2020a, Fig. 3). The megalith media tend to reproduce rectangular and even trapezoidal shapes, identical to the majority of decorated plaques (Bueno, 2010, 2020b). It is in this sense that we have been pointing out that decorated orthostats are larger versions of decorated plaques, rectangular or trapezoidal-based figures with geometric decorations that cover the entire medium, representing what the plaques represent in portable versions (Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2007a). Hence the interest in the direct dating of the pigments on the megalithic media that provide references applicable to the dating of the decorated plaques, as discussed below.

A general observation of these three geometric bases places the triangle as the most ubiquitous in parietal art, in domestic contexts and in funerary contexts, as well as on anthropomorphic vessels. Cone bases are more common in the open air or in deposits at the entrance to monuments and trapezoid bases, although they have been documented in settlements, seem to be the product of reuses of transfers and re-significations, probably from funerary contexts where they are the most abundant (Andrade *et al.* 2015; Bueno, 1922, 2010; Valera, 2020). The preferential location of these geometric bases suggests that the bi-, tri- triangular and other triangular bases may have represented people in general, while the plaques are closer to the forms of expressing characters dressed for death or for death ceremonies (Bueno, 2020b, 213). Cone bases are found in necropolis territories probably delimiting, marking or making them visible.

Another observation of the possible different meanings of these geometric bases can be derived from their exclusion or their association. Trapezoids and cones appear together on rare occasions, never embedded. While trapezoids and triangles show a constant symbiosis in funerary specimens that is not detected in the open-air parietal environment. On the other hand, on the walls of megaliths and on figurines, the decorated plaques include bi- and tri-triangular figures , or are accompanied by one other. Therefore, it is in the world of death that they are associated, probably by welcoming the personages dressed for death to the representation of people in life (Bueno, 2020b). The plaques would thus represent ancestral personages, like the decorated orthostats, revealing a long diachrony that we can better approach with new ways of looking at the megaliths and their symbolic settings (Bueno *et al.* 2022c).

These symbioses of human geometries, rectangle / triangle, take at least three forms - Figure 12.2.2.2 -. The most common is that which defines the face of most of the plaques as triangular. The second, which delimits the triangular face by carving it in an exempt manner and, finally, the one that has been most widely considered since the first discoveries (Monteiro *et al.* 1967), which includes complete bitriangular or tritriangular representations inside the plaques, like the famous Russian dolls.

Given that decorated plaques are typologies that identify Alentejan megaliths (Bueno, 1992, 2010, 2020), the close association with bitriangular images bolsters the hypothesis of their origin in the West, which is increasingly supported by archaeological contexts (Soler, 2020; Valera 2020).

The identifications of what we can call *dependent symbiosis*, - triangle-based shapes within plaques – was first perceived in the 1970s and developed in the 1990s and 2000s in relation to with the *Placa Nostra* project. In at least two cases, the Mértola plaque - Figure 11.1.3 - (Gonçalves, 2006) and the Lapa do Bugio plaque -Figure 4.4.3 and Figure 12.2.2 -, they have arms like in the parietal devices. Multiple very similar images appear in Iberian schematic art in different sizes that point to depictions of different genders and ages, making it difficult to accept, as has been proposed (Gonçalves, 2006), that the image that appears inside the plaques is exclusively male.

There has been a growth of influx of data on plaques with geometrically based human images inside them related to the dancers of Iberian schematic art and this will increase as studies of these depictions become more detailed. Good traceological studies are necessary that allow us to situate these *dependent symbioses* as elements present from the very first production of the piece or as a product of the reuses that we also observe in the megalithic media. If we accept that the plaques generally depicted female figures, the relationship with the characters that appear inside them would categorise them as ancestral mothers, in a system of expressing identity and origin for those who are represented with them, and they could also be representations of death, ancestors who welcome the buried people (Bueno, 1992, 2010, 2020b).

The decorations on some of the painted media of megaliths in the North have been noted since ancient times and feature human images with a triangular base, usually enclosed in trapezoidal supports. The best known are the painted images from the orthostats of Porto -Figure 11.1.3: 4- to which we must add the painted plaque dated by

Figure 12.2.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): trapezoidal and rectangular stone plaques. Simple with the 'head' highlighted in the decoration (1), composite with the head highlighted in the shape (2) and simple with a decoration in which the outline of a plaque with the head highlighted and within it a 'tritriangular' with hands can be seen (Figure 4.4.3). - 1. Anta Grande de Olival da Pega, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora; - 2. Anta do Curral da Antinha, Arraiolos, Évora; - 3. Lapa do Bugio, Sesimbra, Setubal. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (1 and 2) and Museu de Arqueologia e Etnografia do Distrito de Setubal (3). Photographs: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas.

C14 on the head support of the Antelas dolmen (Cruz, 1995) -Figure 13.2.1- or the images of engraved plaques from the dolmen of Areita (Gomes *et al.* 1995), all from the region of Viseu, Northern Portugal, where the presence of figurines was not acknowledged (Bueno *et al.* 2022b).

This evidence suggested that the presumed absence of figurines in Northern Iberia was difficult to maintain in view of the symbolic components of their megalithic settings (Bueno *et al.* 2005a). The presence of schematic art was also ruled out, but the paintings on their megaliths were a confirmation that it was part of the symbolic expressions of these territories (Bueno *et al.* 2012, 2016b). The discovery of open-air paintings was a matter of research, as has been recently demonstrated (Rodríguez Rellán *et al.* 2019; Sanches *et al.* 2021) -Figure 14.3.4.4. These discoveries open up unprecedented expectations for the role of symbols in the context of the megalithic territories of the Northwest that had traditionally been attributed to Southern Iberia (Bueno *et al.* 2022b).

The cone bases have a sculptural representation compared to those described, as they are worked all around. We lack a great deal of information about many of them, as the most outstanding groups in terms of quantity, those from Los Millares, had paintings that have never been studied and examples that were not even collected for museum display. The most elaborate pieces, the cylinders, faithfully reproduce the masks we see in parietal art. In the upper third, the large sun-eyes are accompanied by the so-called tattoos describing precisely the ways of securing these masks under the braid on the back of the heads of these figures, something very evident in the El Conquero example as we have pointed out -Figure 4.4.5-.

Again, we lack data to know if the rest of the body of cylinders, normally well worked and polished pieces, were painted. If they are as we see them now, they are representations of masks and not of more or less complete bodies. These pieces individually collect the oral histories concerning the groups of dancers in Iberian schematic art (Bueno and Soler, 2021c) and in that sense perhaps completed or explained another part of the stories involved in the death scenes.

Our proposal for classification based on the informative value of the geometric bases of the figurines offers a tool for new interpretations related to the extension of very elaborate codes. The combination of rectangle/triangle geometric bases provides a starting point for analysing a conceptualised language that had its most powerful focus in Southwest Iberia. This was widely known in the peninsular territory, reaching the Alpine Mediterranean area, France, Switzerland and Italy, as well as the Mediterranean islands with less data intensity (Bueno, 2010; Bueno *et al.* 2007a, 2016b). Schematic art is a visible argument of Iberian graphic power and its impact in subalpine territories and possibly in the Mediterranean, where the islands do not have, so far, a very prominent inventory (Spanedda, 2020).

12.3. Garments, hairstyles, adornments.

One of the most remarkable aspects of the figurines is the information they provide on the clothing, adornments and hairstyles of images made over almost three millennia. Schematic art provides us with some data on skirts, trousers, boots, bags, backpacks, and also, as we have shown, of persons with sun masks dancing with dresses in the form of opposing triangles, one for the upper part and the other for the skirt, as observed in the shelter of Los Órganos, in Despeñaperros, Jaén -Figure 12.1.4: 1. However it does not give us information on the more ceremonial costumes.

Geometrically decorated dresses must have been common from at least the 5th millennium cal BC as indicated by the repertoire of Neolithic anthropomorphic vases; but the best definition of these garments is provided by the decorated plaques. Mantles or cloaks down to the feet, which even hide them, must have been made of coloured linen or woollen fabrics, if we take into account the colour present in some of the plaques and that preserved in the decorations of the megalithic media, also with geometrically decorated cloaks down to the feet (Bueno *et al.* 2016a; Bueno *et al.* 2019a). In them, the red colour is applied over black and white, a trio that is repeated on the plaques, the black of their raw material in schist or other dark materials, the white of the engravings and the red on top of them.

The most widespread decoration of horizontal strips of filled in triangles appears on plaques and orthostats in a similar way, while other geometric designs are not so common on orthostats, with the exception of decorations, which such as the one on the plaque from Esparragalejo, Badajoz (Bueno, 2020, Fig. 5) -Figure 12.3.1- show vertical bands organised as a bitriangular, similar to what Lillios (2020) calls "transitional", another representation of bitriangular on plaque (Bueno *et al.* 2007, Fig. 7).

Geometric decorations would be part of the identification of territories, lineages or families. However, they could also inform on different states of these characters (young, old, children, adults, with a partner, without a partner, women, men, mothers, fathers, virgins) or status. It is hard to know. On the other hand, we can confirm that the classical decoration of horizontal strips of filled in triangles is the most widespread among the plaques (Bueno, 1992, 596), on the megalithic media and on decorated vessels, which may allude to a generalised way of dressing for death that may have had versions in everyday life.

The cloaks on the plaques were hooded, as hair is never depicted, while hair and its styling is one of the most detailed features on the cylinders. Even the flat cylinders have braids towards the back, which reinforces the idea of the use of hoods in the case of the clothing on the plaques.

Figure 12.3.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): trapezoidal stone plaques with geometric decoration. With traces of red (1 and 2), reused (3) and with oculate motif (4). - 1. Cueva de la Mora, Huelva; - 2. Esparragalejo, Badajoz; - 3. Anta de Currais da Galhordas, Castelo da Vide, Portalegre; 4. Cerro de la Cabeza, Valencina de la Concepción, Seville. Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla (1 and 4), Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (2). Photographs 1-3, Bueno, 2020, Figure 5; José Manuel Sáiz (4).

It is possible that the manner in which the hair is tied up on the top of the head is indicative of a ribbon that gathered the hair for arranging the braids at the back. These are detailed as vertical wolf's-tooth lines carefully drawn by deep incision. The best example is seen in a set of similar plaques such as the one from Cueva de Mora -Figure 4.4.3-, the one from Cabezas Rubias -Figure 15.1.3-, in Huelva, or the one from Quinta da Farinheira, Chelas, Lisbon -Figure 15.1.3-. They are not only workshop pieces that ensure movement between one area and another, but also confirm the way of securing the face mask with sun-eyes. Perhaps this upper ribbon had decorations shown in the incised V's of some Tagus betyls. The fact that these "ribbons" also appear in sculptural versions such as the one from Salvatierra de Santiago, in the Museo de Cáceres, offers an interesting argument for connecting portable versions with sculptural versions (Bueno *et al.* 2011, Stamp 3).

The very shape of these pieces, which are wider at the bottom, suggests that the cloaks were flared in the style of the skirts of the bitriangular artefacts. The documentation of the women buried in the Montelirio monument in Seville has reinforced these observations. Some of them wore foot-length cloaks embroidered with thousands of marine mollusc beads and were smeared with cinnabar. Some wore shorter skirts, perhaps indicating a different status or age. The fabric of which they were made has not been determined, but we do know that these cloaks were "apparatus" clothing. They were very heavy and would have been worn on special occasions. In addition, their production must have required a considerable effort in terms of time and craftsmanship (Diaz Guardamino, 2016, 362). In contrast, the clothing of the bitriangulars seems lighter and more wearable in everyday life, as we can deduce from their depictions in schematic art. Some long bones also have cloaks of complex geometric designs along the entire decorative frieze - Figure 6.2.3.

The presence of necklaces has sometimes been noted. This has been assessed in the triangular faces sometimes delimited by zigzag lines, such as the one from Granja de Céspedes -Figure 4.4.4-, although it has also been suggested that they could be representations of a beard. Probably if there were more information on the possible paintings that "dressed" the triangle-based versions, we could get a better idea of this type of decoration. Some acute-angled pendants formed by two bands joined in the central area are recognisable, such as the one on one of the plaques from Anta da Horta -Figure 14.2.1: 3. They are relatively common on the plaques with hands, as is the case with the one from Idanha-a-Nova -Figure 4.3.3- and others in this series, suggesting ornaments reminiscent of those more common on megalithic statues. In the East of the Peninsula, the friezes with grids underneath the facial expression of the long bones of the Almizaraque variant - Figure 11.2.4 - have also been identified with textile garments. Detailed examination of others included in the Pastora variant uncovers ornaments and headdresses, such as lozenges between the eyes and above the facial motifs (Soler, 2017, Fig. 7.28). These are close to the V-shaped incisions described above on betyls and cylinders, as well as those noted on some plaques.

The holes in the figurines in Europe have been interpreted as possible fittings for hair, feathers, gold ornaments or tabs for attaching hair accessories (Palaguta, 2020, 97). In Iberia these holes have been interpreted as hanging systems for use as pendants. As we pointed out in a previous chapter, there is a lack of good studies to justify these uses of the holes, in addition to the fact that some plaques have too many of them, so the hypothesis that they could also have been used as a support for various ornaments, including hair, is convincing (Bueno, 2020b). The clay piece from Chorrillo Bajo, in Murcia, has a hole in the area that would correspond to the pubis that may have been used to add hair -Figure 7.1: 2-.

Objects do not generally form part of the figurines, but appear together with them, either as freestanding representations that are also decorated: axes, adzes, maces or crooks, or as part of sets of polished objects and vessels deposited in the dolmens and also engraved and painted on the orthostats. Once again, the most convincing hypothesis is that these pieces do not have an isolated reading but rather in the framework of the funerary scenarios in which they were integrated (Barroso *et al.* 2021; Bueno *et al.* 2018). Only the Guadiana anthropomorphs carry objects whose functionality will have to be determined.

Some of these objects are "dressed" by reproducing geometric decorations of the figurines. The hypothesis that the objects took on human forms is enriched not only by the aspects already discussed in the previous chapter in the associations between them, but also by the growing evidence of the use of long bones (reuse of fragments of complete media?) as boxes that housed some content (Vera *et al.* 2010). Depictions of human figures as long bones are containers, while axes represent human figures sometimes covered with textiles similar in appearance to those worn by some of these figurines. Complex scenographies that conveyed information on specific dedications, highly developed crafts, and the connectivity capacity of prominent family and lineage organisations.

Axes, adzes and crooks are related to working the land and with livestock. If we add to this the number of pieces that seem to have been used as mills, or the references to livestock, especially pigs (Bueno *et al.* 2016a), a large part of these scenes reflect stories of an agricultural nature. Some of the objects may have had a use in the preparation of textiles, as we have indicated, revealing possible weavers, perhaps of these spectacular cloaks that the women buried in Montelirio, Seville, show. The burials also have evidence of trade with more distant areas, such

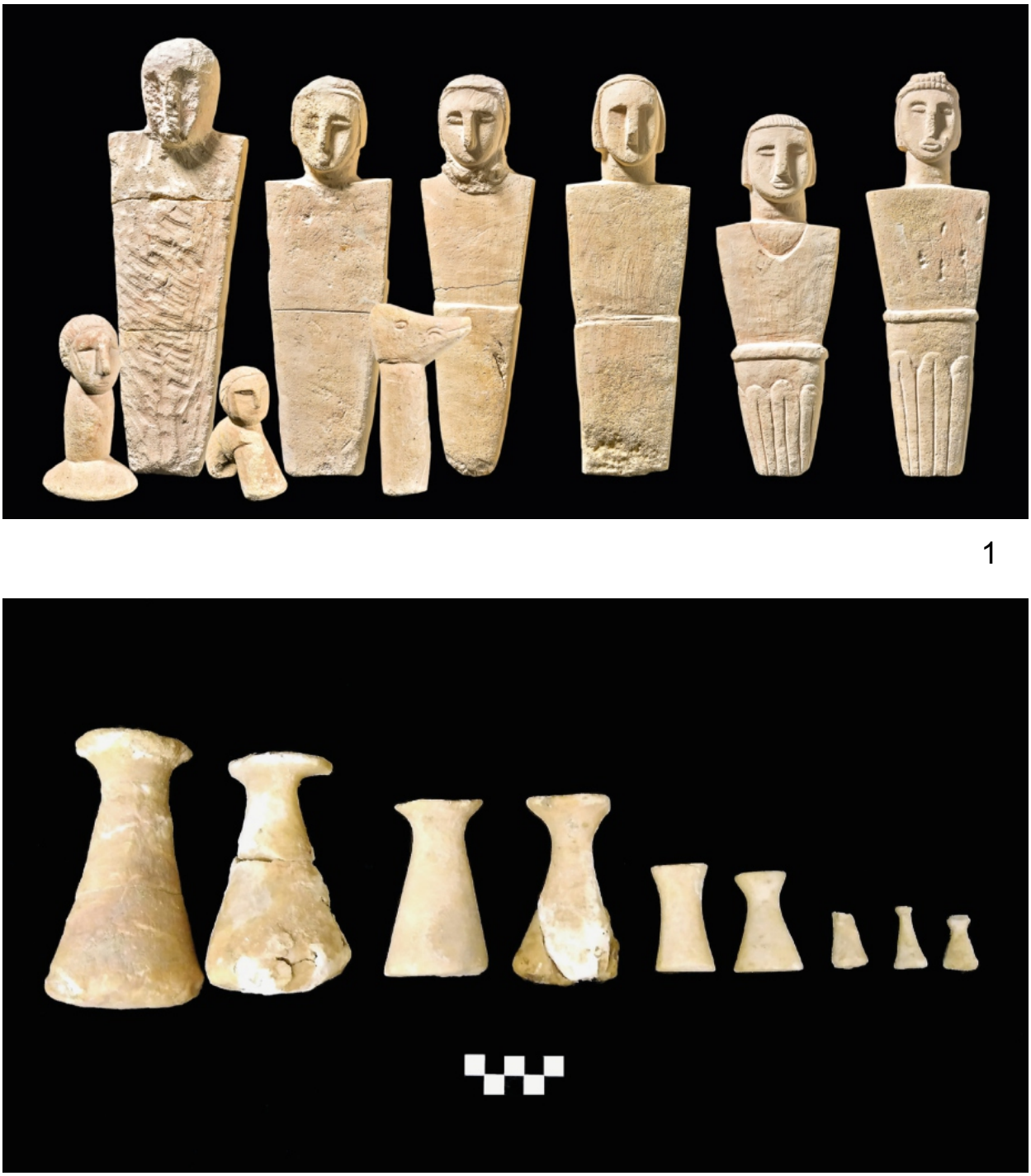


Figure 12.3.2. Above. Anthropomorphic figurines from the circle of Xagħra, Malta, (Vella Gregory, 2020, Figure 12). Below, geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) truncated biconical "hopper". Tomb 8 from Rambla de las Pocicas, Tabernas, Almería, (Maicas, 2020, Figure 12). Museo Arqueológico Nacional, Madrid.

as the vessels with amber pellets from PP4 in Montelirio that come from Sicily or the large African ivory tusk associated with a female burial, reflecting movements of raw materials and people (Murillo Barroso *et al.* 2018).

The very thematic variability of the objects in the burial sites may provide us with information on the activities of the people buried, some of whom are shown wearing cloaks and carrying "apparatus" weapons that could never have been used in everyday life.

12.4. Interacting with figurines: reusing, transferring, recycling, fragmenting.

How objects and people were related has taken very prominent positions in the study of the archaeology of small things, being called *Agency*, due to the influence of Anglo-Saxon studies. Many observations are of great interest, especially those that pertain to all processes in which the manipulation of the pieces provides us with information about such relevant aspects as specialisation, expertise, widespread code-sharing, emulation, operative chains and, of course, the relationship between human bodies and depicted bodies (Hofmann, 2020; Maicas, 2020; Scarre, 2020, among many others).

In previous chapters we have synthesised information related to the craftsmanship and coding of these pieces that point to cultural aspects as part of their agency. Some have been interpreted as a way of signalling the social representation of the people buried, as not all of them received figurines (Lillios, 2020, 201), a gesture that makes sense in the individual deposits very much in line with the Leisner hypothesis. An updated view of these individual associations involves analysing with data the differences in the quantity of figurines between tombs, between the same necropolis or between neighbouring necropolises (Bueno *et al.* 2006d, 2023c). This type of documentation is also necessary in order to understand the number of figurines from one habitation site to another, as they are significantly different, as is the case on the European continent (Hofmann, 2020, 117).

Their presence in both funerary and everyday contexts offers more lines of possible agency, among which we will highlight those that are best perceived in the latest contexts analysed: the clothing and ornaments, the position of the arms and the attitude of the pieces, the associations of figures of different sizes and the reuses and fragmentations.

Perhaps one of the most obvious aspects of the interaction between people and objects is the fact that the figurines were dressed, feathers and hair were attached, and were probably placed on podiums where they may have been exchanged. Such fluid relationships have been recognised in figurines from the rest of Europe (Becker, 2020; Hofmann, 2020; Palaguta, 2020), while they have not been so well characterised in Iberia. The documentation of fabric on a phalanx from Los Millares (Maicas, 2020, 296) underlines the need to undertake studies to get closer to the role these pieces played in the daily life of those who made them. The position of the pieces conveys a shared standardisation that also indicates specific interactions (Valera, 2020, 242), adding information on the close relationship with the kinds of parietal expression contemporary to the figurines (Bueno and Soler, 2021c).

The documentation of similar shapes in different sizes is known from contexts all over Europe (Palaguta, 2020), although the peninsular data have been more visible from sites such as Perdigões (Valera, 2020). The deposit of human images on bone sheet in bi- or tripartite triangular shapes with their different sizes could represent different ages and genders of the personages they represent, perhaps even families. We have pointed out a similar interpretation for the ensembles of the same type from the Pozuelo dolmens and for Levantine pieces (Bueno *et al.* 2017; Soler, 2020).

In other funerary contexts, such as those found in Malta (Vella Gregory, 2020) or habitational ones on the Continent (Palaguta, 2020), this hypothesis is also the most widely accepted. For the statuary representations, the information points in the same direction: groups of personages of different statures, dressed in the same way, would represent images of men, women, boys and girls in an exhibition of ancestors within the framework of families or lineages.

In Iberia, the smaller pieces, such as phalanges and some "hoppers" -Figure 12.3.2-, have been valued as sets (Maicas, 2020), which would be compatible with ensembles such as those described in the previous paragraph. The small pendants, on the other hand, were directly in contact with the bodies of the people and it is possible that they were inherited from previous generations. It is striking that in some of these pieces to be worn as pendants, the hole was made in such a way that they were positioned upside down -Figure 6.2.2: 1. This hypothesis needs data to prove the level of friction received, the wear of the pieces and their direct chronology; but this custom is still part of our way of relating to objects as memories of loved ones. Touching them and feeling them on our body allows us to remember them more vividly and even comforts us in these losses.

The interaction over time with the figurines has good references in three processes from which we can recover archaeological information: the transferral and accumulation of pieces, the use and reuse of fragments, and the reuses as remanufacture of the pieces. Each of them reveals different aspects of the relationship between figurines and people.

The accumulation of pieces from other burials is an elusive situation as far as its archaeological confirmation is

concerned; but some numbers at sites that gather other evidence of hoarding "relics" such as older corpses or fragments of large stones, allow us to argue that there were places where visible displays of human representations were developed, part of which were taken from previous positions in other monuments (as far as we know today, mostly plaques and stones) (Bueno, 2010, 2020; Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2008; Fábregas *et al.* 2020). The mobility of these pieces, on the one hand, and their external locations on the other hand, must have been facilities for movements that indicate a fluid relationship between the personages in the external areas of the tombs. This line of analysis will surely provide more information in the future when we have analytical references that better structure the uses of these pieces.

The fact that in the Almizaraque deposit some decorations on bones are in the process of being erased to include new representations, adds an argument to the processes that place the figurines in a dynamic of manipulations with a long diachrony. Something similar could be indicated by the portions of human bodies that were collected and continue to be collected at the Pijotilla site, perhaps as parts to be assembled from pieces made in a workshop at the site or prepared for recycling.

The fragmentations in the Iberian figurine ensemble have not yet been interpreted as evidence of fragmented bodies distributed in varied places (habitational, funerary and others), and in geographies that we do not have sufficient evidence to determine; but recently such interpretations have been proposed (Martínez *et al.* 2020, 150; Valera and Evangelista, 2014). This field still requires much research, but the descriptions of the level of fragmentation of some sites such as Vilanova de São Pedro, Leceia, Pijotilla and others, in addition to those noted in funerary contexts, open up wide expectations to delve into new interpretations of these records.

Resuming decoration is another aspect starting to be detected. This is the case of some pieces from the Anta Grande de Zambujeiro (Soares and Silva, 2010, 110), whose geometric decoration was re-engraved, as was that of another High Alentejan plaque housed in The National Archaeological Museum, Lisbon , Portugal (Andrade, 2014, 57). This type of sequence of revivals is the same as that observed in the megalithic orthostats where the various phases of painting repeat themes (Bueno and Balbín, 1992; Bueno et *al.* 2007; Carrera, 2008) in a similarity of procedures that again match the orthostats and the decorated plaques.

Some plaques were recut after having been fractured (Oliveira, 1993, 135). At Lapa do Fumo, a larger plaque was reused by recutting and polishing its sides (Cardoso and Vilaça, 2020). In the same cave, a small pendant was recarved from a crook (Cardoso and Vilaça, 2020, 18). This situation, the reuse of a crook to carve a plaque, was verified in the 1990s in the Anta de Coureleiros, as also seems to be the case of another plaque from the Anta de Herdade das Antas, in Montemor-o-Novo (Oliveira, 1993, 136). Such "recutting" and reworking of crooks into plaques provide a little used argument for the chronology of the crooks, which have been assumed to be a late production in the context of the Alto Alentejo group (Cardoso, 2020).

Returning to the crooks, other observations can be made. Some of them are axes with a handle, as are some of the limestone pieces from the Lisbon Peninsula. However, there are some pieces that, though staffs, are beaten on the upper edge to make them blunt, probably to transform them into axes. This reuse could be understood as opportunistic, but the processes of transformation of axes into crooks or of crooks into axes (Mens, 2004) generally accompany the human figures, orthostats and stelae of the European Atlantic area, which is why these Iberian transformations must be included in this common pulse of shared ideologies since at least the 5th millennium cal BC.

Finally, some crooks were reused as pendants – Figure 5.1.2: 2- proposing a position contrary to that documented in some of the human representations that carry these objects, as is the case with the pendants mentioned above.

The plaques were reused in a much broader way than had been suspected since the 1990s. They were cut to look almost like tokens, like some from Pijotilla, or from other habitation sites such as Porto do Torrão (Andrade *et al.* 2016), reengraved as we have mentioned above, or their outline recut. Some reuses have reinforced their sculptural meaning by including a new figuration on the reverse side, which is not normally engraved. Gonçalves *et al.* (2003) record examples of this situation, which can also be interpreted in terms of adding a new representation to the one that had been made first. Others were reformulated, such as a piece from Anta de Monte Velha 2, by cutting off the upper part, which included the loss of the upper half of the sun-eyes (Andrade, 2020).

The geographical extension of the data on the reuse of the plaques was collected by Lillios (2008) in Alentejan specimens. We now know that some pieces from Alentejo workshops were reused outside this territory, which would explain the use of decorations that are uncommon in the Alentejo in other areas, such as the cases reported in the Lisbon Peninsula (Cardoso *et al.* 2018). They would be a local addition on the back of pieces that had an Alentejo decoration on the front.

The re-carving of heads, narrowing of the neck and waist is another version of the reuse of plaques. It should be carefully studied how many of the triangular-headed plates are the product of a reuse of trapezoidal or rectangular plaques. Cases have been noted, but the

record we have reviewed alerts us to the fact that there are many more. Something similar could be said of some rectangular-headed pieces, what Lillios calls "adze", which could be a transformation aimed at enriching their sculptural content. The proximity of their profiles to megalithic stelae is very clear.

The most cited example is the plaque of Anta de Currais dos Galhordas-Figure 12.3.1- at Castelo da Vide, where the shape leaves no doubt that the intention was to represent an anthropomorphic sculpture (Monteiro-Rodrigues, 2016), which includes many of the characteristics of the larger statuary.

An aspect that has gone unnoticed but which is of new interest in view of the archaeological evidence of long diachronies of use in the dolmens, is the data on Iron Age epigraphic inscriptions on some plaques (Gonçalves *et al.* 2003, Figs. 4 and 5). It is clear that the use of the raw material does not justify these reuses, reuse of fragments and re-signification. It is the value of the object that, like others that form part of the funerary deposits, including the corpses themselves and the orthostats (Bueno *et al.* 2022a), have long biographies that certify their role as memories that are transferred and hoarded by different generations.

If the plaques have few studies in these aspects, the rest of the typologies have not been analysed at all in this sense, so it more than plausible that some cylinders present different interventions or perhaps additions, as we can suggest for the piece with a mouth from Vilanova de São Pedro or for the piece with engraved pubis from Leceia -Figure 6.4.3: 3-. In addition, their biographies included uses as working tools.

These reuses had not been included as data to reconstruct their biographies and agency over time. Their dynamics were fluid between the funerary and the habitational, but also between the funerary contexts themselves, ensuring that the reused figurines may have had chronologies older than the contexts in which they appear.

The symbiosis between plaques and orthostats, or that proposed by cone-based pieces with menhirs, opens up a new framework of considerations to situate agency in the context of the territory. Inside and outside the megaliths, geometrically based human representations configured socially shared codes to define their links on a larger and smaller scale. The reuse of stelae and menhirs in megaliths reveals the dynamics of agency associated with human figures and their social representation (Bueno *et al.* 2016b, 2023b).

Interaction with the figurines was part of their diverse functionalities and uses, whether as anthropomorphic vessels, statuettes, pendants, orthostats or ritual objects. We do not have data to establish the cycles of these long biographies, but some, such as the direct dates of the spatulas that are older than the corpses they accompany (Villalobos *et al.* 2020), alert us to the need to obtain scientific data that bring us closer to the different casuistries that are to be suspected over almost three millennia.

Chapter 13
Combining Human Images. Figurines in the Iberian Post-Glacial Art

The first inventories of small Iberian sculptures of human bodies related them to images of schematic art and megalithic art, as well as to stelae and menhirs. The RBD which brings together the types proposed since Siret makes it clear how many times these similarities have been cited, without specifying chronologies beyond their generic dating after Los Millares, which was recognised as the first establishment of Eastern settlers in the Iberian Peninsula. They would be the ones who brought with them the religion of the *Mother Goddess* and the representations of *Idols.*

It was H. Breuil (1935) who classified the various versions of Iberian postglacial art, arguing the contemporaneity of schematic parietal art and figurines. Breuil generated the formal structure on which Acosta built her typology of Idols (Acosta, 1967, 1968), which is in turn the foundation of the typology of M.J. Almagro Gorbea (1973) and those developed *a posteriori* (Barciela, 2020; Becares, 1983). All of them reiterate common nomenclatures: oculates, plaques, bitriangulars, although that of V. Barciela (2020), categorises the types of oculates into smaller units, updating the repertoire by including images of schematic art from the Levantine area -Figure 13. 1.4-.

Breuil also systematised the references to megalithic parietal art, together with the decorated stelae that formed part of these structures, accepting the cultural differences proposed by the historiographical tradition since the beginning of the 20th century. Megalithic art would be an Atlantic version represented by the technique of engraving, while schematic art, with its paintings, would represent the Mediterranean cultural sphere (Bueno and Balbín, 1992).

When megaliths are studied more systematically, the relationship between schematic parietal art and megalithic art reveals more proximities than differences. On the one hand, painting appears in a large number of Iberian monuments and in the rest of Europe. On the other hand, knowledge of schematic painting in the open air has spread to territories where it was not acknowledged, as we have pointed out in previous chapters.

Considering both facets as complementary: -schematic art and megalithic art-, is a breakthrough in the interpretation of the symbologies of recent Southern European prehistory. Outdoor schematic art and megalithic decorations played different roles, revealing the widespread presence of graphic markers identifying the territories of Neolithic, Chalcolithic and probably Bronze Age groups (Bueno and Balbín, 2009). The variety of techniques characterises the greater symbolic display in funerary contexts combining paintings, engravings and sculptures in restricted access sites, while paintings are more common in schematic art. We have characterised this duality as the coexistence between a widespread way of marking the territory and a singular expression in which more specialised craft knowledge must have been involved (Bueno *et al.* 2004b, 2007a). One collective and open, the other of families or lineages, and closed. However, both have similar chronological trajectories in the same territories, confirming the level of graphic, cultural and social complexity of those who made and used the figurines.

In both cases, schematic art and megalithic art, the geometric bases of the figurines are shared, providing common technical, interpretative and chronological references. It is also very indicative to point out the elements absent in both expressions.

Outdoor schematic art shows almost exclusively monochrome paintings made in a quick way with simple tools, fingers or sponges and, in some cases, brushes, together with incised or sometimes hammered engravings. Polychrome parietal devices are not common, although some are known, and it could be asked whether, when they appear, they are not related to funerary deposits (Bueno and Balbín, 1992). Polychromy is widespread in megalithic decorations, as is their close relationship with engraving techniques ranging from fine incision to hammering and bas-relief (Bueno *et al.* 2022b).

The figurines were painted in the open air but their sculptural versions respond to the complexity of the megalithic decorations, bringing together elaborate techniques in their media that combine engravings of various types with pictorial applications, some of them very elaborate, as is the case with the long bones. Or they are clearly associated with the treatment given to the corpses, as in the case of the cinnabar applications on some of the figurines (Bueno *et al.* 2019a and b).

In schematic parietal art, the ritual objects of the deposits do not appear, but human images are drawn in movement.

It is precisely this factor, movement, which provides unique data for understanding the symbolic context in which the figurines take shape as three-dimensional representations of stories painted in two dimensions.

Megalithic parietal art does represent part of the objects that appear in the funerary deposits, such as axes and crooks engraved or painted on their orthostats. We have proposed interpreting the decoration of the megalithic supports as that of dressed personages (Barroso *et al.* 2021; Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2018), which is justified by the geometric designs of cloaks covering their bodies and sometimes objects, such as those described, that accompany them. Megalithic art features freestanding sculptures in both inside and outside areas (Bueno *et al.* 2005a).

Iberian figurines are included in a rich range of post-glacial expressions, part of which is displayed in funerary settings in large stone constructions. Their preferred location is in the deposits associated with collective burials, whether in megaliths, natural caves or artificial caves. It is impossible to interpret them as elements free of the background described above, as none of these expressions can be interpreted without taking into account the small figurines.

The two major contexts with narratives in which they develop also offer chronologies for a long diachrony from at least the 5th to the 3rd millennium cal BC (Bueno *et al.* 2007a). In megaliths, the C14 series on human bones have been closely matched. Direct dates on megalithic paintings consolidate the dating of these human images, as in the case of the plaque painted on the dolmen of Antelas, in Northern Portugal, and its direct chronology, a line of research that should be intensified not only for direct dating of megalithic paintings but also for figurines whose medium is made of organic material (Cruz, 1995; Carrera and Fábregas, 2002).

A quick look at the symbolic contexts of European figurines reveals that there are no known schematic art artefacts in which the same typologies appear in scenes. Those that are documented include some Iberian themes, as is the case in the shelters of Southern France, the Alps and Northern Italy (Defrasne *et al.* 2019; Hameau, 1995). The schematic art of the Mediterranean islands has some human forms, but only a few shelters (Spanedda, 2020). Neither in megalithic art nor in the open-air art of the rest of Europe do representations of human images on the media play a major role, with the exception of stelae and menhirs and some solar representations.

In recent years, Middle Neolithic chronologies have been documented for menhir statues from the South of France (Maille, 2010). Still scarce, they point in the same direction as the Iberian images confirm: a continuum of elaborate masked human images, almost always dressed as women and sometimes associated with solar codes. Their references in the Iberian sphere are an added argument to the data on the movement of raw materials on both sides of the Pyrenees (Bueno *et al.* 2009a). For the moment, Iberian figurines are the only ones in Europe that have other contemporary expressions to explain some of their possible interpretations.

13.1. Dates and contexts for figurines in parietal schematic art.

It is generally assumed that schematic art is the first graphic cycle to feature human images, as opposed to that of animal figures in the Palaeolithic. However, the truth is that the relationship between the two expressions is more transitional than radically different.

Gone are the hypotheses of the disappearance of the population after the Upper Palaeolithic as an explanation for Neolithic arrivals in which schematic art would be part of the "imports" of these colonisations. The abundance of schematic representations from at least 12,000 years ago is a widely recognised aspect in some European territories, with direct chronologies available in Iberia. This is the case of the large human figures painted with charcoal from the Paloma cave in Ojo Guareña, Burgos, or the stones with classic schematic art figures: branch-shaped and anthropomorphic with arms akimbo, at the site of Fariseu, Coa, Portugal (Bueno and Balbín, 2021).

These data are only an example of how much remains to be resolved regarding the chronology of Iberian schematic art and its geographical location, as Burgos and the Côa are locations to the north and west of Iberia, which are not at all classic in the interpretation of the supposedly exclusive southern schematic art. The aforementioned and some others are works in progress, which add to the new developments that have been taking place in recent years in the west of the Iberian Peninsula regarding an ancient post-glacial art that is heir to the themes, techniques and uses of the territory of the groups from the end of the Upper Palaeolithic.

The works in shelters with schematic art in the North and Northwest are approached as archaeological documentation, with their contextualisation and dating being given priority over the classical discourses of origins and relationships which leave the archaeological data to one side. A brief review of the studies in schematic shelters in the South and East shows minimal archaeological excavation, while all the recently discovered sites in the North and Northwest are the subject of archaeological projects (Comendador, 2022; Rodríguez Rellán *et al.* 2019; Sanches *et al.* 2021). There are many new finds in these territories. Oculates in Serra dos Passos (Sanches *et al.* 2021) - Figs. 13.1.2 and 14.3.4 -, oculates in Galicia (Tejerizo *et al.* 2020) or bitriangulars

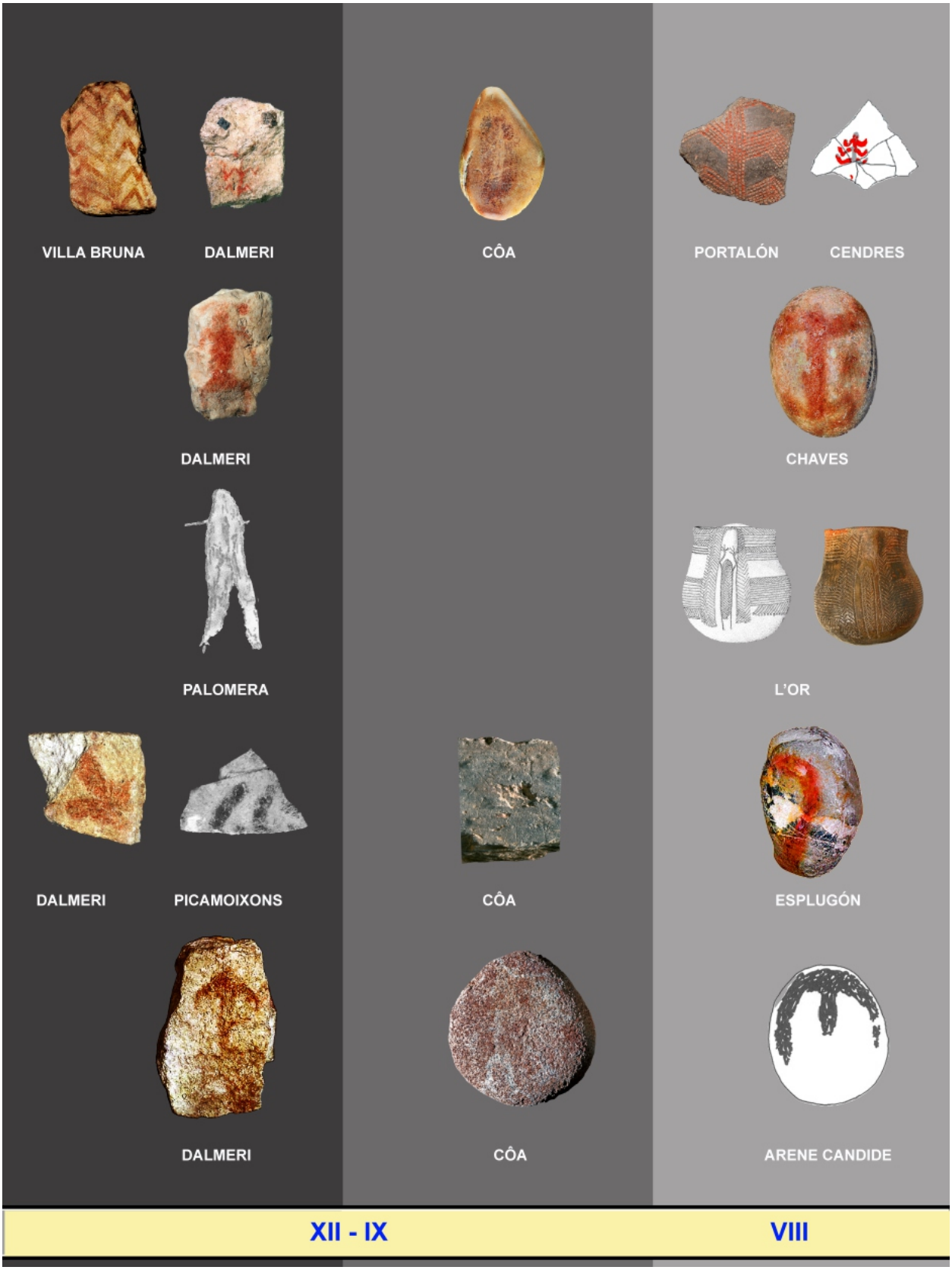


Figure 13.1.1. Schematic human figures between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods in Europe from the 12th to the 8th millennia Before Present (Bueno and Balbín, 2021, Figure 19).

in the shelter of Penedo Gordo, in Vigo, which reveal everything we do not know about a territory relegated from schematic art research. These images are also an argument for understanding the bitriangulars on the painted orthostats of the Pedralta 1 dolmen (Santos *et al.* 2017); or the engraved and painted plaques in the Areita dolmen, in Viseu, which correlate to shelters with schematic art in the region. The results of the excavation of the Cova de Baleira, in Lugo, provide a C14 date of early 4th millennium cal BC for humans drawn as stretched skins with open arms and legs, which characterise a good part of the megalithic paintings of dolmens in Northern Portugal (Bueno *et al.* 2022b). Excavations at Penedo Gordo with bitriangular paintings also provide a C14 date of the beginning of the 4th millennium cal BC (Alves and Comendador, 2021, 220) that coincides with direct pigment dating of dolmens from Northern Portugal and Galicia.

In the painted dolmens of the Northwest, the geometric-based images, among which are the decorated plaques engraved on the dolmen of Areita (Gomes and Carvalho, 1995), or the one painted on the dolmen of Antelas (Cruz, 1995), coexist with depictions of naturalistic human figures that appear in pairs or groups. The C14 dates of the Areita dolmen place it in the late 5th / early 4th millennium cal BC with the interest that the monument was used for a short period of time, thus offering a chronology for the rectangular / trapezoidal bases of human images in the late 5th / early 4th millennium cal BC (Bueno, 2020, 221), close to the one just mentioned for the bitriangular figures of the Penedo Gordo paintings -Figure 13.1.3-.

The chronologies of the painted shelters in the Northwest together with those obtained in the megalithic contexts and in the direct dating of their paintings ensure the representativeness of plaques and bitriangulars in the symbolic discourses of the Iberian Northwest from the end of the 5th millennium cal BC with a more visible upturn at the beginning of the 4th millennium cal BC, coinciding with the dates of widespread implantation of the megaliths (Bueno, 2010; Bueno *et al.* 2007a). The antiquity of these productions in the North is a wake-up call to revise contexts and chronologies in classical areas which, in some cases, are lacking the necessary updates.

Beyond the paintings in the open air or on megalithic orthostats, the presence of figurines in the Northwest includes well-characterised typologies, such as plaques or betyls, which we have mentioned in the dolmen of Madorras 1, in Northern Portugal, or the decorated plaque of A Carballeira in Galicia (Bueno *et al.* 2003) -Figure 13.1.3-; as well as anthropomorphic stones that are arranged on the outside of the megaliths, like in Dombate -Figure 11.4.1-. Their overall inventory has not yet been computed and their decorations and shapes have been analysed in a generic manner. The downward position of the arms and the narrowing of the head is shared with the plaques, as the arms in a cross is shared with the pieces we know of in the Southeast. The Northwestern chronologies are older, pointing to their prominence in funerary deposition contexts dated V / IV millennium cal BC (Bueno *et al.* 2007a; Fábregas *et al.* 2020; Sanches, 2021), for which there is evidence up to at least the middle of the III millennium cal BC (Bello *et al.* 1994).

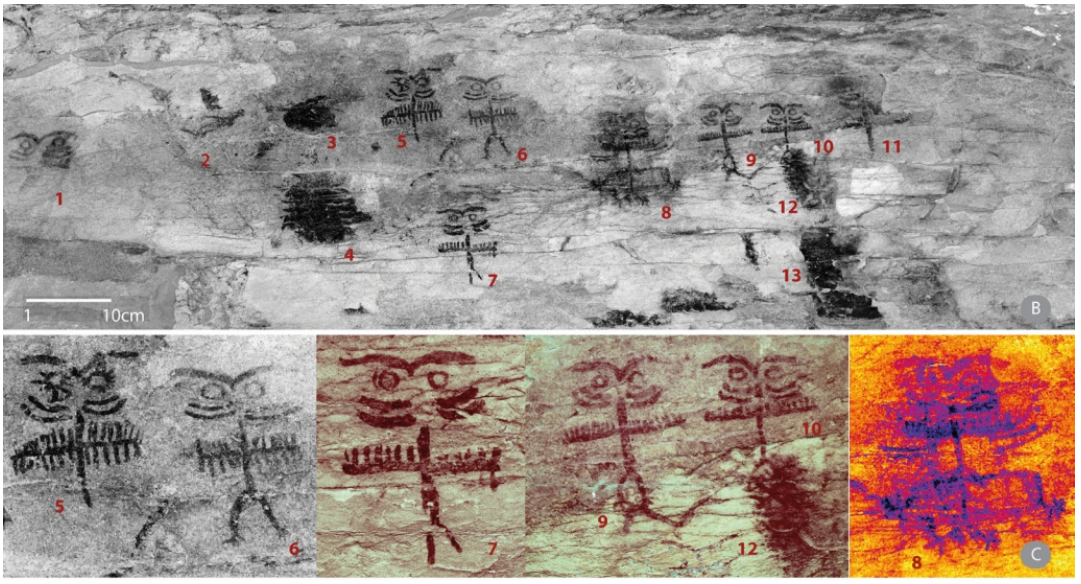
The prominence of anthropomorphic stones can be seen in Cantabrian megaliths with a similar chronology to that of the Northwest (Bueno *et al.* 2009b). The excavation at Katillotxu V showed that the complex circle decorations, similar to those of the Chã de Arcas stones in Northern Portugal, predate the 3rd millennium cal BC in the Cantabrian area and that the use of anthropomorphic stones, such as the one embedded in the initial level of the construction, can be included in the earliest dates of activity at the site, between the end of the 5th and beginning of the 4th millennium cal BC (Alonso and Zapata, 2009, 140).

As we have mentioned for schematic art, the information on the outside areas with figurines in the dolmens of the Northwest has been accompanied by the study of their contexts, something that has not been possible in the more classical areas of Iberian typologies, such as Los Millares, due to the age of their archaeological documentation.

It is not easy to establish absolute confirmations, but the chronologies of schematic art in the North and West support the antiquity of anthropomorphic sculptural imagery with roots in Mesolithic cultures (Arias and Suarez, 1991).

Although it is to be expected that excavations in the shelters with schematic art in the Northwest will add precise information for the chronology of the sun-eye code (Regatos das Bouças or others) - Figure 13.1.2 -, the oldest references for the moment are concentrated in the examples of vessels from Andalusia and the East. The best defined chronology is that of the beginning of the 5th millennium cal BC, as the complete vessel from Costamar, in Castellón -Figure 3.3.1: 9- assures that these codes and their application to human figures were perfectly established at that time. More recently, the Gavá vase -Figure 10.1.1- confirms the use of the sun-eye code at the end of the 5th millennium cal BC in a type of vase, very similar to the fragment one dated earlier, halfway through the 6th millennium cal BC from the Casa Montero mine in Madrid -Figure 10.1.1-. This formula is known from Neolithic sites in the South of France and Italy, the Iberian sites being so far the oldest. The Andalusian references in Chapter 3 -Figure 3.3.1.1-, do not present quality dates, but they are located between the middle of the 6th and the 5th millennium cal BC.

As a whole, the anthropomorphic sun-eyed vases suggest similar chronologies for a very rich open-air parietal art for which there are no direct dates (with some



a

b

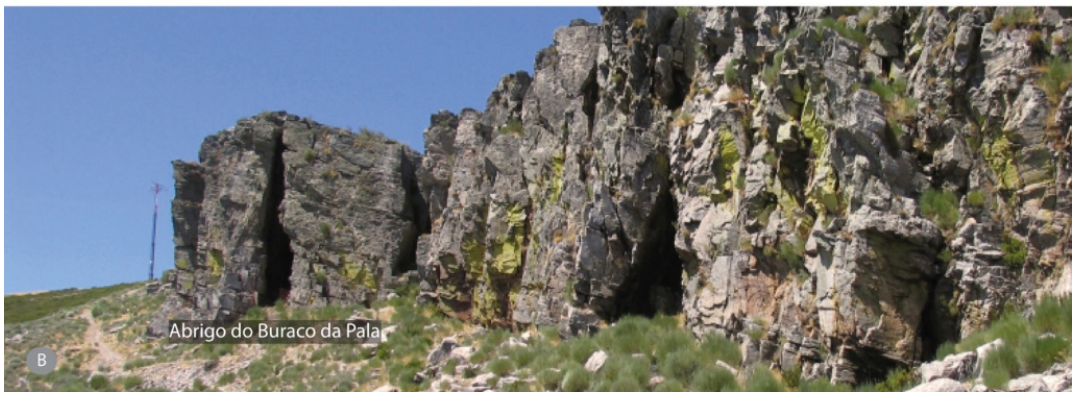


Figure 13.1.2. - a Regato das Bouças, Serra de Passos, Bragança. Frieze of painted motifs from Abrigo 11, recorded with multispectral photography; - Abrigo 15: details, with multispectral logarithm photography resources of the motifs. Note the multiplicity of forms of the hidden motifs. Photographs Luis Bravo and authors of the reference publication: Sanches et al. 2021, Figure 3.

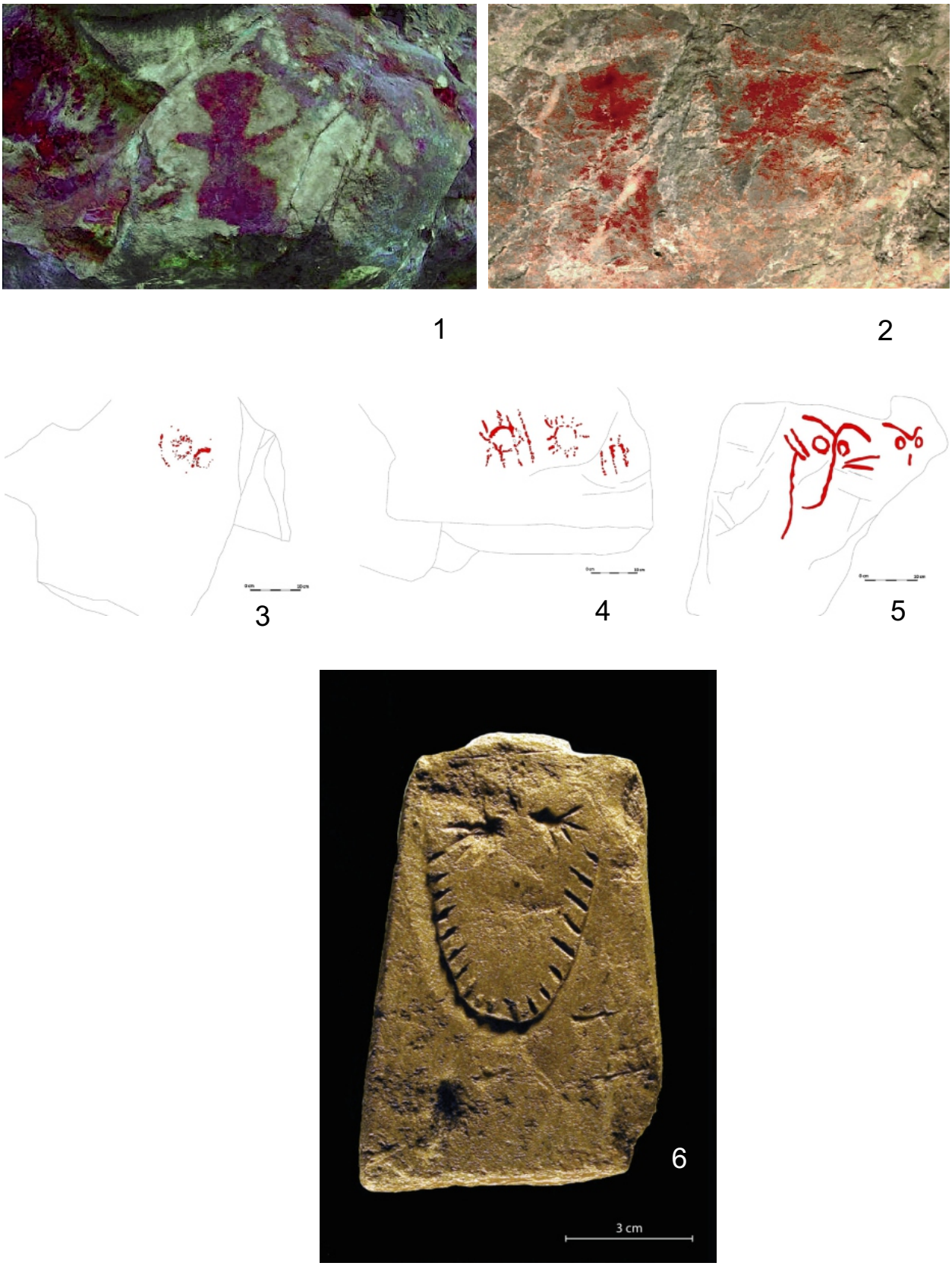


Figure 13.1.3. Bitriangular motifs. Penedo Gordo, Vilardevos, Orense (1) and Abrigo de Piruetanal, Ciudad Real (2), (Alves and Comendador, 2022, Figure 6). Pala de Cabras, Casaio, Orense. Painted oculates, proposed tracings. Panels 13 (4), 16 (3), 19 (5), (Tejerizo et al. 2020). Lithic geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG): - 6. Plaque from A Carballeira, (Bueno et al. 2013, collected in Fábregas, 2020), Figure 2. Museo de Pontevedra.

exceptions), nor are there any archaeological excavations, as we have pointed out. This conspicuous absence will eventually be compensated for by the effectiveness of the archaeological methodology applied to the study of the shelters of the Northwest Iberia. It would be reasonable to expect long chronologies between the Early Neolithic and the Bronze Age for these graphic devices in all the peninsular territories.

The dating on calcite crust of the Los Oculados shelter, in Henarejos, Cuenca -Figure 12.1.4: 5- is again located in a territory where this type of images should not be, far from Andalusia and the Southeast. Its date before the middle of the 4th millennium cal BC (Ruiz *et al.* 2012) is older than that accepted for the decorated plaques in their territories of origin, according to some authors (Gonçalves, 2020), with the nuance that what this date indicates is that at that time the calcite crust covered the painting, which supports the greater antiquity of the depictions of oculate masks in Cuenca.

Among the abundant representations of painted figurines that reproduce the sculptural ones, those of personages with a disproportionate head, such as those just mentioned from Henarejos, sometimes have bodies without special clothing with their arms and legs open in a position of movement. The upper part that we understand to be masks is repeated in images all over the Peninsula (Bueno and Soler, 2021b) -Figure 12.1.4-, which can easily seen as such masks when superimposed on trunks and legs of small size or with open arms from which hang what appear to be fringes or feather ornaments. In some cases they are even held up by a single vertical line as if they were carried on a wooden shaft. Sometimes with these simple bodies that we have just described; sometimes with garments made up of two triangles. Groups of dancing bitriangular figures, some of them accompanied by others with sun-eyes, have been documented in the East, Andalusia -Figure 1.2.1- and now at least one figure of this type has been documented in Penedo Gordo, Vigo -Figure 13.1.3-.

There are not many cases in which the body appears with sun-eyes and a line joining the trunk and pubis, such as in the Abrigo Grande de Cantos de la Visera, Yecla -Figure 13.1.4: 17-, an image identical to that of the anthropomorphic vase from Monte de Outeiro, in Portugal -Figure 4.4.8-. The schematic art repertoire of the Southeast includes abundant bi- and tri-triangular scenes associated with the sun in dance scenes, which have been related to the vessel representations of Los Millares, dating them to the middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC (Martinez, 2006). The dates of painted shelters with the same iconographies that we have just mentioned in the Northwest, are added to some Andalusian cases, such as the three bitriangular engravings in different sizes on the wall of the cave of Nerja, in Malaga, very close to the group of portable figurines from the cave of La Pileta (Sanchidrian, 1982; Simón and Macias, 2023), to ponder more ancient chronologies of these representations.

Scenes and images of parietal art reiterate typologies of figurines, which also appear on megalithic orthostats and ceramic vases. The ancient chronologies of the Northwest, or of the decorated vases in Andalusia, the East and the interior, are a wake-up call to the urgent need for quality archaeological documentation of the rich Iberian schematic art. Its current extension promises new discoveries that will allow for a more precise definition of contexts, chronologies and Iberian connectivities as well as between the Peninsula and other European areas (Bueno *et al.* 2016b).

With the sun on the human figures, on their shoulders or in the form of pairs of eyes, different people of varying sizes move in groups, describing dynamic scenes in which the sun is associated with some of them - Figure 1.2.1. The dances accompanied by music and lyrics would establish the collective stories that the figurines materialize in statuary elements that can be touched, carried, exhibited, and integrated in everyday and funerary rituals. In the case of the paintings, the audience and the sharing of collective stories was probably one of their functions. As for the figurines, the memory of these gatherings and agency with the pieces must have been what made them proliferate. The small sculptures of static dancers would be the portable version of the dances on the walls, evoking the collective stories told in them, transporting them and moving them around as mnemonics and identitarian of those stories.

13.2. Dates and contexts for figurines in Megalithic art.

The close spatial relationship between figurines and collective burials is a factor that though known has not been sufficiently taken into account in studies of these pieces. The fact that these human images are part of the deposits accompanying the deceased is an unequivocal argument for establishing a cultural and chronological context.

As explained in previous pages, the notable quantitative weight of these pieces in the West associated with megaliths was not treated as a cultural argument, even though the most compact numbers in this area have been available since at least the study by M. J. Almagro Gorbea (1973). Leaving aside western or eastern interpretations, their representativeness and ubiquity undewrite their prominence in the funerary rituals that presided over the construction of megalithic structures and other collective structures in Iberia.

There are certainly few direct dates on figurines, but the chronologies on funerary contexts provide references to situate them. The information we have collected in this volume offers two very different interpretations of the dating of these pieces. The one that places them at the height of megalithism in the Southwest (Andrade *et*

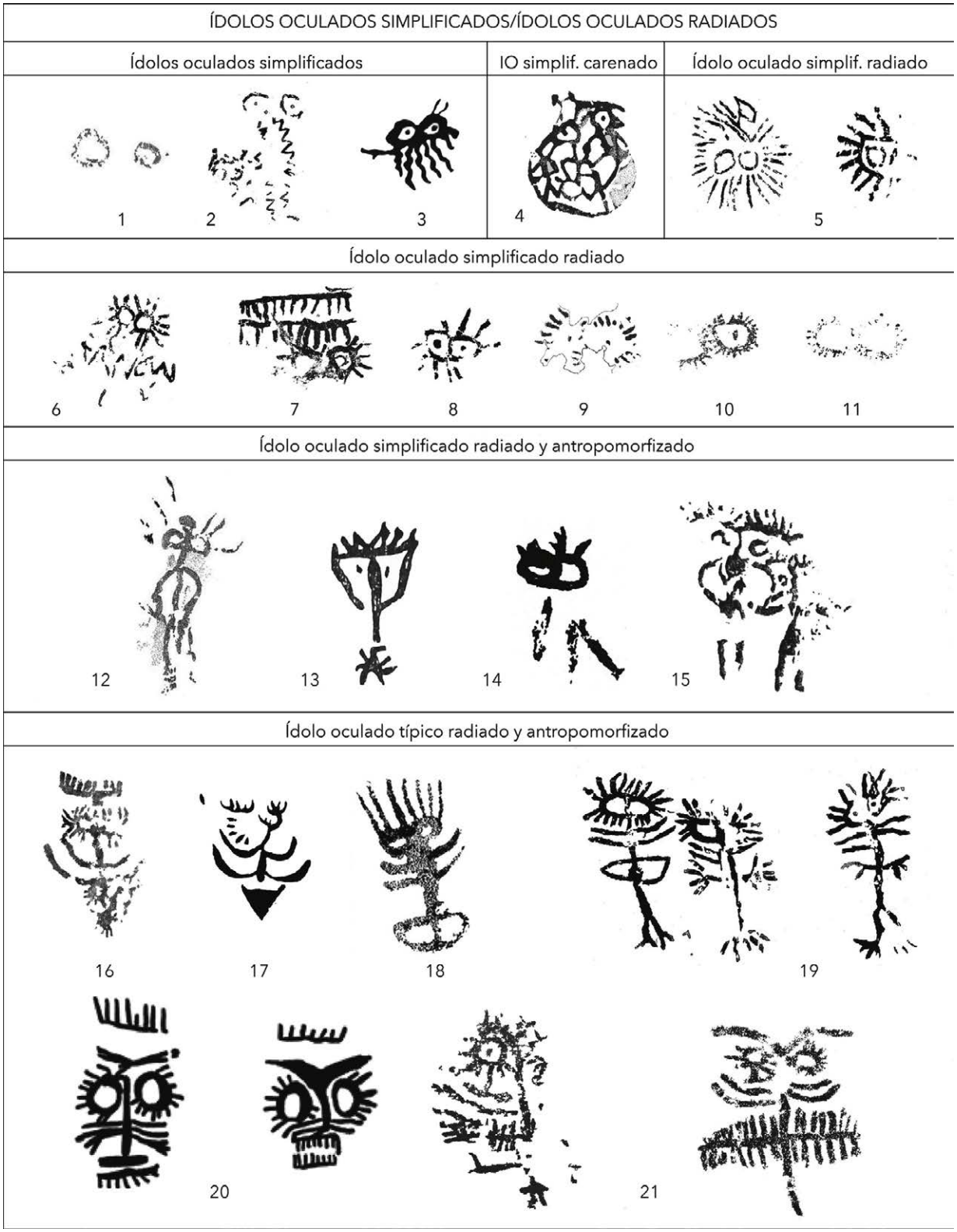


Figure 13.1.4. Types of "Simplified oculate idols" and "Sun-ray oculate idols", according to the classification of V. Barciela, 2020, Figure 6. Simplified oculate idols: Abrigo I del Nacimiento del Río Frío, Soria (1); Abrigo I del Cabeçó d'Or, Alicante (2) and La Graja de Jimena, Jaén (3). Simplified linked oculate idols: Cova del Barranc del Migdia, Alicante (4). Simplified sun-ray oculate idols: Cabeçó d'Or, Alicante (5, 6, 8); Cova del Barranc del Migdia, Alicante (7); Abrigo II del Nacimiento del Río Frío, Jaén (9); Cova Roja II, Alicante (10) and Abrigo de las Covachicas, Albacete (11). Simplified sunray and anthropomorphised oculate idols: Abrigo I del Nacimiento del Río Frío, Soria (12); Abrigo pequeño de Las Viñas or La Calderita 2, Badajoz (13); Cabeçó d'Or, Alicante (14) and Cueva del Gitano, Albacete (15). Typical sun-ray and anthropomorphised oculate idols: Abrigo II de Meravelles, Valencia (16); Abrigo Grande de Cantos de la Visera, Murcia (17); Barranc dels Garrofers, Alicante (18); Cabeçó d'Or, Alicante (19); Abrigo 15 do Regato das Bouças, Bragança (20) and Abrigo 11 do Regato das Bouças (21), Bragança.

al. 2021; Gonçalves, 2020, Lillios, 2020, among others) associating the decorated plaques with advanced megalithism in the sense argued by G. and V. Leisner (1959). The dates obtained from megaliths in the Alentejo would place the decorated plaques from 3300 cal BC onwards. These recent datings, together with the absence of plaques in the small structures that would have been built in the first phase of Alentejo megaliths, would place them in a basically Chalcolithic chronology.

This proposal currently raises two issues that oblige us to rethink it. On the one hand, the poor chronological information on Alentejo megaliths. With approximately one thousand megaliths, the C14 dates do not even cover 10% of the total (Rocha, 2021, 255). On the other hand, the in-depth advances in the study of megalithic structures that resituate some of the hypotheses about their evolution and contents.

The lack of dating of the early phases of Alentejo megalithic activity has more evidence in the documentation of Perdigões, the great aggregation site of the megalithic territory of Évora, which has only been discovered in the 21st century. Plaques and bitriangulars reused in the 4th millennium cal BC place these typologies in earlier times than those accepted, breaking with the exclusively Chalcolithic chronology of the plaques. Their interpretation as pieces possibly reused from funerary contexts confirms dates prior to the installation of the site (Valera, 2020). If we add the data from other areas with representations of bitriangulars and plaques, such as those mentioned above in the Northwest, it is to be expected that a deeper knowledge of the chronologies of Alentejo megalithic art will provide a more precise dating for its most characteristic figurines.

Some direct dates such as those of the San Martin-El Miradero spatulas - Figure 10.2.1 - place the figurines in megalithic deposits at least from the beginning of the 4th millennium cal BC and throughout the millennium (Bosch, 2010; Bueno, 1992, 2010, 2020; Fernández Eraso and Mújika, 2015; Pascual, 2010; Soler, 2020; Villalobos *et al.* 2020), confirming an ancient phase in which objects on inorganic materials are difficult to date. As a whole, the direct chronologies and archaeological contexts highlight the striking contradiction between maintaining advanced dates for Alentejan decorated plaques and dates between the end of the 5th and beginning of the 4th millennium cal BC for other typologies or for the same decorated plaques in non-Alentejan territories. An example is the C14 V / IV cal BC dating of the dolmen of Portillo de las Cortes, in Guadalajara (Bueno *et al.* 2016c) with a fragment of San Martin-El Miradero spatula and a fragment of decorated plaque.

In the Alentejo there are references that point in the same direction. This is the case of the documentation of plaques embedded in the pit of orthostats that could only have been deposited at the time of the foundation of the megalith. We have collected one in the implantation pit of an orthostat from the dolmen of Maimón 1 in Alcántara for which we do not have a C14 date (Bueno *et al.* 1999). The aforementioned reused plaque from Anta dos Currais de Galhordas, in Castelo da Vide -Figure 12.3.1: 3-, was in one of the alveoli of its orthostats. The C14 date of the first half of the 4th millennium cal BC offers a very enlightening *postquem* reference of the reuses of these materials that consolidate their dates within the ancient phase of megalithism (Bueno, 2020b, 212). The reuses of plaques are integrated into the widespread framework of refactoring and reconstructions of megalithic monuments that justify, in turn, the movement of portable pieces to gather them at large sites (Bueno *et al.* 2008b, 2020, 214; Bueno *et al.* 2018).

The C14 dates obtained from paintings on megalithic orthostats reinforce the antiquity of the decorated plaques as dressed anthropomorphic versions associated with megalithic funerary deposits. The aforementioned direct dating of a painted plaque on an orthostat from the Antelas dolmen, Oliveira de Frades - Figure 13.2.1 - places it in the first half of the 4th millennium cal BC. The rest of the direct chronologies on paintings on the orthostats, arranged in geometric themes like the garments of the decorated plaques, support the first half of the 4th millennium cal BC as a time when these contents are widespread. The dates cited above for sites with schematic painting in the Northwest place plaques and bitriangulars at least from the beginning of the 4th millennium cal BC in the territories of the megalith-building groups in Northwest Iberia. Their shared graphic codes in both the Alentejo and the Southeast point to the fact that the figurines are not well dated in their presumed areas of origin (Bueno, 2010, 2020; Bueno *et al.* 2007). A similar situation can be deduced from the scarce data in the Northeast with dates from the end of the 5th and beginning of the 4th cal BC for the Gavá vase -Figure 10.1.1.1-, and for other pieces such as the Cal Metge stone with a head and the bitriangular figurine from the Timba del Barenys -Figure 6.1.2-, both from burials and related by the researcher to pieces from Almería (Bosch, 2010, 17).

On the other hand, a more dynamic interpretation of the use and transformation of the megaliths is combined with other factors that have contributed to changing the chronology of megaliths with respect to the interpretations of the 1970s and 1980s. The first is that the small structures interpreted as the earliest phase of megalithism are not generally so, but rather many of them are contemporary to the large structures (Bueno, 1994, Bueno *et al.* 2004a, Andrade *et al.* 2022). Therefore, the absence of plaques in small structures is not a chronological argument. We also know of more constant ritual gestures than was thought, such as the clearances of which we have data

as excavations are more detailed and include the study of the monuments of the necropolis (Aranda *et al.* 2018; Bello *et al.* 1994). Or the differences in deposits between burials (Bueno and Balbín 2006 d). We should also add that the absence of decorated plaques in small monuments has been somewhat neglected by updated research on this type of tombs (Bueno *et al.* 1999, 2011).

There is a lack of updated information for the Southeast, but the dating obtained both in *Rundgräber* and in corridor monuments confirm that the cruciforms and figurines documented in Churuletas, Llanos del Jautón or La Atalaya had an ancient phase with few preserved remains, reaching 3600 cal BC for the corridor chambers and 3300 cal BC for the *Rundgräber* (Aranda *et al.* 2017), the latter being the occupation with the most available data.

The chronologies for long bones and phalanges are related to those of the burials or the habitational areas where they have been located, but no direct dating is available. A dating programme for pieces made of bone is a necessary task, as the evidence of the movement of bones and grave goods may have led to the incorporation of older pieces, as has been proven with the direct dating of the decorated spatulas.

If we review the chronology of the various types of collective burials, the situation is similar. An ancient phase from at least the end of the 5th millennium cal BC widely recognisable in the Iberian territories at the beginning of the 4th millennium cal BC is not very visible as it has overlapped with the later occupations that throughout the 4th millennium and very intensely at least from 3600 cal BC are recognised in all types of monuments. The 3300 - 2200 cal BC range is the most compact in terms of data, including the last phases of occupation and construction of tombs with abundant burials and an important ritual display.

This final phase also presents important discoveries, as it was not accepted that the graphic codes we are dealing with were part of Bell Beaker contexts. However, the records from the Southwest and especially those from the artificial caves supported this long chronology (Bueno, 2010; Bueno *et al.* 2005b), which has recently been confirmed with abundant chronological references. We now suspect that the new "barrier" for its end, 2200 cal BC, may also provide surprises when tombs and enclosures still functioning during at least a third of the second half of the 3rd millennium cal BC are studied in more detail.

Merging all the combined data from different media, the symbol of the sun-eyes can easily be placed as a device of the groups involved in production systems in Iberia. We can rule out that it is an indicator of the arrival of a new colonial ideology in the 3rd millennium cal BC. Nor does it end with the supposedly radical changes in the Bell Beaker ritual. On the contrary, the narrative component of these ceramics -Figure 13.2.2-, unheard of in the rest of Europe, reveals the weight of the Iberian symbolic tradition and its long chronology (Bueno *et al.* 2017b).

A generalised spread of figurines between the second half of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd millennium cal BC is unquestionable. This repeats the same situation that we are beginning to define in the megalithic structures which, with these chronologies, spread and accumulate in large cemeteries, just as the agglomerations of moat enclosures or fortified settlements.

The evidence points to a remarkable demography that has at its disposal a high level of exchange of prestige raw materials introduced into the death displays. This phase of apogee is based on a long trajectory of Neolithic origin which, in the form of anthropomorphic vases, decorated orthostats, open-air paintings and figurines, brings together a unique inventory of symbolic codes in Europe.

13.3. Territories of Neolithic and Chalcolithic groups. Exhibitions of the past and language of ancestors.

If in previous chapters we have pointed out the need to integrate the interpretation of these pieces within the framework of complex funerary scenarios in which each component interacts with the rest, establishing an oral narrative, it is also necessary to include a brief overview of the location and information on the rest of the contemporary decorated media.

The documentation of stelae associated with the megaliths, pointed out by Siret and above all by Breuil (1917), was relegated to second place since Almagro Basch´s work (1966), which proposed advanced bronze chronologies for the statuary of recent Iberian prehistory.

There is currently an extensive inventory of stelae and menhirs in Iberia related to the megalithic territories, and more specifically to the Southwest in the area of contact between the Tagus and the Guadiana rivers. Évora and its rich megalithic environment would be the area with the greatest number of menhirs and megalithic stelae. Archaeological documentation in recent years has proposed Middle Neolithic contexts for these groups of stones, many of them decorated (Bueno *et al.* 2007a; Calado, 2002), which are also representative of other places in the Peninsula. Due totheir updated documentation, we will highlight the menhirs between Palencia and Cantabria (Villalobos *et al.* 2015), the menhirs of Catalonia and the Basque Country (Peñalver, 1983) or those recently made known from La Janera, in Huelva (Linares *et al.* 2022).

Beyond the chronology, which reiterates the framework that we have pointed out for the figurines: precedents in the 6th millennium cal BC, confirmed development in the 5th millennium cal BC, dates from the 4th to the

Figure 13.2.1. - 1. Antelas Dolmen, Oliveira de Frades. Motifs on the front slab of the chamber. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG): plaques with oculate and geometric decoration (2) and geometric decoration (3): - 2. Anta do Rabaçal, Montemor-o-Novo, Évora; - 3. La Pijotilla, Badajoz. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon (2) and Museo Arqueológico de Badajoz (3). Photographs: Rodrigo de Balbín (1), DGPC/ADF-José Paulo Ruas (2) and Eva Rocamora (3).

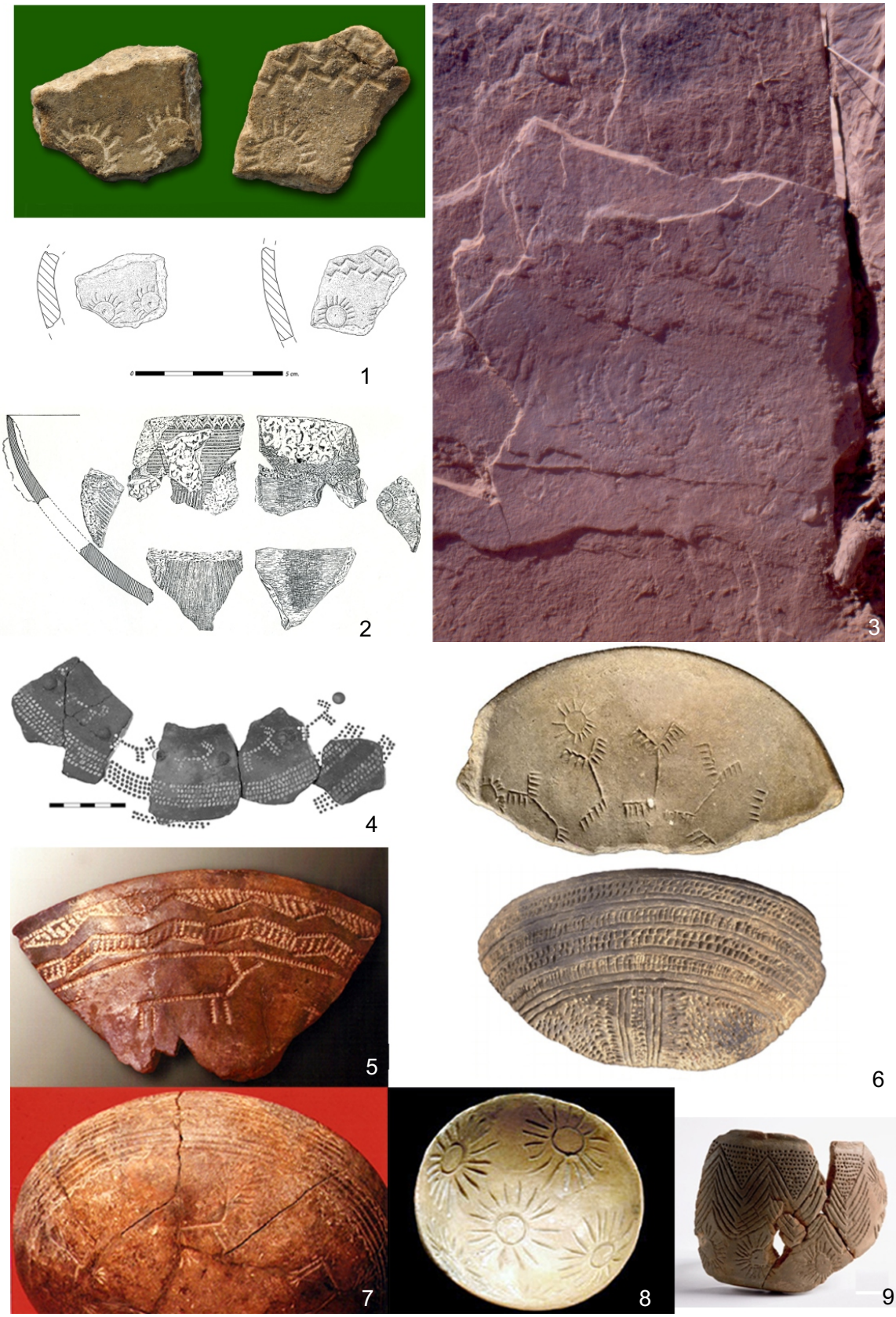


Figure 13.2.2. Symbolic Bell Beaker pottery and slab with sun-shape motifs: - 1. Las Vegas, Huecas, Toledo (Barroso et al. 2015); - 2. Cerro de la Virgen de Orce, Granada (Schüle and Pellicer, 1966); - 3. Decorated slab. Dolmen of Trincones, Alcántara, Cáceres (Bueno et al. 1999). Deer and sun-shapes in Ciempozuelos-style Bell Beaker pottery: - 4. San Blas, Cheles, Badajoz (Hurtado, 2004); - 5 and 7. Palmela, Portugal (Soares, 2003); - 8 and 9. Los Millares, Almería, Museo Arqueológico Nacional; 6. Las Carolinas, Madrid (Museo Arqueológico Regional de Madrid). Compiled in Bueno et al. 2017. Figures 5 and 6.

Figure 13.3.1. - 1. Anthropomorphic stele. Granite. Serra da Boulhosa, Paredes de Coura, Viana do Castelo, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon; - 2. Cromlech of Almendres, Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe, Évora, Portugal; - 3 - 4. "Idol of Peñatu", Puertas, Llanes. Photographs: ADF/DGPC- José Paulo Ruas (1), Rodrigo Balbín (2); João Carvalho, Wikimedia Commons (3) and Rodrigo de Balbín (4).

2nd millennium cal BC,it is interesting to note that the engravings, and sometimes paintings with which they were decorated, refer to themes known from the figurines. Particularly rectangular/trapezoidal faces in relief such as those on some decorated plaques and necklaces. This is the case of the stelae-menhirs of Portela de Mogos, Vale Maria do Meio and those documented on the menhirs of Almendres, in Évora (Calado, 2002; Cerrillo *et al.* 2019; Gomes, 1997) -Figure 13.3.1.

These large decorated stones, like others in the rest of the Iberian territory, reveal a defined landscape, marked and used since at least the Neolithic, with human images with codes recognisable to the populations that lived in these areas for more than four millennia. The antiquity of these decorations requires specific data, but some of these stelae-menhirs and menhirs were the first stone of megalithic structures, offering a *postquem* chronology for these processes of appropriation of open-air pieces in the closed burial of specific families or lineages (Bueno *et al.* 2015a).

With their correlation in schematic paintings, as in the case of the painted and engraved stele on the Peña Tú panel in Asturias -Figure 13.3.2- in the most visible area of a megalithic necropolis, these images occupied prominent positions in the megalithic territories (Bueno, 1990; Bueno *et al.* 2004b, 2005a, 2016b). There is no doubt that both the stelae reported in the literature, and others that have not come down to us, were part of the funerary scenarios. Inside and outside, statuary elements completed the stories that unfolded in everyday and funerary settings, through two and three dimensional representations of human images.

The megalithic contexts of these pieces, even with their chronological problems, were well founded. The cruciform stele of Serra Boulhosa in the megalith of the same name -Figure 13.3.1-, the statue of Paredes located next to a megalithic tumulus in Lugo (Vázquez, Seijas, 1936), those of Crato, Nossa Sra. da Esperança, Moncorvo -Figure 4.3.1-, Quinta do Counquinho, or Asquerosa (Arnal, 1976, Breuil, 1917; Vasconcelos, 1910), confirmed the presence of stone stelae on megalithic monuments in the North and South of Portugal. Dressed, with hoods on their heads or cloaks with geometric designs that also cover their sides, these images presided over the chambers and entrances of some megaliths.

The discovery of the clay stele from Montelirio, Seville, similar to these, with painted sun-eyes, along with that of the altar of tomb 17 in the necropolis of Panoria, Granada, places these contents in the 4th and 3rd cal millennium BC (Bueno *et al.* 2023) -Figure 13.3.2.2.

The Iberian territory is presented as a laboratory for questions about its capacity to generate symbols that spread to Southeast France and the Southern Alps on the one hand (Bueno *et al.* 2009a, 2019a), to the Atlantic seaboard on the other (Bueno *et al.* 2015b, 2022a) and, as has recently been confirmed, to North Africa. These were territories with which prestige goods were exchanged, used in collective burials, the Peninsula being a platform for the stimulation and management of these movements of raw materials. The capacity for surplus that these tombs exhibit begins in the early stages of megalithism, in populations that already had very elaborate graphic codes. Agricultural production, which can be seen in the objects that appear in the burials, is added to the management of raw materials such as flint, variscite, gold, ivory, amber and copper. Competition between families and lineages for the control of these resources required strong symbolic links which, in the colonial hypothesis, were related to late dates.

The idea of an exclusively recent chronology fitted easily into the diffusionist readings that are being recovered with post-processualism. However, research in recent years has suggested several elements for reflection which have been discussed here. Indeed, the compactness of the dates between 3300 and 2200 cal BC as the peak of the use of moat enclosures and fortified enclosures, of megaliths, man-made caves and natural caves is shared throughout Europe, but no interpretation has yet emerged that advocates this chronology for the whole of megalithic art.

The conservation of collective burials has well-known problems, but the possibilities of conservation of more recent deposits that have not undergone subsequent transformations are greater than those of older deposits. Perhaps this explains why most of the accumulations of decorated objects, figurines, axes, adzes and others, have their most relevant data in the later occupations of the collective burials. These elaborate deposits could also respond to the progressive complexity of a ritual in which ostentation and the display of high-value pieces: ivory, gold... reached increasingly higher levels at times of very intense connectivity, which have been related to the Bell Beaker culture.

The most elaborate deposits are placed certainly from mid/late 4th millennium cal BC to the first half of the 3rd millennium cal BC. Their components use tradition as another element of the funerary display, so it seems convincing that many of the figurines would have been reused, although this does not prevent them from continuing to be manufactured, as can be seen from the workshop documentation. In the case of the plaques, this is an increasingly well documented fact. Some were collected from nearby monuments in a process that we have also been able to reconstruct in the external anthropomorphic stone devices.

This 3300-2200 cal BC range, which was considered the origin of the figurines, is, with the data we now have, the best documented moment of demographic concentration, social display and symbolic deployment in the recent prehistory of Southern Europe.

The use of death scenes as systems of social control must have had visible benefits, as it spread and was shared in a large part of the Iberian Peninsula by means of objects that brought together ancestral meanings and whose typology and craftsmanship stand out in Europe as a whole. The past is used in all these funerary scenarios as a political argument where ancestry is exhibited through the recovery of ancient stelae and menhirs, and figurines that place the personages in specific origins and connections.

The identity information that these pieces provide enriches the social narrative of the generations who, at least since the 5th millennium cal BC, were constructing and assuming collective histories that were displayed in the burials of prominent lineages and families in order to justify their position. The diachrony of Iberian funerary scenarios, the sophistication and symbolism of their components and their integration in territories marked by paintings, engravings, stelae and menhirs, are relevant factors for situating the Peninsula as a key territory in recent European prehistory.

The contextual data and direct chronologies of human representations on Iberian megaliths consolidate the beginning of the 4th millennium cal BC as the time of the spread of the figurines. The disparate chronologies between areas with new discoveries and the classical areas encourage us to intensify research in the latter, in order to establish with greater precision dates and contexts that

Figure 13.3.2. Above. Orthophotograph of the necropolis of Panoría (Darro, Granada) with the location of grave 17. Excavation of tomb 17 with the position of the stele and details of its structure. Photos G. Aranda. Below. Front, back, and the two sides of the altar stele. The eyes in relief can be seen, as well as the punctures that delimit them and the fine wolf's-tooth incisions on the front. The back is natural, although the blow to fracture the lower part and the concave carving to perhaps mark the legs can be seen. On the sides there are traces of colour in oblique lines parallel to each other. Photos R. de Balbín, according to Bueno et al. 2023. Figures 2 and 6.

are fully interwoven in the broad trajectory of symbols produced within the framework of the Iberian producer groups.

The death scenes held diverse memories, those of the deceased, those of their families and lineages, those of their origin, those that told the stories of the group, all displayed in the various forms of human images that represented them. The research of the last twenty years on the figurines collected in the exhibition and scientific project Ídolos. *Miradas Milenarias*, have made it possible to offer a more holistic interpretation of the role of sun-dressed images, mostly female, from the 6th to the 3rd millennium cal BC, as part of the widespread symbolic and cultural codes of the inhabitants of one of the richest areas of connectivity in Southern Europe during Recent Prehistory, the Iberian Peninsula.

Chapter 14
The Daughters of the Sun, Testimony of the Social Relations and Connectivities in Late Iberian Prehistory

The sculptures of human bodies that accompanied those who carried them in life and death mark the trajectory of research into recent Iberian prehistory. Their interpretation placed them as one of the historicist strongholds that shaped the arguments of diffusionism, supporting foreign origins for both the Neolithic and the Chalcolithic eras. Research since the end of the 20th century has expanded the information on them and this volume offers some of the guidelines that update their study as an *item* of high social value and marked identity content.

14.1. **Figurines in Iberia.**

The portable representations of small bodies, mostly of women, were made on organic (bones of domestic and wild animals) and inorganic (clay, various stones, gold) raw materials, on which the faces are engraved and painted with noticeable eyes and the pubis, with few details of the rest of the body. They are sometimes depicted with garments that cover the head,feet and hands, or with elaborate hairstyles suggesting that they were not all covered with these cloaks. Portable because of their size and weight, they were used as pendants, but there were larger versions displayed as small stelae. Some of them may have been placed on clay or wooden altars, composing scenarios that grouped various figurines with other objects, especially weapons/ tools of 'apparatus' (axes, adzes, staffs, boomerangs) accompanied by ivory or gold jewelled dagger sheaths, and containers that may have been used to store dye, perhaps hair or perfume elements (ivory boxes, cut-out long bones, spatulas).

The good preservation of some grave goods reveals that on occasions these pieces were placed on coloured cloth like a tablecloth, in the context of burials with corpses wearing clothing similar to some of the figurines, as in the case of the women from Montelirio, Seville, with cloaks down to their feet, as much "apparatus" as the weapons mentioned above. Neither clothing nor objects are representations of everyday uses, but rather models of an elaborate ritual that places its components in significant pieces, with the human female images playing a special role.

A display of funerary scenarios in which each of its components has a certain role that may have changed over time, being enriched or transformed, as in the case of the the biography of the megalithic structures, their grave goods and surviving human remains.

More than 6,000 small bodies, mostly of women, constitute a portable record that has its best references in the open-air parietal record and in the megaliths. Adding them up, we would probably come close to more than 10,000 cases of human images that occupied different positions in everyday and funerary contexts from the 6th to the 3rd millennium cal BC in Iberia, a unique ensemble unprecedented in other European territories.

Their quantity is an aspect that we have sought to emphasise, as the examples collected by Siret, many of them published in earlier compendia by Cartailhac, Leite de Vasconcellos, Estacio da Veiga and others, were always the same ones. Bringing them together in a reference base explains why these repertoires were exceptional in a way that has now been completely overtaken by events. In certain territories and in certain contexts, figurines are very common elements and it is to be expected that their present number will multiply when we have exhaustive inventories.

The use of the same formulas on different media takes on two levels. A broader one that informs on their impact on the territory, both in the open air and in everyday life and in the tombs, and the other, at the level of identity specialisations, by means of different coloured media and stereotyped geometric shapes that are grouped in specific geographies where there are also workshops with a distribution that we can follow. Only in Iberia do portable figurines have direct references in open-air parietal art and in megaliths, with a very evident presence, in both quantity and quality. This fact suggests a series of reflectionson the type of society, demographics, or their capacities for connectivity that should open up a discussion that is more in tune with the representativeness of these materialities.

This impressive inventory includes versions of complete or partial bodies, dressed or naked, in different raw materials and sizes, with different positions in the same or different contexts and with a diachrony of at least three millennia. The figurines were interpreted as the expression of a *Mother Goddess* who arrived in the Peninsula with Eastern colonisers, whose origin was first in Cyprus and Anatolia and later in areas of the Western Mediterranean where these symbolic codes do not have the power, ubiquity and diachrony that they show in Iberia.

Figure 14.1.1. - 1. Decorated box. Limestone, Tholos do Barro, Torres Vedras, Lisbon. Zoomorphic amulets. Green stone: - 2. Necrópole de Carenque, Gruta II, Amadora, Lisbon; - 3-4. Gruta das Lapas, Torres Novas, Santarém. Bone zoomorphic pendants: - 5-7. Necropolis of Murvierdro, Murcia; - 4. 1-4: Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon; 5-7: Museo Arqueologico de Murcia. Photographs ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (1-4) and Museo Arqueológico de Murcia (5-7).

These ideas have had and continue to have a significant weight in the interpretation of the symbolism of Southern Europe, which is why the analysis of the small objects that we have proposed has a projection on the rest of the graphic products that are linked, without any solution of continuity, between the portable, parietal and sculptural versions of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic populations. It is difficult to understand one without the others, despite the effort of isolation that Iberian historiography has devoted to figurines or some specific typologies of figurines as *items* indicative of diffusionist processes on a greater or lesser scale.

Their study puts us face to face with the ideas and transformations that involve two opposing ways of presenting the symbolic: as alien to materiality or as part of it, which produces very different interpretations when dealing with these records. This tension becomes more evident as the archaeological arguments bring down, qualify and specify the basic premises of the argument of the *Mother Goddess*, now practically forgotten for the ancient Neolithic and with great problems of chronological positioning for the Chalcolithic.

In order to approach the different aspects of past and present interpretations and the lines of future work, it is essential to gather the historiographical trajectory that allows us to follow the thread of the interpretation of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic repertoire, practically up to the beginning of the 21st century. Their arguments persist in the attribution of graphic forms as foreign products, especially figurines and schematic art.

The intention of proposing a starting point for a systematisation of a structuralist nature has led us to analyse their geometric bases, the codes represented, or the preference for certain raw materials. With these tools we aim to define work systems, and possible workshops and circuits in the framework of very powerful archaeological contexts such as collective burials, moat enclosures and fortified enclosures, which show connectivities from which symbolic products are not excluded.

The wealth of images of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Iberian cultures is an exceptional reference for establishing points of support for the oral stories displayed on different media, including portable ones. This exercise can only be tackled by taking into account the archaeological contexts, whose chronology offers references for another very relevant factor in the interpretation: the diachrony of symbolic codes with roots in the Upper Palaeolithic and, above all, in the Neolithic, and peak sequences throughout the 3rd millennium cal BC, some of which have survived to the present day. There is a lot of room for studies, analyses and interpretations of a record of enormous informative value that can be explored in lines of research more in line with the archaeology of small objects.

Figure 14.1.2. Anthropomorph with mask. "Idol" from Barranc dels Garrofers, Planes, (Hernández, Barciela and Torregrosa, 2018, Figure 7). Photograph Virginia Barciela and F. Javier Molina.

An overview such as we propose offers both advantages and disadvantages. We do not develop detailed case studies, which is a certain disadvantage, but given that most of the information on these records has focused precisely on particular cases (Lancharro and Bueno, 2020), we understand that this general approach is in itself a positive argument in order to publicize the state of knowledge of figurines in the Iberian Peninsula. Our aim is not to offer a closed volume of knowledge but to provide a starting point that we believe can be useful for research that includes figurines in archaeological methodology in all senses. Not only and clearly in the contexts in which they are located, but also with archaeometric analyses that provide quality knowledge about their raw material sources, their working techniques, their traceology, their different uses and reuses, workshops and circuits, connectivities and possible direct chronologies. An utmost priority is to obtain scientific data in order to know how these representations of human bodies have been worked, recycled and handled.

Gathering some of the evidence in these directions opens up a wide range of possibilities that have not yet been developed.

One of our objectives has been to include the figurines in the Peninsular images of the same chronology as a whole, in order to take them out of their interpretative isolation and put them in symbolic contexts that formulate shared narratives of which the figurines are one of the components.

Data from megalithic art provide little used information on the gender and age of human depictions, on the representativeness of certain forms, or on the aggregation of images that megaliths in particular, and collective burials in general, portray. Analysing the gender of the figurines without taking into account the information displayed in schematic parietal art through scenes where many of them interact, is to take a part for the whole and relegate data which is very relevant in understanding the stories that underpinned the social organisation of the Iberian producer groups. The images and masks of women played an important role in all areas, revealing that they were the protagonists of many of the stories that united, identified and sustained the social order of these human groups.

14.2. **Historiographical trajectories and women in Iberian Prehistory.**

The information currently available on figurines in the Iberian Peninsula goes beyond the traditional ranges in their study, which have focused almost exclusively on typology and their origin in Eastern religious versions as a result of the arrival of colonisers from Cyprus and Anatolia (Acosta, 1968; Almagro, 1973; Arribas, 1982) and, more recently, from the Central and Western Mediterranean (Martínez, 2006). The figurines take centre stage in Orientalist discourses by locating in each of their body and clothing characteristics, specific origins in Eastern enclaves for the more classical Iberian types without detailing in these parallels references to sun-eyes: Hacilar, Troy, Knossos, Kirokitia, Erimi Kalandriahni, or Vounos Velapais, while these parallels would not be so easy to establish for the betyls and for the pieces made on bone (Almagro Gorbea, 1973, 281). The figurines become an *item* isolated from the rest of their cultural context, forging an increasingly dissymmetrical line with the rest of the materiality of recent Iberian prehistory.

Two aspects are closely related to these proposals: their chronology and their geography. In the first case, chronology, the sun-eyed pieces could only be dated to the Late Neolithic and Chalcolithic from the installation at Los Millares or in the Chalcolithic time frame. We now know that the oldest codifications of human images with sun-eyes appear in the Early Neolithic, mainly on anthropomorphic vases - Figs. 3.3.1; 10.1.1 and 10.1.1.2 - Similar images in schematic art are not dated, but may constitute another repertoire of the same date which will have to be confirmed when we have the chronology of these records. The geography of the South was indisputably related to the figurines, due to their assumed origin in the Southeast, but the advances of knowledge has pointed to two new lines in the geography of the figurines. On the one hand, the potential of the Southwestern inventory, which seems to be older than the Southeastern one, although we are aware that the scarcity of updated research in the Southeast is a factor whose impact we cannot calculate. On the other hand, the documentation of figurines in the parietal and megalithic art of the Northwest, and the extensive record of anthropomorphic stones with recognisable symbologies in the South extends the territories of the figurines, and confirms chronologies of the 4th millennium cal BC. These dates begin to transform not only ideas about their geography but their chronology and their impact on the Western seaboard of European megalithism (Bueno and Balbín, 2002, Bueno *et al.* 2015a, 2022b; Scarre, 2020; Jones and Diaz-Guardamino, 2019).

It is difficult to contrast the updated data on the study of these portable materials with the historiography that built its interpretation on the historicist vision of recent Iberian prehistory. The oriental goddesses of the first researchers fitted into a vision of the past where women had no recognised roles in social organisation (Sanchez Romero, 2022). The abundant female images that from the Palaeolithic period onwards fixed social narratives were merely a reflection of foreign beliefs, without taking into account their number, ubiquity, raw materials, diachrony and typological differences, which, from the earliest documentation, stood out in comparison with Continental and Mediterranean productions.

The trajectory of this historiography from Siret's ideas, much criticised but systematically "reused" and justified with the same pieces (see RBD, in chapter 9) until the 1970s, did not begin to change until almost the end of the 20th century, where we can place the beginning of a more critical approach in relation to the first studies on C14 chronologies. This dating system broke new ground in the study of megalithic art in Renfrew's famous book (1973) by demonstrating with scientific data that the cultural products of European megalithic art were earlier than those of the Near East, including the structures. Despite this, the figurines, an inseparable part of the deposits of Iberian megaliths, remained entrenched as a bastion of Orientalist interpretations which, together with schematic art, continued to be related to an Oriental origin. Neither were tackled with archaeological methodologies -excavations, direct dating- until the late 20th century, which explains the dichotomy between research into structures and bioarchaeology of the megalithic records as opposed to descriptive inventories without much verifiable information, both of the figurines and of parietal art. The most notable change has come from the study of the decorations on the megaliths, applying systematic direct dating and pigment characterisation for the parietal versions of the figurines (Bueno *et al.* 2007a; Carrera and Fábregas, 2002), as well as the study of the oldest foundations of Iberian schematic art, which demonstrate that the population abandonment

Figure 14.2.1. Plaques as references for megalithic orthostats. - 1-4. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG). Simple trapezoidal plaques "with hands" (1, 2 and 4) and composite, with prominent head (3) with incised decoration (2-3) and in bas-relief (1 and 4). Anta da Horta, Alter do Chão, Portalegre. Direção Regional de Cultura – Alentejo. Below, Anta da Cunha Baixa. Photographs ADF/DGPC- José Paulo Ruas (1-4) and Francisco Javier Torres Goberna.

did not exist and therefore, neither did the oblivion of techniques and themes of the hunter-gatherer groups' systems of expression which included the prominence of female representations (Bueno and Balbín, 2021).

In this long trajectory, the proposed Eastern parallels were never justified by concrete contexts, detailed chronologies, associations, exchanges or any other type of references that would allow an interpretation to be sustained, beyond similarities of shapes. Despite the references to Cypriot decorated plaques (Almagro Gorbea, 1973), there is no other ensemble of decorated plaques more compact, unique and with its own evolution than those from the Alentejo. Nor are there anthropomorphic versions similar to the Iberian ones, as Arribas (1977) argued in the discovery of the Malagón. The same could be said of the rest of the typologies, whose variety is unique in Europe as a whole (Bueno and Soler, 2021a and c). Another question is that these pieces show connections with areas with which raw materials such as cinnabar, ivory, gold and other products were exchanged; or that, very possibly, given their compactness and cultural representativeness, they may have influenced other Mediterranean or Continental territories with which Iberia maintained relations for the acquisition/movement of prestigious raw materials (Bueno *et al.* 2005b, 2015b, 2019a, 2022a).

The association between Orientalist discourses and monotheistic religion has given an ideological nature to the cultural transformations of production that goes beyond the scope of this book. Any shift towards production was justified in a new social order, and religion was the ideology underpinning these changes. The *Mother Goddess* would represent the principle of female fertility identifying the agricultural religions, religions that present elements recognisable in those that are familiar to us now, without establishing how much our religions come from ancient roots or how much of a transfer to the past from the present these interpretations have. The cycles of birth, death and reproduction, characterised by the movements of the sun and the moon, are personified in feminine, masculine, infant and adult images at a global level in a large part of the agricultural cultures, raising questions to be solved by the theoretical framework of cognitive archaeology. Understanding nature and integrating it into culture involves anthropomorphising its prominent topographies, astronomical events and other elements of the world around us, through names and oral histories shared in a movement that remains recognisable.

Research has pointed out the parallelism between our ways of adopting religion as a justification of social order, and the one we attribute to the past (Ucko, 1996), an aspect that is reinforced by also assuming a female divinity giving birth to a young male god, as proposed by V. Gonçalves (2006b, 171) for the Lapa do Bugio plaque-Figure 4.4.3: 3. Women, or at least a woman, the universal *Dea Mater*, are recognised in divinity, but not in everyday life in which the contributions of women in the generation and maintenance of culture have been practically ignored until almost the 21st century (Sánchez Romero, 2022). The close and sometimes unique relationship between women and religion has relegated the study of informative aspects of the figurines in a dynamic extended to other symbolic productions. A circular argument in which the religious aspects are not everyday, therefore, are disassociated from the study of materiality, *ergo* they are not approached in the same way as archaeological *items.*

Removed from the earthly world, the symbols end up as unformalized, nor formalizable arguments, in which any interpretation seems tenable, as we said at the beginning of this work. The problems of interpretation of the first Iberian historiographical versions had some archaeological explanation, but more recently published writings seem to be exempt from the rigour required of other archaeological studies, even in high-impact journals. Fortunately, there are many works that provide valuable ideas on the use of symbols in recent European prehistory as one more element of the mechanisms of social relations, without their functionality extracting them from their archaeological study (Bueno and Bahn, 2015; Bradley, 2022, 2020, among many others).

The construction of historicist discourses in recent Iberian prehistory was accompanied by some ideas that have lasted longer than is archaeologically acceptable. On the one hand, a supposedly drastic departure of the population after the end of the last glacier that would have left a deserted peninsula to which colonisers arrived in the early Neolithic (Bueno and Balbín, 2016). This hypothesis took hold from the middle of the 20th century until well towards its end, without explaining why the peninsular populations had disappeared, but not those of the rest of Europe, especially those most affected by the cold, such as those of Northern Europe, where, on the contrary, Palaeolithic lifestyles continued to develop, including portable female representations (Bueno and Balbín, 2021).

On the other hand, the Neolithic colonisation, which brought the first wheat and domestic animals, was followed by a Chalcolithic colonisation in search of metal. The former would have arrived accompanied by graphic expressions such as schematic parietal art. The metal prospectors would have brought to Los Millares more formalised expressions of the *Mother Goddess* that would give rise to the *Idols.* Two graphic stages were thus assumed, one of generically Neolithic schematic art that affected the colonised territories from the Levantine focal point and the other of representations of the *Mother Goddess* that spread throughout the South of the peninsula from the Los Millares focal point (Almagro and Arribas, 1963; Martínez, 2006, Gonçalves, 2020).

As we have pointed out, the progress made in the study of collective burials, and especially of megaliths, has not had an

impact on the dating, interpretation and evaluation of these portable records to the extent of the research applied to the structures and other aspects of megalithism. This book offers references for the integration of portable images into the interpretation of megalithic scenarios, relating the portable forms with the parietal ones and proposing chronologies associated with the dynamics of the megaliths themselves, a line with positive results (Bueno, 1992, 2010, 2020; Bueno and Balbín, 1992, 2022a, Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2007a, 2019b). Their contexts and chronologies in caves with collective burials in non-megalithic areas broaden the scope for discussion in chronologies prior to those assumed in classical historiography (Soler, 2020).

Iberian historiography has not yet fully exploited the informative value of female representation in the material collected in this book. Well into the 20th century, some works began to unveil what the figurines contribute to the representation of women in the societies of the past. These readings have basically been approached in two directions: as a growing inventory of women's bodies in the funerary context, to which the inventory of portable figures could be added, or as an argument for establishing guidelines for studying the different roles of women in areas of everyday life and events. In addition to these lines of research there are approaches that underline the difficulty of considering the gender of these images, without forgetting those that maintain their relationship with the *Mother Goddess*, opening up a range of hypotheses that broaden those that had been considered up until almost the 1990s. Identity, heritage, lineage, long diachronies, handling and reuse involving erasing and new decorations make up complex registers whose different interpretative nuances cannot ignore the fact that the basis of the human images we are dealing with is founded on feminine representation (Andrade, 2015; Andrade *et al.* 2021; Bueno, 2010, 2020; Bueno and Soler, 2021b; Bueno *et al.* 2016a, 2023; Barciela, 2020; Boaventura, 2011; Escoriza, 1997; García *et al.* 2020; Gonçalves, 2020; Maicas, 2020; Martínez *et al.* 2020; Rocha, 2020; Valera, 2020, 2021).

The prominence of female images - Figs. 1.4.1; 14.2.2 - also proposes a larger scale consideration. Throughout European prehistory, the symbols of the masculinity and femininity have been classified by their relationship with animals and signs, by their clothing, by the representaion of their sexual organs and by the objects that accompanied them (Gero and Conkey, 1991; Leroi-Gourhan, Laming Emperaire and Robb, 2009, Robb and Harris, 2018, among others). Many of these classifications are not objectifiable as they are very close to presentist concepts of masculine and feminine. The most common example is the use of ornaments by women and weapons by men. Fortunately, in recent years, more nuanced readings of these affiliations have recognised the difficulty of applying these attributions without criticism (Gaydarska *et al.* 2023). Very significant developments in this regard include the acknowledgement of breasts in male representations (Valera, 2020), of possible

Figure 14.2.2. Example of a small, portable figurine that helps to expand concepts. Female human figurine (FH) in clay. Monte Novo dos Albardeiros, Reguengos de Monsaraz, Évora. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. Photographs: ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (5).

female characters in pieces with male sex (Escoriza, 1998, 92), of portrayals of families or groups that in different sizes reproduce similar symbolic codes (Bueno *et al.* 2017a; Harrison and Heyd, 2007; Vella Gregory, 2020; Palaguta, 2020), the identification of ornaments and weapons on male and female statues, and that of clothing, sexual characters and painted objects on Cycladic figurines (Sotirakoupoulos, 2020). These examples are but a few observations that confirm the need to qualify gender classifications on the basis of external elements whose deeper meanings we do not know. In this context, the idea of masking as part of the oral narratives expressed by these pieces has been present since the Upper Palaeolithic and is reasonable for some of the pieces we are dealing with (Bueno, 2020a). The images of women take on a more prominent role if, in addition to their more identifiable portrayals, we assume that part of these inventories represent human images with women's masks, more precisely establishing their social value in the stories they protagonize.

Since the Upper Palaeolithic, historiography has assumed a sequence between the prominence of masculinity and femininity as the images of power in predatory and productive lifestyles. Masculine references would come to the fore again in the Bronze Age with warrior societies. Frameworks that need much review and data that are neither sufficient nor convincing at the moment. A brief review of how these male/female *versus* war-hunting/reproduction sequences are proposed in different European contexts contemporary to the Iberian figurines is enough to make the contradictions of this type of dichotomies visible.

In Breton megalithism, the prominence of the first open-air structures, the menhirs, has been understood as the manifestation of a religion of male images, which, brought down with the construction of the megaliths, would represent a non-peaceful change towards a religion based on female images (Cassen *et al.* 2009; L'Helgouach, 1983). This change is dated to the 5th millennium cal BC. In the South of France, the menhir statues would be male images during the 4th millennium cal BC (when Brittany had a religion of female images) and many of them would be erased and transformed into female images during the 3rd millennium cal BC. In both cases, the *damnatio* would be visible in the breakage and new decorations made over old erased phases. Without wishing to go into further detail, these are just a few cases that reveal the need for deeper consideration of the processes of retaking pieces and their re-signification. In the current state of our knowledge, it is not very convincing to interpret the megalithic art of the Atlantic seaboard as the product of very different and even opposing narratives. It is also difficult to assume that the menhir statues of Southern France are very different in content from the identical pieces of Northern Iberia and Cantabria, or the very similar ones from the sub-Alpine area, where erasing and re-engraving is not interpreted as transformation from masculine to feminine, but as a dynamic process of searching for and recreating the past (Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2022; Harrison and Heyd; Hofmann, 2020, among others).

Since the first works on the figurines, their painted open air versions have been recorded as a reference to be taken into account, as have the statuary versions of the megaliths (Breuil, 1935; Siret, 1908, among others). However, these synchronies have not been developed for what they are, a wealth of information, unique in Europe, on the ways in which highly codified human images, mostly female, protagonize explicit actions of a collective nature. They provide references for interpreting the portable images as a way of establishing oral records of collective stories in individual protagonists who form part of ritual scenarios in which each piece dramaticizes a part of the message. None of the pieces can be understood without the rest, which adjectivise the human figures both by their activity (agricultural, metallurgical, extractive or others) and by their origin (Alentejo, Lisbon, Perdigões - Pijotilla, the East or others) and, most probably, also provide us with information about their age, status and gender.

The discussion that has arisen from the return to these frameworks with the work of Robb and Harrison (2018), gives a new dimension to the informative value of the Iberian figurines in the European context. The lack of knowledge of their number, shapes, costumes, contexts, agency and chronology has caused one of the ensembles with the greatest evidence of gender identification that we know of in Europe to be overlooked. Considering that the discussion is once again focused on the absence / scarcity of sexed images in the Neolithic and on the representation of the male gender in the Bronze Age, the Iberian figurines stand as the greatest argument for female protagonism in the stories that underpin Neolithic and Chalcolithic social relations.

14.3. Portability, workshops and circuits of women's bodies. Agency and fluidity between everyday and funerary aspects.

If there is one characteristic that makes these pieces an archaeological material of high informative value, it would be their portability. Certainly there are other portable items, an aspect that has justified the movement of ceramic vessels, ornamental materials, polished pieces or metallurgical objects (Becker, 2020; Maclure, 2007; Naumov, 2017, Hofmann, 2020; Rodríguez Rellán *et al.* 2020; Odriozola *et al.* 2017; Vander Linden, 2014, among others). The figurines move concepts and values of the social organisations that produce them. They are a portable device that allows us to follow, confirm, compute and establish some connectivities of recent Iberian prehistory.

The proposals that we have discussed about the relationships between different Iberian territories and between these, the Continent, the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, have been formalised on the basis of various studies. Especially in areas where the presence of the graphic codes of the figurines was not contemplated, where their existence has not only been demonstrated, but also their ancient chronologies, which supposes an important renewal of the traditional hypotheses that still has a long way to go.

As has happened with the interpretation of megalithism, historicist ideas of evolution from the simple to the complex have been relegated by the forcefulness of contemporary chronologies in a single space or different space burials, as well as in collective burials in different containers. Both in Iberia and in the rest of Europe (Laporte and Bueno, 2016, 2022; Müller *et al.* 2011, among others), C14 dates from the second half of the 5th millennium cal BC to the 2nd millennium cal BC are shared in different structures.

Assuming the idea that the different structures are specialised cultural responses in defined territories (Bueno, 1988, 1991, 1994; Bueno *et al.* 2004a, 2016b; Jorge, 1993; da Cruz, 1995, among others), the distribution of the identity versions of the figurines -Figure 14.3.1- adds an unprecedented source of data about those who used these structures,

Figure 14.3.1. Identity symbols on different media. Expression of eyebrows as crooks. Geometric anthropomorphic figure (FAG) in stone. Truncated cone. "Betyl": - 1. Casaínhos, Loures, Lisbon; Ideomorphic objects (Fx) ceramic vessels (2-4) and stone crook (5): - 2. Anta Grande da Comenda da Igreja, Montemor-o- Novo, Évora; - 3. Anta do Carvalho, Mora, Évora; - 4. Anta 1 da Herdade da Moita, Mora, Évora; - 5. Anta 2 da Lobeira de Baixo, Montemor-o-Novo, Évora. Photographs ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas.

which in themselves expressed specific ways of building in specific territories (Bueno, 2020b). The data on their connectivities enrich those offered by other materials, such as ornaments, which usually reflect more or less close distances of provisioning, or the geological selection of building supports and tools, enriching the possibilities of interpreting these records (Boaventura, 2011).

The updating of these studies draws close connections between the Lisbon Peninsula and the Alentejo, and between the Alentejo and the Algarve and the Guadalquivir. Limestones and marbles from the quarries of Évora reached the productions of Vila Nova de São Pedro (Martins *et al.* 2021), while very pure limestone claddings coat pieces from the surroundings of the Lisbon Peninsula (Días *et al.* 2018). Emulations of raw materials with Alentejan provenance extend in deposits with artefactual pieces, both towards Lisbon and towards the South where these records are less studied. The ivories of the human figurines from Perdigões - Figs. 2.2.2, 8.1 and 11.3.1 - show similar provenances to those from the Guadalquivir where the Valencina de la Concepción deposits include burials with complete elephant tusks from Africa or with vessels containing amber pellets from Sicily (Murillo Barroso *et al.* 2018), placing this area as a supplier and distributor of quality products acquired in the great ceremonial centres of the Guadiana. The dates of Montelirio, and PP4 in Seville, set a peak time of these exchanges between the end of the 4th and the middle of the 3rd millennium cal BC, the period of greatest growth and spread of the figurines.

The use of special pigments and specific mixtures adds another reference of connectivities. On the one hand, some figurines were covered with applications of coloured clays (Maicas, 2020; Soler, 2020) such as those found on orthostats, reinforcing the symbiosis between these and other representations of human bodies (Bueno, 2010; Bueno *et al.* 2005a). On the other hand, cinnabar as a specialised pigment originating in the Almadén mines, in Ciudad Real, offers a reality of specific searches for products that were distributed from the interior throughout the South, as well as probably reaching Southeast France (Bueno *et al.* 2019a and b). Corpses and figurines were covered with cinnabar, a strong argument to assume that they were given the same treatment. Colour 'dressed' these productions by contributing to endowing them with recognisable characteristics, including the selection and application of colours as part of their manipulation and, in that sense, of the agency of these pieces (Bueno *et al.* 2016a). The connectivities shown by the use of cinnabar are followed not only by the relevance of funerary reds applied to corpses and objects, but also by the coincidence of geometric bases, technical resources and symbolic codes of statuary pieces in the sub-Alpine area, especially Italy, Switzerland and France with Iberian portable pieces, and more specifically through the impact of plaques and cylinders (Bueno, 2010, 2020; Bueno *et al.* 2009a).

Connectivities between the Alentejo and Northern Portugal were systematically neglected in research, but the painted decorations and megalithic sculptures of the North, together with the innovation of their schematic art, open new windows for more comfortable readings in a Peninsula without marked topographical boundaries (Bueno *et al.* 2012, 2022b).

A general review of the current situation of Iberian typologies and their territorial location supports a preponderance of the Southwestern area in terms of chronology, number of *items,* evidence of workshops and distribution circuits, as well as diverse contexts of complex rituals. The outstanding numerical representation of the decorated plaques adds to their extension and dispersion as far as Southeast France, providing unique data for broader reflections on the connectivity between the Iberian centres of the Southwest and those of the European subalpine area, as we have mentioned. Their presence in the North of the Iberian Peninsula, with some examples on the Eastern seaboard, also makes plaques the most widespread form of portable representations in Iberia, in addition to their representations on orthostats it should be considered how many of these symbolic codes are present in the decorations on the media of monuments in the rest of the Atlantic (Bueno and Balbín, 2002; Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2007a, 2015a, 2016a, 2019a).

In Iberia, the world of death is the one that offers the greatest number of records, which is most evident in some of the typologies, such as the decorated plaques. Their documentation in habitation sites, aggregation or extractive sites adds social aspects that until a few years ago were only recognised in Continental art ensembles. As we have repeatedly pointed out, we lack quality information for funerary inventory records, an absence that is more visible in the study of other records. Nevertheless, some observations on the fluidity between funerary pieces reused in other contexts offer interesting lines of work on the fluidity that existed between corpses, objects, stones and figurines of diverse structures, whose biographies involved transfers and resignifications (Andrade *et al.* 2015; Bueno, 2010, 2020; Valera, 2020). Undoubtedly part of the agency between those who built and carried out collective burials involved that dynamic of movement to recycle pasts by generating new narratives (Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2016c).

The workshops located around Évora and perhaps at some point in Crato - Nisa - Portalegre, supplied these pieces to most of the burials in the Alentejo, and some may have reached the dolmens in Salamanca, the Iberian interior, the Algarve and the Lisbon Peninsula (Andrade *et al.* 2021; Bueno, 1988, 1992, 2020; Cardoso, Parreira and Morán, 2020). The ones we know of in the North were made in other raw materials, emulating those from Alentejo. In the Northeast and South of France, their use as a tool has been highlighted,

Figure 14.3.2. - 1. Menhir de Meada, Castelo de Vide Alentejo. - 2. Geometric anthropomorphic figure (FAG) in limestone with a truncated cone shape, evoking a monumental reference. "Betyl" with a face indicated by eyebrows and linear and geometric decoration. Museu Nacional de Arqueologia. Photographs: 1. Roundtheworld CC BY-SA 4.0. Wikimedia Commons and ADF/ DGPC-José Paulo Ruas.

which is also applicable to some of those from the Southwest, some of which have characteristics that can be assimilated to their use as a sleeper element in small coloured mills. A workshop has also been proposed in the Algarve, without specification, as well as in the Lisbon Peninsula, assuming that in the Pijotilla enclave the working processes of various pieces must have been an integral part of the site (Hurtado, 2010).

To the Southwestern focal point we must add the cylinders that, with more defined evidence in Algarve and Lisbon, and the specialised version of La Pijotilla, have in common the origin of their raw material from the quarries around Évora, in the Alentejo territory (Dias *et al.* 2018). The movements of raw materials and people between Alentejo and Lisbon have been confirmed by archaeological and genetic documentation in recent years (Milo *et al.* 2020). The relationship of these symbolic products with Alentejo quarries adds a territorial component to the links of groups that used cone-based forms as a bodily referent, which are close to the stone images that preside over the territorial areas of dolmen necropolises. While the plaques reproduced the dolmen media in a smaller size -Figure14.2.1-, the cylinders -as well

as other similar forms such as the betyls- represented the open-air menhirs -Figure 14.3.2-. The similarities of shape already observed by the first researchers present a reinforced argument with the location of the quarries we have pointed out. Plaques and cylinders completed the representations of the totality of the spaces dedicated to death, inside and outside the megaliths, personifying each of the stone components that made their cultural landscapes recognisable.

The bitriangular and tritriangular characters that supported the primacy of Millares have in recent years been placed in a position comparable to those that have been added in the Southwest, providing chronologies older than those of Los Millares (Valera, 2020). However, there are two observations that cannot be ignored. The first is that stone artefacts of a certain thickness - Figs. 11.2.1: 1-3 and 7-8 - continue to be relevant in the Southeast Iberia (Soler, 2020), reaching funerary contexts from Albacete -Abrigo de Viñas Viejas Albacete – Figure 11.2.1: 4- and Jaén, as recent excavations herald in the Cueva del Nacimiento del Riocuadros, Bedmar. The dates obtained in *Rundgräber* structures place these pieces between 3600 and 3300 cal BC, the most certain date being the second one. This chronology coincides with the one attributed to the false dome structure (Aranda *et al.* 2020), which contributes to pinpoint the Iberian Chalcolithic and some of its most significant structures. It is to be hoped that updated knowledge will offer chronologies in accordance with those of the rest of the Iberian typologies, given the presence of these pieces in older structures than the false dome ones in other areas of the Iberian Peninsula.

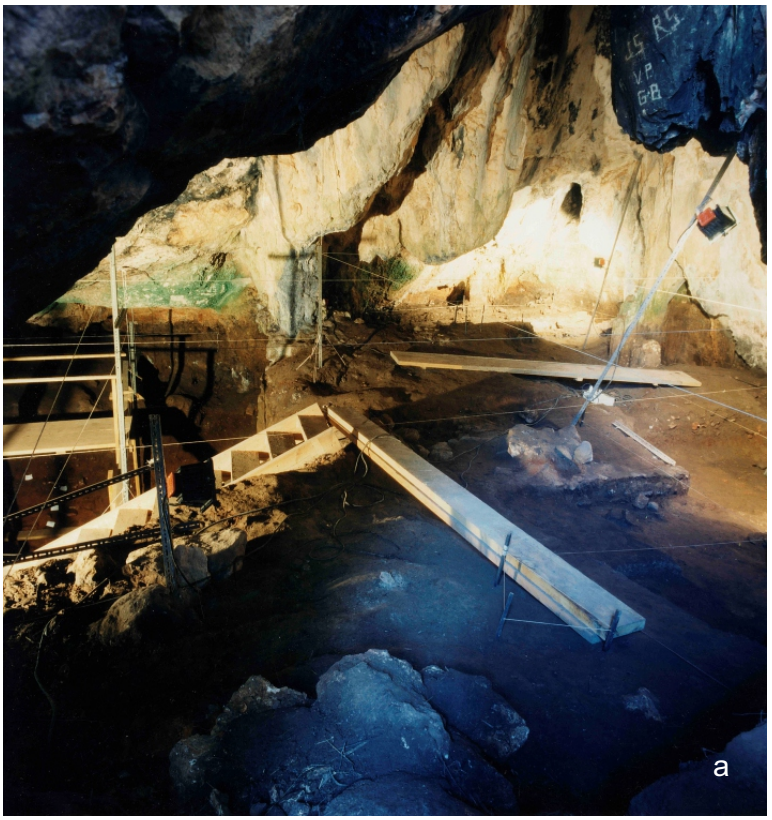
Research in the collective burial caves in the East has added some very important discoveries. The most culturally outstanding is that in the territories where megaliths were not built, the rituality of these was developed in natural cavities - Figs. 14.3.3 - which included the use of flat, triangular-based figurines in bone -tritriangulars- (Soler, 2002, 2017 and 2020). It has even been possible to demonstrate that some of the zoomorphic ornaments and amulets -Figure 14.1.1- are shared over long distances between the Lisbon Peninsula and the East, with the provision that up to now the dates from the East are in the same chronological range as those from Cova d'en Pardo and Perdigões (Soler, 2020).

The chronologies of bone tritriangulars on small flat plaques are older than those of the Millares area, especially those cited for the few known pieces with a triangular base in Catalonia -Figure 6.1.2: 1. The larger series from Alicante share similar dates to those from the Southwestern area, older than those from the Southeast. Millares is displaced as the focal point of these versions, which poses problems for the hypotheses that placed it as the origin of these dressed figurines. We cannot rule out the possibility that a much-needed update of knowledge of this important site could provide new data. In any case, the symbolic antecedents of the Chalcolithic in the Southeast are to be found in its Neolithic representations, as confirmed by the dates of tritriangulars and long bones in Valencia and Alicante, in addition to the old chronologies of anthropomorphic vases with sun-eyes like the one from Costamar.

The hypothesis of an Alicante focal point takes shape if we add the data on long bones (Soler, 2017). This production nucleus is for the moment prior to Millares, leaving this enclave as a receiver/consumer of symbolic Levantine and Southwestern products, as shown by the inclusion of a phalanx in tomb 7 -Figure 11.2.4: 6- with painted decoration similar to the idols on long bones of the *Pastora de Alcoy type* -Figure 6.2.6: 7.8-, while in some aspects Millares seems to be dependent on the Southwestern focal point coordinated in Perdigões - Pijotilla and Valencina. With the Southwestern impulse on the one hand and the influences of the Alicante focal point, which shares symbolic aspects with the Meseta and the Lisbon Peninsula, on the other, Millares gathered an important population that consumed prestigious products from all these places, from where perhaps some of the people who were buried with figurines characteristic of these territories also came from. Only the intensification of genetic and isotopic studies will allow us to approach this type of hypothesis with the necessary evidence.

The agglomeration of Valencina sites in Seville could add another focal point beyond the inventories of its famous necropolis and of the complexity of the pits (García Sanjuán *et al.* 2018; Schumacher and Banerjee, 2012), although for the moment most of their pieces correspond to products from the Pijotilla-Perdigões centre, with some evidence comparable to those from the Algarve and the Lisbon Peninsula. In this context of mobility of raw materials and people, we have mentioned the role that the access to the sea from the locations of Alcalar, La Janera, Lisbon and Valencina must have had, facilitating the movement of raw materials and people.

The simplest forms, such as phalanges and "hoppers" on the one hand and betyls on the other, are common in Los Millares, where they appear in large numbers; but they are also known in the rest of the Peninsula. The outside contexts on altars and platforms at Los Millares are no longer the exception, but rather the rule for ritual gestures on the exterior of megaliths, as shown by the groups in the Southwest (Pozuelo, Lagunita 1, Anta da Horta... etc.) or in the North (Dombate, Madorrras 1, Chã de Arcas, among many others). Betyls, anthropomorphic stones, plaques and small stelae were arranged in visible areas as displays of ancestor figures -Figure 11.4.1 and 11.4.2- that would probably identify those buried, or their families and lineages (Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2008b; Bueno, 2020). If we compare the production of the figurines,



c

Figure 14.3.3. Cova d'En Pardo, Planes Alicante. Collective burial level of a "temple cave" from the East of the Iberian Peninsula with tripartite "tri-triangular" geometric anthropomorphic figures -Figure 12.1.4: 2-. Photograph. F. Sánchez, 1995 (a). Hypothetical reconstruction of a primary burial towards the centre of the cavern (b), based on a previous photograph, by Llorenç Pizà. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) flat tripartite anthropomorphic figures in bone located in the old excavations (c). Photograph and deposit Museo de Alcoy, (Soler and Roca de Togores, 2012).

regulated and workshop-made, with these pieces of coarser manufacture, heavier and less elaborated forms, it seems reasonable to assume that the former were moved more than the latter. A certain impression of local production as opposed to manufactured products from a wider circuit seems to emerge from this information, which will have to be confirmed with more precise data. This hypothesis can be applied to the decorations on the media and to the carvings that define them as anthropomorphic pieces, the local production of which is compatible with the movement of coded portable pieces from one tomb to another, or from open-air monuments to closed ones (Bueno *et al.* 2016d).

Among the questions to be resolved with future research, the extent of the distribution circuits of the figurines is one of the most obvious. One explanation may lie in the movement of women who know their symbolic codes and the basic tools to work them, as is assumed for the extension of some ceramic forms. In this case, the figurines could add to the information provided in this text, the fact that they are unique witnesses of these movements. By number, quantity and variety of pieces, the Alentejo and its territorial links would have a prominent position in the social agreements that were the basis for the movements of these women towards the Guadalquivir and the North of Portugal and, to a lesser extent, towards the Southeast and inland, and towards the Northeast and South of France. Such an interpretation requires scientific data, although the relationship between Lisbon and the Alentejo and between these areas and the Algarve-Guadalquivir seems to have been confirmed. More developed hypotheses on intermediate circuits are necessary.

The decorated plates, but also the long bones and their close relationship with the decorated spatulas - Figure 10.2.1 - could indicate movements between the interior and the East. Some evidence from the Early Neolithic would confirm these links, especially the sun-eyes on the fragment of a vase from the Casa Montero mine in Madrid - Figure 10.1.1. A certain cohesion between the structures of the inland valleys of the Tagus and the Duero allows us to propose that, in addition to an initial more compact phase between the interior and the East, there was a development with closer links towards the Lisbon Peninsula. The latter could explain some forms such as the fragment of a plaque from the dolmen of Portillo de las Cortes in Guadalajara or its ornaments so similar to the pectoral ornaments known in the Western area (Bueno *et al.* 2016c). This "circuit" is even more lacking in evidence but may suggest a good line for future research.

The Perdigões - Pijotilla focal point and its connections towards Lisbon, Algarve and Guadalquivir are beyond doubt; but we are still unable to pinpoint the links to the Southeast. The plaques justify this hypothesis, and some flat rectangular or trapezoidal shapes in bone found in forts at Los Millares - Figure 6.2.2-, very similar in the facial expression to the flat lithic artefacts from Pijotilla - 11.1.6: 4- and even to the anthropomorphs from Guadiana - Figure 5.3.3-, could consolidate the weight of the South-western versions of this centre at Los Millares. However, the outdated archaeology of the site does not allow us to go any further. All this without forgetting that the chronologies of the fortified habitat are more recent than an important part of the Southwestern inventories. As we have pointed out, some data begin to suggest that a possible Levantine focal point must have sustained the ancient chronologies of tritriangular and long bones, which are found in the Southwest with similar chronologies. It seems clear that there is a lack of archaeological contexts in the East for a recent prehistory that has been built mainly on the study of collective burials in natural caves, with research in areas of aggregation being less fruitful in terms of ideomorph finds. Perhaps pit enclosures such as Niuet Alquería d'Asnar and Camí de Missena, Pobla del Duc, Valencia with oculates on long bones -Figure 11.2.2-, the latter with dates on fauna from the first half of the III millennium cal BC (Soler, 2017, 332), will provide some answers. The greater knowledge of this type of sites in the inland area will eventually offer more precise contexts for the characterisation and dating of an production centre in this area, which concentrates the largest volume of finds in the funerary contexts of the regions of l'Alcoià and Marina Alta (Soler and Roca de Togores, 2012).

The discoveries of schematic art with oculates in Northwest Iberia open up another source of expectations. On the one hand, results and dates are expected for the study of the archaeological contexts of the shelters in the excavation phase, both in Portugal and Galicia. On the other hand, some updated dates of the solar-themed stone deposits (Sanches *et al.* 2021) are older than those of the Southwest, pointing to new challenges in various directions. The first one is to fix dates for the symbolic codes of sun-eyes in the Northern Iberia in order to discuss their extension and chronology in the whole Peninsula. No less important is to define in Atlantic territories the validity of graphic formulas traditionally associated with the Mediterranean Neolithic whose impact on the interpretation of the symbolism of megalithic art has been and continues to be very relevant. The discoveries from Northwest Iberia are an excellent data base for the renewal of knowledge, encouraging the interpretations that have been arguing that the supposed absence of figurines is due to the use of raw materials such as clay, bone or wood (Scarre, 2020). This hypothesis gains new strength when it is demonstrated that codes supposedly exclusive to the South were known and practised in the North (Bueno *et al.* 2022b), collaborating in understanding some connectivities that have been pointed out since classical Anglo-Saxon historiography, such as the drums of Folkton Town -Figure 3.2.5-, the *pins*, or some solar and schematic character decorations (Eogan and Shee, 2021).

As we have pointed out, the relationship between women and ceramic styles has been put forward as one of the

Figure 14.3.4. Painted anthropomorphic figurine from shelter 11. Regato das Bouças, Serra de Passos, Bragança (Sanches et al. 2021).

evidences of their mobility in the European Neolithic. Stable isotopes that demonstrate links between people from the Alentejo and the Lisbon Peninsula (Milo *et al.* 2020), provide an indication that could be valued as an argument for proposing that the symbolic registers respond to a demographic base that implies movements of people. Women also moved stories and ensured social links by carrying pieces that facilitated the recognition of their identity, or by manufacturing them in other territories. Their descendants may also have used them tool for information of provenance, an argument of ancestry and lineage.

Economic strategies as the driving force and impetus behind the societies of recent prehistory are of unquestionable importance. The figurines corroborate the prominence of social links that can be traced back to the earliest Neolithic period, in which the areas with the greatest demographic power, as seems to be the case in the Alentejo/Guadiana area, may also have been the origin of more constant movements of people, including women, which would explain the extension of the plaques and the compactness of the triangular registers. The peak phase of exchanges that preludes the success of the Bell-Beaker, between the end of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd millennium cal BC, involved the increase of these movements in the spread of symbolic formulas in the same intensity and connectivity as the raw materials of exhibition that were in circulation.

14.4. **A broadened interpretation of portable figurines in Iberia.**

The long-standing custom of gathering figurines of women, men, boys and girls, zoomorphs and objects, in scenarios that probably represented diverse stories in which women always played a prominent role, can be traced back to the Upper Palaeolithic. The greatest upsurge is found in the producer cultures and the settlement of populations.

One of the aspects that has most hindered the study of these images is a typology, which tends to presuppose meanings, gender and chronology. We have therefore proposed a structuralist organisation that "cleans up" the descriptions and inventories. Its basis has been established in theoretical aspects of cognitive archaeology that allow us to argue for a marked conceptualisation of shapes associated with the representation of human figures from the Upper Palaeolithic, with a great spread between the Early Neolithic and the Advanced Chalcolithic. An association of triangular/rectangular geometric bases and their respective developments, associations, or multiple bodies, encodes human figures in systems of abstraction very similar to those of ideographic writing.

Only the most successful anthropomorphs in the Guadiana, classified as human figures, are perceived as products differentiated from the aforementioned geometric bases, which present marked sex and objects such as belts and palettes that also appear in the statuary representations. These small statuettes reproduce long-standing formulas in Iberian figurines, as indicated by some bodies made up of triangles - as in the case of the figurine from El Malagón - Figure 5.3.1 - triangular heads and hair arranged as in the cylinders. This tradition is applied to sculptural figures that probably represent buried persons.

In the rest of Europe there is an abundance of clay figurines that are not very well represented in Iberia. In their examples we can perceive the weight of the wide-ranging references in stone and other materials with which they share geometric bases, especially bitriangular, as well as versions that reproduce naturalistic human figures with interesting references in Continental contexts (Martínez *et al.* 2020).

The largest group is made up of geometric bases, which still lack quality information. Tackling technological studies that are justified by workshop seals, the distribution of raw materials in preforms, as some cases appear to be, or the determination of technical gestures should lead us to more scientific information. Almost halfway through the 21st century, it is not tenable to present high quality studies of contexts and structures, and relegate the figurines to a mere description that justifies their interpretation as this or that type of "Idol", without providing verifiable knowledge

Figure 14.4.1. Example of small, portable figurine that helps to expand concepts. Geometric anthropomorphic figurine (FAG). Flat, tripartite with oculate motif. Alcalar, Portimão, Faro. (Museu de Portimão) Photograph ADF/DGPC-José Paulo Ruas.

that includes approaches to their technology, traces of use, origin of the raw material, decoration techniques and chronology.

A brief presentation of some of the themes that have been related to the figurines contrasts from the first chapter the situation in the rest of Europe and in Iberia, where the inventories are hardly or not at all known. The technical and thematic heritage of Palaeolithic figurines is one of the essential components of long biographies of objects, but this past has not been accepted as such in present research, making Palaeolithic and post-Palaeolithic productions a total caesura. This is best explained from the point of view of the diffusionist ideas that are based on the disappearance of the Palaeolithic populations and the arrival of Eastern settlers in the Iberian territories, as we have pointed out above. However, the study of the concordance of techniques, themes and even the diversity of figurines (men, women, boys, girls, zoomorphs, objects), offers diachronic readings of greater range that value the heritage of the hunter-gatherer groups in the productions of the producer groups.

We have compiled parietal and portable references to the antiquity of Iberian schematic art. Here we will recall the anthropomorph with a triangular head dated by C14 in the Cueva de la Paloma, Ojo Guareña, Burgos, to the 10th millennium before common era. (Corchon *et al.* 1996; Ortega *et al.* 2020). This image allows us to visually understand the hypothesis that the contents of Palaeolithic tradition formed the contents of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic figurines. It is not a question of arguing a direct ascription between one and the other, but rather their deep roots which, in this case, it seems possible to assume as the close relationship between the female representation of the pubis and that of human individuals.

One of the main problems in the study of the Iberian ensemble has been to focus exclusively on Chalcolithic representations, or at the very latest on the late Neolithic, relegating the oldest evidence in order to reject long sequences very similar to the Continental ones. The figurines were not only isolated as unique objects of Near Eastern origin, but were also separated from other representations with the same graphic codes - anthropomorphic vases, schematic art or megalithic art - whose chronologies are situated between the 6th and 3rd millennium cal BC. Our line of work in the aforementioned exhibition was aimed at making this rich panorama visible so that the compact ensemble of the 4th and 3rd millennium cal BC could be understood within a symbolic framework rooted in the latest chronologies of the Upper Palaeolithic and early Neolithic. The addition of this repertoire has significantly expanded the interpretative hypotheses, in addition to a more extensive geography in the North, Northeast and interior, which has yet to be developed in depth.

The classic geographical framework placed the Southeast and East as evidence of the Mediterranean nature, and the West as the protagonist of Atlanticism. Both as dependent territories, first the West on the Southeast and now the Southeast, if not dependent, at least with an unsuspected prominence of western forms. The archaeological data certify older chronologies in the West of classical typologies in the Southeast, or at least as old, in the case of the bitriangulars, but there is still a long way to go in research that is in very early phase to offer updated knowledge of the productions of the Southeast. Our view after this study is that the dates will be older

throughout the southern peninsular territory, as those from the new records from the North and interior are located further back. This idea is consistent with the presence of anthropomorphic sun-eyed vases from the 6th and 5th millennia cal BC in the Northeast, East and inland, validating the antiquity in Iberia of the symbolic codes that had such a high impact on social relations in the 4th and 3rd millennia cal BC. The ancient dates of the 4th millennium cal BC for plaques and bitriangulars in the Northwest obtained by means of updated methodologies warn of the changes to be expected in the rest of Iberia, where an effort in archaeological documentation and direct dating of these records is a priority.

An interpretation that includes all the media and the relationships between them cannot neglect the information of the parietal art, nor that offered by the funerary scenarios of the megaliths and the prominent role of these pieces in everyday life.

In the megaliths, the scenes of individuals that descend from one another are the expression of lineages and inheritance that are associated with the sun, reproducing the symbolic tools of the sun-dressed characters of parietal schematic art (Bueno *et al.* 2022b). Schematic art reports events with audiences in which dances and their corresponding chants associated with music serve to memorise and pass on shared oral stories to different generations. The megaliths enclose these stories in funerary settings with the intention of those who were buried in them, to manifest their origin and their descent from personages associated with the sun. It is the female image that represents the social order of identities, lineages and inheritances.

The review of the decorations and geometric bases of the pieces following the organisation we have proposed, highlights the genealogical relationship as one of the parameters of their content, despite the fact that this hypothesis has been rejected by researchers who do not agree with the interpretation of ancestral representations (Andrade, 2015; Gonçalves, 2020; Garcia Rivero and O'Brien, 2014). Repeated Images of pairs of eyes forming associations of several individuals -Figs. 14.4.2: 1 or 6.2.6: 8- , tritriangulars within the body of plaques -Figure 6.3.4- or represented on plaque shapes and so on, the geometric bases representing human figures appear contained within each other in "dependent symbiosis" that ensure physical, cultural and identity links of some forms in others. The designs of their costumes offer some patterns of recognisable formulas in specific territories, and more widespread versions such as the classical plaques (Bueno, 2010), whose decoration appears equally on numerous *items* both plaques and other types of figurines, as well as on orthostats, stelae and menhirs. Embroidered or coloured cloaks with unique geometric series may have indicated provenance, age, gender or status, while the "classical" cloaks must have followed the generic formula of the "apparatus" garments that reached more distant connectivities, as can be seen in the statuary of the Southern Alps (Bueno, 2010).

The funerary scenes provide information on the role of the figurines by offering data on the use of "apparatus" garments in the sense that they could only be used on display because of their weight. Tunics embroidered with thousands of beads covered arms, legs and feet like those worn on portable pieces with long cloaks. The data provided by the site of Montelirio, in Seville, at the beginning of the 3rd millennium cal BC confirm a high level of development and spread of these funerary scenarios in the Guadalquivir valley, a territory probably in the sphere of the dynamic of population centres in the Guadiana.

The objects that accompany them, crooks, belts, armbands, necklaces and garments, have an archaeological contrast and have also been painted on the shelters or engraved and painted on the supports of the megaliths where they accompany personages included in the funerary discourses. Symbol-objects, in the sense that they reveal their high social value, were decorated with the same geometric patterns as the figures, but the decoration hardly makes them Idols *per se.* Decorated boxes, axes, crooks *....,* warn us of the limited scope of the *Mother Goddess* hypothesis, which leaves aside an increasingly large inventory of decorated objects, including some strange typologies such as *sandal-shaped* objects - Figure 14.4.2 - which we now know to have been found in the same way as the figurines. 14.4.2- which we now know to be pieces of dagger sheaths, the *pinecone or artichoke* idols - Figure 5.1.2-, representations of acorns documented on small ivory, bone and stone pendants, or *the drawing pin* idols which may have been dagger handles.

Fruits and animals suggest that these offerings in their stone and clay forms may have been the confirmation of their presence in perishable materials, fruits such as the acorn preserved from the burial site of Lorca, Murcia (Ayala, 1987), or animal meat in uncooked or even cooked fragments (Bueno *et al.* 2005b).

As a whole, objects, fruits and zoomorphic figures in models of reality dramatize a ritual that ensures the sustenance of the buried people, identifies them and protects them by means of ancestral figures represented by women dressed as the sun.

The rearrangement of decorated materials and human figures helps to create a rich expressive system with a craftsmanship that sustains it by means of high quality funerary consumer products, as well as everyday consumer products. It also presents elaborate symbolic discourses with anthropomorphised objects, axes, crooks, dagger sheaths, which emulate the garments worn by the figurines

Figure 14.4.2. - 1. Ideomorphic object (FX). Sandal-shaped. Decorated sheet embossed with geometric and oculate motifs. Gold. Valencina de la Concepción, Seville; - 2. Pair of votive sandals, limestone, Necropolis of Alapraia, Grotto II, Cascais, Lisbon. 1. Museo Arqueológico de Sevilla, 2. Câmara Municipal de Cascais, Museu da Vila. Photographs: José Manuel Sáiz (1) and ADF/ DGPC-José Paulo Ruas (2).

and even reproduce their sun-eyed decorations. They form part of a larger group of human-shaped objects from recent European prehistory. These objects emulating human forms must have been the protagonists of unique stories reminiscent of the names of medieval swords, revealing the complexity of elaborate funerary rituals with everyday versions applied to the foundation of sites, the protection of granaries, silos and so on. The deposits of corpses, vessels, ornaments and anthropomorphised objects probably represent the stories of ancestral characters who use the oral references of the common people to situate themselves as an important part of their social and cultural fabric.

Some of these decorated objects offer references with a long diachrony. The portrayals of crooks on menhirs from the Early Neolithic period are added to those of human figures with sun eyes in the same chronology, to establish renewed arguments about the long trajectory of the symbolic discourses reflected in these ritualised deposits, rooted in the narratives set by Neolithic groups (Bueno *et al.* 2007a).

The chronology of the figurines cannot be determined separately from the references to the open air, paintings, stelae, menhirs, nor apart from the chronology of the funerary scenarios in which they are integrated. This book aims to offer new perspectives for research that has yet to be more widely developed, the starting points of which must overcome some of the barriers of historicism, among others, the absence of an integrated interpretation to understand the role of these pieces, not only in each

tomb, but also in the necropolis, in their relationship with the settlement and in the territorial framework in which they are located.

Schematic art with its panels depicting bitriangular dancers, some associated with sun-eyes or the sun, offers an extensive inventory of the portrayal of actions with an open audience, reflecting collective lifestyles and messages widely shared throughout Iberia. The most efficient way of establishing and moving their oral stories would have been portable figurines.

The symbiosis between figurines and megalithic orthostats (Barroso, 2020; Bueno, 2010, 2020; Bueno *et al.* 2005a, 2017a) connects the small portable pieces with the large stones, transferring the stories of human bodies to the stones that surround, cover and protect the bodies of ancestors. In death, the stories of the open-air dances fixate on specific protagonists from lineages or families whose graves have restricted access. Commonplace accounts are taken over by those who support displays of death with prestige materials. A policy based on ancestor worship monopolises the sun-clothed personages as a social and ancestral argument. The old stories of the early production groups are transferred to the social justification of the elites of the 3rd millennium cal BC among whom the connectivities revealed by the grave goods confirm the surplus used in their funerary displays as one of the most powerful social poles to justify their position.

In contrast to the two-dimensional simplicity and rapid execution of the figurines of schematic art, the display of technique and workmanship of figurines and objects coincides with that of the decorations of the megaliths, which combine various means (painting, engraving and sculpture) for the careful production of funerary scenes, making it convincing to include figurines in the "high art" of recent European prehistory. They are the first workshop production of human representations, in a line that has important developments in the Chalcolithic and Bronze Age sanctuaries of a large part of the Mediterranean islands (Sotirakoupolou, 2020).

The idiosyncrasy of the Iberian figurines is evident in their different geometric bases, in the choice of long and short garments, in their hooded or hoodless cloaks, in their hairstyles and, above all, in their sun-eyes. The latter propose a codification of quantitative and qualitative impact from the 6th millennium to the 3rd millennium cal BC. Iberia offers the only comparative records with graphic information to integrate the oral accounts that the figurines determined. Iberia´s schematic art in the open air and the versions on the walls and stelae of the megaliths give information that does not exist in other European records, in order to come closer to reconstructing possible meanings.

A long trajectory of human references "dressed as the sun" reveals images associated with communal activities such as those that appear in the shelters - dancing, hunting or exhibitions of inheritance and lineage - which are used in other contexts by means of small sculptural pieces. Iberia provides a unique set of data in Europe to understand the figurines as mnemonic, social and identity elements that individually determine collective narratives.

Dressed as the sun, daughters and heiresses of the sun, mothers of the sun, women represented the image of the links that nourished oral accounts of social relationship. These actions may have been "dramatised" by different genders and ages through women's masks and costumes, in public displays that brought together families, groups or lineages (Bueno and Soler, 2021b and c). The groupings of masked figurines could be understood within this social framework in which female-identified solar characters star in stories in company, monopolised by certain social sectors in their collective burials.

From individual bodies to pieces that bring together collective thoughts and actions, from goddesses to people, from the dead to ancestors, the figurines and their codes have spanned millennia, forming a very significant part of who we were and who we are.

Chapter 15.
An Exceptional Legacy

In the presentation of this book it was stated in that the anthropomorphic figurines constitute a legacy that deserves the highest level of protection. As the culmination of a monograph that has highlighted the historical and cultural importance of an ensemble that cannot be approached with the data currently known, it remains to reflect on their significance as heritage, as well as to warn of the problems of conservation, research and dissemination of a rich materiality preserved by different entities.

15.1. The preservation of the legacy and compilation of a transnational catalogue

Statistics reveal a huge number of figurines from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods in the Iberian Peninsula -5800 cal BC / 2200 cal BC- close to 6,000 (Bueno, 2020a: 34) in a large number of locations (Bueno and Lancharro, 2020). Since this is a collection of enormous scientific and cultural value, which includes works of millenary chronology that can be considered artistic objects, it should be noted first of all that in different cases it is subject to conservation conditions that are not always the most favourable.

At worst, there are objects of enormous quality which, because they are not in museums, are not easy to locate and therefore their condition is unknown. A very significant one is the piece found in Badajoz, and published by Siret at the beginning of the last century, indicating that it was the property of his Excellency Alejandro Pidal Mon, a very important politician in 19th century Spain with notable cultural interests. Siret gained access to the object through the mediation of the engineer and learned archaeologist Horace Sandars. We do not know the whereabouts of this marble object, which was later consigned as belonging to the "Pidal collection" (Almagro, 1973, 172), we publish here a photograph kept in the Cabré Archive - Figure 15.1.1: 1. In the same commentary, Siret (1908, 53) mentions another similar object which he does not reproduce and therefore we know nothing about it. The Museo Arqueológico Nacional in Madrid has a piece of equivalent morphology in stone -Figure 15.1.1: 2-. Also located in Badajoz, it was deposited in the Museum in 1965 as a result of a seizure made in Spain by the Court of Smuggling and Fraud (Almagro Gorbea, 1973, 141-142).

There are other confiscated pieces in museums which, like those mentioned above, add to this problem the fact that they are decontextualised objects whose origin is unknown. A good example is the oculate stone cylinders kept in the Museo Regional de Murcia (Figure 15.1.2), which have been shown in a recent exhibition on looting, and are cases where the provenance is completely unknown. They have been assessed as figurative expressions from the Southwest and not from the area of that Museum (De Miquel and Baeza, 2020, 215), although there are some strange features in the western series and better reflected in the decorative repertoire of the long bones from the East of the Peninsula, such as the supraocular triangle of one of the cylinders. As an example of the recovery of pieces and also of the extent of their dispersion, it is worth mentioning a reference on the Ceres network that the Spanish Ministry of Culture has on the Internet about a marble oculate cylinder from the Museo Arqueológico Nacional -Inventory: 2002 / 93 / 3 -Figure 15.1.1. 3 - bought at auction by the Spanish Government in 2002 at Christie's in New York for a sum of 13,000 Ṣ.

Some pieces are also known to be in the hands of private individuals who allowed them to be studied and published, such as the published series from La Pijotilla (Hurtado, 1979), now deposited in the Museum of Badajoz, or the figurine from Llerena -Figure 8.1: 8- .A striking case is that of Cerro de las Vacas, which in the bibliography is located in Trebujena and is now correctly located in Lebrija, from which several cylindrical stone pieces from unregulated interventions are recognised, one of them fortunately deposited in the Museo de Jerez -Figure 6.4.1: 11-. As far as we know, three others are still in the hands of private individuals, and no good photographs are available -Figure 15.1.3.

It would be necessary to find a way for the competent administration to take an interest in the state of conservation of this type of objects, in this case published more than 40 years ago (Álvarez Rojas, 1982; Caro Bellido, 1982 and 1982-83), and it is not impossible that they may have changed hands due to inheritance or that they were even deposited in institutions, without the fact having transcended. One of this series of stone cylinders from the Southwest was published by M. Almagro (1952), observing it in a private collection belonging to a lawyer in Barcelona, which exemplifies the commercial path taken by these productions in the 20th century. Taking into account this movement, the location of the piece from Montmaurin, Haute-Garonne -Figure 11.1.5- so similar

Figure 15.1.1. Geometric anthropomorphic figures (FAG) oculates in stone. Flat bipartite (1 and 2) and cylindrical (3): - 1. Piece from Badajoz owned by the politician Alejandro Pidal Mon; - 2. Piece obtained by confiscation and from Badajoz and - 3. Piece recovered at auction. 2 and 3 Museo Arqueológico National, Madrid. Photographs: Cabré Archive – Instituto del Patrimonio Cultural de España, Ministerio de Cultura y Deporte (1) and Archivo MAN - Susana Vicente Galende (2 and 3).

to the one from El Conquero -Figure 4.4.5-, but without a precise context, altered and for many years deposited in a private garden, after the owner declared that he had found it years ago under half a metre of sand extracted for construction purposes (Clottes, 1977), is less credible.

In Spain, a measure for the protection of this scattered and published heritage could consist of its inclusion in the corresponding regional inventory or catalogue of cultural heritage, accompanied by an entry in the General Inventory of Portable Property of Spanish Historical Heritage, regulated in Article 26 of Law 16/1985, specificying that the whereabouts of the item are unknown or if it forms part of a collection. In this way, these objects could be subject to effective patrimonial protection when they appear on the market or if they are displayed in an exhibition.

In any case, the Spanish Historical Heritage Law warns the owners of archaeological portable property of the obligation to communicate the existence of these objects to the administration before proceeding with their sale or transfer to third parties.

The objects preserved in museums give a good account of the deterioration to which these pieces are subjected before being deposited. It is suffice to look at the photos of the long bones from Almizaraque shortly after their discovery and those that have been taken of the series kept and preserved in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, where it is not difficult to identify losses of bone material - Figure 6.2.3. In the province of Alicante, a deposit of oculates on long bones was examined in the Museo de Xàbia originating from different caves in La Marina Alta -Figure 15.2.2-, as a result of systematic looting (Soler, 2017). All the pieces were in

Figure 15.1.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) oculates in stone (1,2 and 5) and bone (3-4). Cylinders (1 and 2), truncated cone (5) and long bones (5). Pieces resulting from looting: Cueva de La Hoja de Cehegín (3 and 4) and without provenance (1, 2 and 5). Museo Arqueológico de Murcia. Photographs by Jesús Gómez Carrasco. Archivo Museo Arqueológico de Murcia.

a very poor state of preservation and, as in the previous cases, were accompanied by hardly any information about the archaeological contexts in which they were found, necessary but unfortunately exceptional information in the long bone ensembles located in the province of Alicante and the Region of Murcia.

This lack of information on provenance could cast doubt on the authenticity of the objects, as may be the case of some unique pieces, such as the cylinder from Alvega -Figure 6.4.3- or the tritriangular anthropomorphic figurine found at El Tarajal -Figure 6.2.4-.

Not all the pieces whose image or drawing is reproduced in this volume are deposited in museums. Although it may seem surprising, scientists and some archaeological institutions that carry out good research work report pieces that take years to be incorporated into the corresponding museum, perhaps due to forgetfulness, because they want to hand over everything obtained in a campaign after prolonged research, or because they do not submit to the conservation obligations and protocols that govern museum institutions. On the part of the museums, streamlining the procedures for the admission of pieces and their deposit for study would facilitate rapid deliveries. However, the staffing circumstances in these institutions are not the best, nor are the legal requirements the same in the different Spanish autonomous regions, and these procedures are more dynamic in some than in others.

No one should be unaware of a public deposit that would allow the objects to be kept by professional conservators as soon as they are extracted or located, and that the work done on them would already include a reference to this deposit. Their entry into the museum should not be detrimental to the intellectual property retained for a period of time by the discoverers, nor should it be an obstacle to their access to research. In the same way that the state of conservation of pieces in the hands of private individuals is a matter of concern, it is not appropriate for materials of special heritage value to be kept *sine die* in university research laboratories or archaeological companies, even if they provide data or photos. This is especially true for objects of a fragile nature, such as bone pieces or those made of clay.

Not surprisingly, these are pieces which, due to their value, may be stolen, or may be lost and not located, something that has also been reported with less risk in museums with curators on staff, as in the case of an engraved plaque from the Museum of Évora found in the Anta de Cabecinhitos (Gonçalves *et al.* 2005, 49). The plaque - Figure 6.3.3: 4 - is included in the *Esprit* catalogue (no. 646), a virtual compendium - *The Engraved Stone Plaques Registry and Inquiry Tool* - created at the initiative of K. Lillios, who began to work on it at the beginning of this century and which, consulted in May 2023, includes 1,700 plaques on a site in which the University of Iowa participates. Because of the information it provides and its no-charge, free and open access, this type of action is essential for the protection of heritage (Bueno, 2006, 192), and it is extraordinarily praiseworthy that the project was born out of the private initiative of a researcher. The catalogue, which has been constantly updated since its creation, contains drawings and photographs of most of the pieces, with measurements, descriptions, location and bibliography, among other data.

Some losses are really malicious because they refer to a specific type of piece, which undermines their record. It is striking that other oculate plaques, such as the one found in Quinta da Farinheira, Chelas, Lisbon (Esprit, no. 539) or the one found in dolmen 40 in Cabezas Rubias, Huelva (Esprit, no. 423) -Figure 15.1.3-, similar to the one mentioned above from Anta de Cabecinhitos, with braids on the back, have been missing for decades, something that should be investigated in case it could be the result of a planned theft.

Compared to *Esprit*, generic catalogues such as the Spanish Ministry of Culture's CERES include only a very small number of this type of object, preserved in museums and presented in very complete files under the entry "idols", assigned to the Neolithic or Chalcolithic periods. Thus, a consultation (May 2023) of this database, in which not all the museums participate, barely locates a hundred objects by combining the two search fields "idols" and "Chalcolithic", a figure which increases only slightly if the latter term is changed to "Neolithic", or if a specific site is entered, such as "Cueva de la Carada". On the Portuguese side, the MATRIZ NET database also collects objects from different museums, although it covers so many subjects that it is not a precise tool for tracking.

It would undoubtedly be interesting if this material, which is a portable media for Schematic art, had a specific catalogue of transnational scope, ensuring the identification and location of the figurines. Its repertoire should update the classic inventories (e.g. Almagro, 1973), taking into account different syntheses present in the bibliography (Bueno and Lancharro, 2020, 380) and directly consulting the network of museums about their collections. In this sense, it would be appropriate to propose to the Ministries of Culture of Spain and Portugal a line of collaboration that would allow the participation of these conservation entities and specialists in their research, which would implement specific protocols when alerting about the appearance and state of conservation of these objects, deserving of a special section in Cultural Heritage in this part of Europe. The Historical Heritage Council contemplated in the State Law on the subject (16/1985, art. 3) would be the ideal body to promote the initiative in Spain, with agreement and effective coordination between the historical or cultural heritage administrations of the Autonomous Communities and

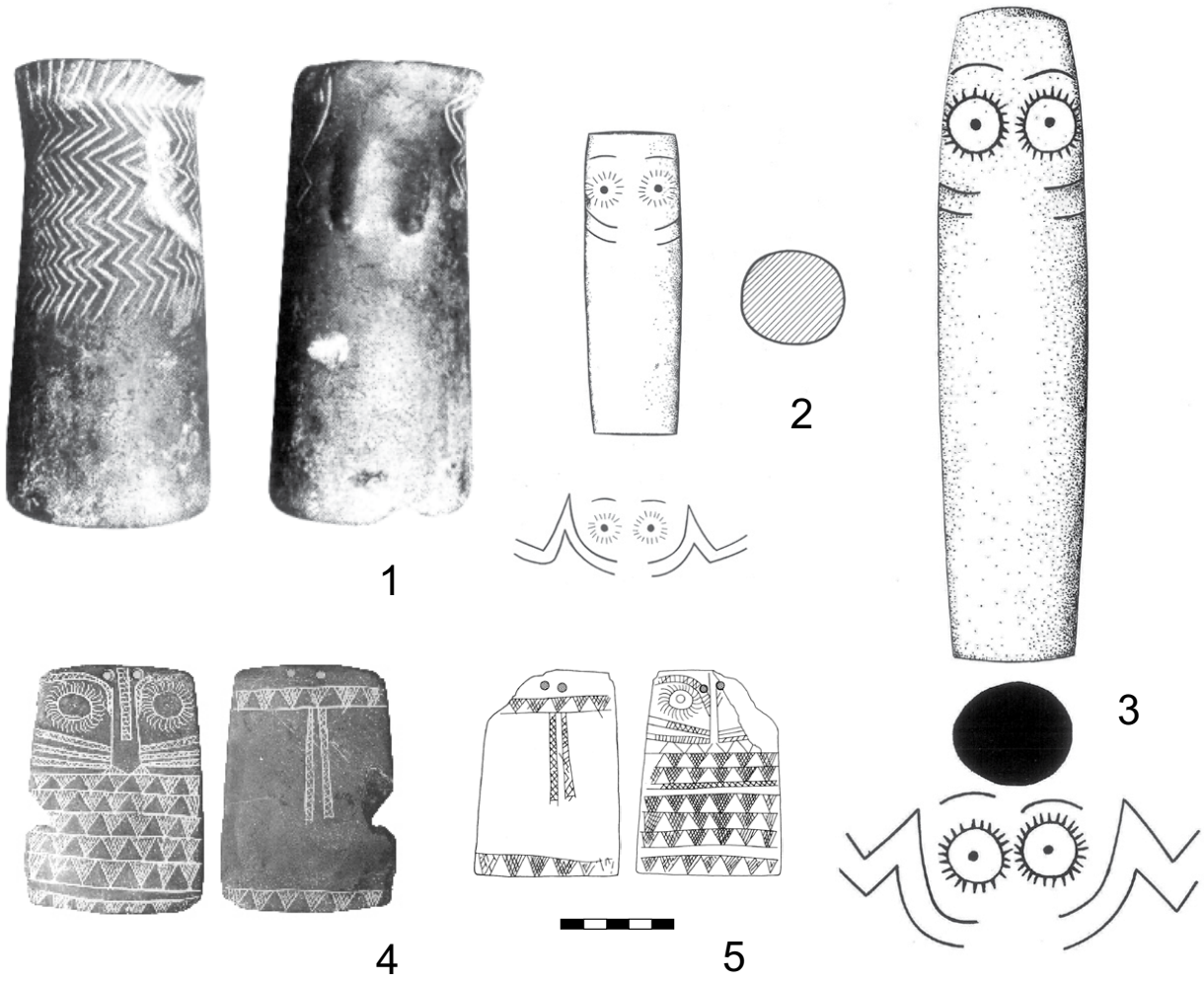


Figure 15.1.3. Geometric anthropomorphic figurines (FAG) in stone not found in museums: cylindrical bipartite with breasts (1), cylindrical with octagonal decoration (2 and 3) and trapezoidal with oculate decoration (4 and 5). They are in private collections in Andalusia: Cerro de las Vacas, Lebrija. Álvarez Rojas, 1982, 2. Caro Bellido, 1982 and 3. Caro Bellido, 1982-83; missing: 4. Sepultura 40 de Cabezas Rubias, Huelva (Cerdán, Leisner and Leisner, 1952) and 5. Quinta da Farinheira, Chelas, Lisbon (Zbyszewski, 1957).

the State. The sum of criteria of specialists in research and conservation when compiling this catalogue would constitute a solid basis for ensuring the preservation of the legacy.

15.2. Portable figurines as a less protected ensemble than parietal representations.

The legislation in force in Spain protects rock art in a special way. The Spanish Historical Heritage Law (16/1985) recognises prehistoric manifestations painted or engraved on rock as an Asset of Cultural Interest -BIC- (a. 40.2). With regard to the megalithic era, and sometimes with express mention of the art that characterises it, the autonomous regional legislation generally contemplates this level of protection in different Autonomous Communities, as is the case of Navarra (Ley Foral 14/2005 del Patrimonio Cultural de Navarra: disposición adicional segunda), Andalucía (Ley 14/2007 del Patrimonio Histórico de Andalucía: disposición adicional octava), Aragón (Ley 3/1999 del Patrimonio Cultural Aragonés: disposición adicional segunda)... The lack of generic recognition in some territories, such as Extremadura or Galicia, means that the fact that some megaliths are declared BIC, as has happened with the dolmen of Guadalperal, El Gordo, Cáceres, or that of A Pedra Embarrada, Coristanco, La Coruña, both in that category in 2022, is newsworthy, by Royal Decree in the case of the Cáceres dolmen or by Resolution of the Directorate General of Cultural Heritage of the Xunta de Galicia in the case of the Galician dolmen, in a list that includes different examples that are easy to find on the internet with the characterisation of Archaeological Zone that the former enjoys or as an Immovable Asset or Monument that has been decided for the latter.

This level of protection of art and of certain prehistoric properties has led Spain to achieve a significant number

of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. It is worth remembering the case of the Palaeolithic rock art of the Cantabrian area (2008), following an initial declaration of the Altamira Cave (1985); the rock art of the Mediterranean area of the Iberian Peninsula (1998), the prehistoric rock art sites of Siega Verde (2010) - as an extension of the Cõa Valley (1998), in Portugal - and the dolmens of Antequera (2016).

In the face of this level of protection, movable or portable property is at a disadvantage, as it is not protected in a specific way. At the international level, the World Heritage Convention celebrated in Paris on 16 November 1972 does not include them in its objective (UNESCO, 1972, art. 1), focusing "cultural heritage" on monuments, architectural ensembles and archaeological sites. In fact, the guidelines developed in the Convention and published in 2005 indicate as the only reference to movable heritage (Unesco, 2005, 48, para. 48) that 'nominations of immovable property which are likely to become movable property will not be considered'.

It is true that the *Guidelines for the inscription of specific types* have considered their inclusion, when the objects are closely linked to the nominated property, as necessary to support their authenticity and to ensure the integrity of the property, as in the case of "heritage canals", such as waterways that may have universal value, whose authenticity is supported by possible movable property derived from their historical use, such as boats or navigation items (Unesco, 2005, 136, paragraph 19).

As far as legislation is concerned, many of the pieces dealt with in this monograph would have the highest category of heritage protection, although in few cases can we speak of a recognition *per se*. Law 107/2001 on the regime of protection and valorisation of the cultural heritage of the Republic of Portugal recognises in its highest category movable property of national interest designated as 'national treasure' (a. 15.3). Some pieces that the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon, brought to the exhibition Ídolos miradas milenarias (Alicante, Alcalá de Henares, 2020/ Ídolos. *Olhares Milenares* (Lisbon, 2021), the images of which are reproduced in this book have this characterisation, considered in terms of different criteria (art. 17), including 'the aesthetic, technical or material value' (17e), 'the importance of the object from the point of view of historical or scientific research' (17h) or 'the interest of the object as a symbolic or religious testimony' (17c). In a way, it seems that it is not so much the economic value, the quality or the condition of the piece that is valued, but rather the significance or the biography of the object.

Early published pieces such as the phalanx -Figure 4.2.4-, the so-called pine cones in stone -Figure 5.1.2- and the cylinder with neck from São Martinho de Sintra -Figure 4.3.3.2-; the anthropomorphic plaque

Figure 15.2.1. Painted oculate anthropomorph with sun-shaped head. Schematic Art. Abric I del Cabeçó d'Or, Alicante, (Soler, Barciela and Ferrer, 2018). Photograph by Virginia Barciela.

from *Idanha-a-Nova* -Figure 4.3.3-, the lunula from Bautas -Figure 4.6.3-, the stele from Crato -Figure 4.3.1-, or the sculptural plaque from Espadanal -Figure 11.1.2- have this level of protection, which also applies to the extraordinarily crafted crook from Anta 4 da Herdade das Antas -Figure 5.1.2- and the fragmented oculate cylinder from Moncaparacho -Figure 4.2.7-.

In Spain, this value is not so much assumed as the fact that a movable object is assigned to a museum. Thus, all the pieces included in the inventory of state museums, such as the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, are BIC, which gives the same level of protection to the oculate cylinder made known by Siret - Figure 4.2.1 - as to any of the inventoried objects held in its deposits (Law 16/85, art. 60.1). Most regional or provincial museums are affected by this rule, which includes those previously declared "Historic Artistic Monuments" (Decree 474/1962, of the Ministry of National Education) and by regional legislation itself, which in different laws recognises the BIC both for museums under their ownership and for what is

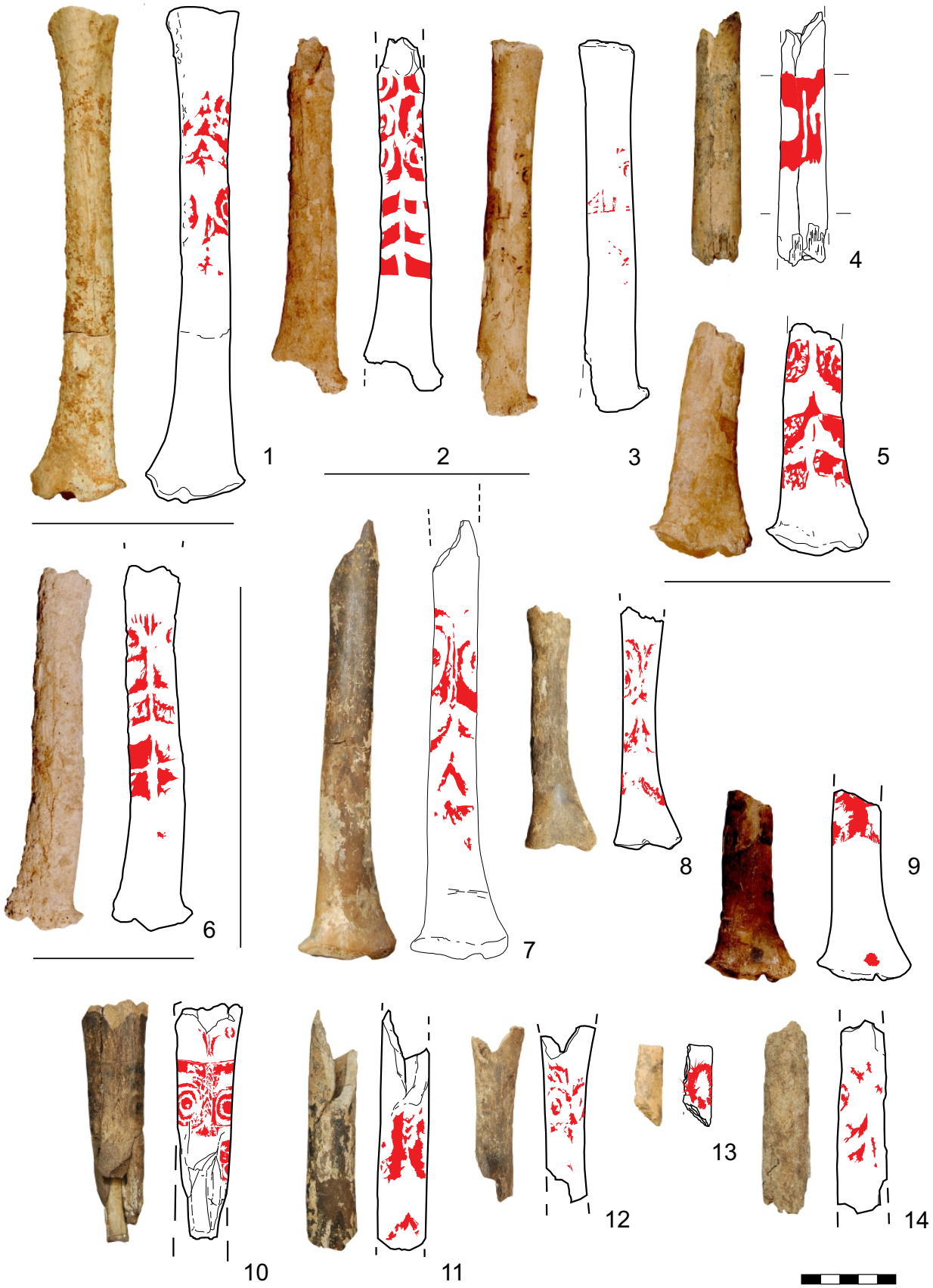


Figure 15.2.2. Geometric anthropomorphic figures (FAG): long bones with painted decoration, oculates. Abric del Barranc de la Parra 1 (1 and 2), 5 (3-5) and 8 (4) and Cova de l'Ocaive 2 (6), Pedreguer; Cova del Penyó, Xaló (7-14). Ensembles from looted caves in the Marina Alta, Alicante. "Soler Blasco", Xàbia. Drawings and photos by Juan A. López Padilla. Image taken from J.A. Soler, 2017, Figure 7.35.

Figure 15.2.3. Fragment of a Bell-beaker vessel with incised symbolic decoration. Oculate anthropomorphs with raised arms. La Calderona, Valdemoro, Madrid. Museo Arqueológico Regional, Comunidad de Madrid. Photograph: Mario Torquemada.

included in their inventories. Another question is whether this rule is applicable to other museums not owned by the State or the Autonomous Communities, such as municipal museums. As they have not been declared BIC and their contents do not appear in the regulated inventories or catalogues provided for in State and Autonomous Community legislation, the materials they conserve only form part of the Historical or Cultural Heritage of each Autonomous Community administration and therefore of Spanish Historical Heritage, which means a more basic level of protection, i.e., that which is granted to any archaeological relic.

Transferring this information to the figurines, by way of example the long bones found in the Cueva de Juan Barbero, Tielmes, Madrid -Figure 10.2.3- are classified BIC, as they are kept in the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, while the similar ones located in the caves of the Marina Alta (Soler, 2017) which are deposited in the Museo arqueológico y etnológico Soler Blasco in Xàbia -Figure 10.2.2. and 15.2.2-, are only recognised as assets of the Spanish Historical Heritage and in this case of the Valencian Cultural Heritage.

Being Spanish Historical Heritage assets and with regard to their protection, for the purposes of permission for analysis, for example, we should ask ourselves which heritage inventory includes the cylinder with breasts from Cerro de las Vacas figure -Figure15.1.3- or the human figurine in bone or ivory from Llerena -Figure 8.1- mentioned above, as they are in the hands of a private individual, or the pieces which at the time of publication were not yet deposited in museums, some of which are included in the various articles in the volumes published on the occasion of the exhibition.

Although it has not been the aim of this monograph to delve into the management and conservation of movable heritage, the importance of figurines as a legacy closely linked to schematic art and megalithic art has been discussed. As long as there is control over their deposit, their enormous dispersion should not constitute an inconvenience for their preservation, as long as their importance is accepted and the different administrations, individuals and researchers become aware of the fact that together they make up a legacy of enormous importance. They also bear witness to the millenary beliefs held by groups

that inhabited a large part of the Iberian Peninsula, making these figures one of their main signs of identity.

15.3. Intangible objects and stories. Proposals for a per se valorisation of the anthropomorphic figurative ensemble.

The symbolic character of all the figurative productions collected in this volume led to their being called "idols", a term that in any case assumed their relevance. Whether sacred or not, the ideomorphswere linked to everyday life or to specific events (festive or dramatic), with different levels of importance in the societies that generated and maintained them, some being related to the cult of ancestors, with possible divinities linked to the force of nature, such as the sun or the moon; to life, to death; and to the ideological concepts and stories or narrative expressions that characterised the oral and unwritten culture of their owners, clearly showing through them the importance that women attained in these discourses in themselves and also as transmitters of the lineage.

Valid both intra- and extra-socially, they may have been useful symbols to regulate life, covenants or marriage bonds, or as an endorsement of an identity in the line to the ancestor. They may also have expressed collective power, and may have been used to secure land tenure or the possession of a landscape. On a more domestic level, they may have been used to honour the dead, to ensure fertility or to alleviate illness.

When the most significant ones were worn, held in their hands or deposited somewhere, they expressed distinctly human concepts or values through narratives, sustained in tradition, in the weight of the past, useful for a present that was not always easy and beneficial in an uncertain future. Surely, developing their creativity, they constructed oral stories, perhaps based on reality, but very probably subject to modification in their oral transmission. In some way, the symbols or ideomorphic objects may have served to fix them in the collective memory, helping to regulate them, so as not to deviate from the message, with the intention of not failing to set aside or anathematise anything that might get in the way or, on the contrary, to articulate benign precepts that should not be ignored or forgotten. With chants, prayers or phrases, they could implore for better sustenance, remember better days and, in short, promote everything that contributed to validating a social order, sometimes precarious and not always easy to maintain, in tribal groups that made negotiation between equals their best key to survival.

The relationship of "concepts" or their "narrative" is well expressed in schematic rock art and symbolic ceramics. One concept is represented by the anthropomorphic expression on the Monte de Outeiro vase - Figure 4.4.8 - as a woman with a woman's sex, tattooed face and with huge eyes likened to the sun. A story that sometimes combines more than one identity, as can be seen in rock panels of Schematic Art, recalling the link between the sun-eyes and one of the anthropomorphs in the Penya del Vicari shelter in Altea -Figure 1.2..2.1-, or the intertwined bitriangulars portrayed in the Cueva de los Letreros de Vélez Blanco -Figure 1.2.1- in the case of rock art; or in the case of ceramic decoration, taking into account, for example, the relationship between the bitriangular and the deer in the vase expression of Los Millares -Figure 4.2.2-.

Similarly, as one delves deeper into the megalithic register, there are clues that lead to a narrative that is sometimes tremendously impressive. Not only in the megalithic art shown in all its splendour in the Antelas dolmen -Figure 13.2.1- or in the walls of the Montelirio chamber -Figure 10.4.1-, but also in the excavated contexts themselves, such as the multiple female burial in the latter, with women adorned and affected in life by the manipulation of cinnabar dyes. The polished deposits with sculptural plaques in the dolmen of Trincones or in that of Anta da Horta -Figure 11.4.2-, or the arrangement of figurative expressions in the access to that of Dombate -Figure 11.4.1- , support ritualised stories or gestures involving different objects arranged on the stage that houses the bodies of the ancestors.

Depositional gestures also present in the burial caves of the East of the Peninsula, such as the long bone ensembles from the province of Alicante, Pastora or El Fontanal, with synchronous pieces, similar and yet unique because they are different from each other, which have been related to the appropriation of a lineage (Soler, 2017); and in specific ritual contexts such as the small altar of the Grotto of Correio-Mor-Loures, with different stone pieces, also subject to an order in their arrangement -Figure 11.4.1-, or the Orden Seminario pits -Figure 5.1.1-where cylindrical lithics are predominant, some of them with a face. All of these contexts should lead us to think that many pieces would gain in meaning when complemented with others, giving priority to the whole over the unit, as an expression of a collective that integrates different identities, perhaps manifestations of different roles, evidenced by different pieces.

It is surprising to see the similarity and at the same time the variety in the most schematic and simple manifestations, seeing for example the differences between the "triangular" bone pieces found in the Perdigões pit -Figure 6.2.5-, those from the Carada cave in Granada -Figure 6.2.1- or those from the Cova d'en Pardo in Alicante -Figure 14.3.3-. When we look in more detail at the tripartite human figurines also recognised in the bibliography as anthropomorphs in bone or ivory -Figure 8.1-, the same style is observed and at the same time they seek difference through their size and volume, so that there are women, men who sometimes carry an object, bodies with interchangeable heads... It could be said that the expression tries to make an individual recognisable, which more than an

idol is a person and as such fulfils its meaning when those who manufacture, manipulate and deposit it, evoke it, at the same time as they construct messages that unite and signify the social group.

The concepts they expressed could have been simple, a man, a woman... or more complex, a relationship, an agreement... Here we have dealt with pieces that could have assumed more than one identity, as indicated by the presence of more than one pair of eyes on a Millares bowl that attracted the attention of H. Breuil -Figure 4.2.3: 7-, on the golden sheet from Valencina de Concepción -Figure 14.4.2. or in the decorative friezes that characterise some long bones from Alicante -Figure 6.2.6:8-. The decoration and shape of these expressions offer good clues as to the importance or prominence of certain personages. It is striking to discover and observe the figure from Granja de Céspedes -Figure 4.4.4.4- dressed in a cloak with shoulder pads, wearing necklaces with a tattooed or masked face. The code in different in others that also have eyes and tattoos, such as that of Anta de Cabecinhitos - Figure 6.3.3: 4 - with hair tied back in a plait, perhaps expressions of a fashion, a style or perhaps also of a condition linked to a person´s life; or that expressed by the sculptural plaques with large hands on the pubis - Figure 12.1.3: 1 - as a gesture related to sexuality or fertility.

Some of them are on permanent display in museums not only because they are social products, but also because they are veritable "works of art", which can be seen in manuals that, from a historical perspective, or even from the perspective of history of art, bring us closer to different aspects of the past. They were made by procuring good and durable materials to be contemplated with "enthusiasm", "taste" or "respect", thus reinforcing the values evident in that lost "social scene". Gold always looks the same and reflects the light. Like ivory, it has the added value of the difficulty of acquiring it. Marble or schist require specialised carving, polishing and sculpting. The valuation of the medium as a category suggests not so much that the pieces were protected (a concept which is from present time, and which requires a complexity of social means), but rather the need to reinforce the importance of the events in which the pieces took part. The golden plaque from the PP4-Montelirio sector in Valencina de la Concepción, Seville - Figure 14.4.2 - and the twenty or so marble cylinders from the Orden Seminario - 6.4.1 - appear in simple pits, which reveals that their true importance lay in the dramatic staging of the gesture of amortisation.

Other elements were made from materials that were easier to transform and better known for being used in everyday activities and for making common utensils (clay, bone, wood...). The expression of the concepts in these materials, which were less costly to obtain and to work with, may mean that the ideology behind them reached a very large number of individuals, so that the objects could be considered to be popular and therefore good transmitters of the thought materialised in them.

Obviously, such a varied figurative expression may have brought together different concepts and formed part of different narratives, placing us a long way from the synthesis that concluded with the question of whether all that the figurative wealth expressed was just one religious concept or several equivalent ones (Bécares, 1990). The figures are intended to determine oral stories (Bueno, 2010) which, however, and in the same way as the thoughts of those who observe them, vary from generation to generation. There are animals, and objects such as the schist plaques where there are proportionally few oculates, but there is a very recurrent geometric decoration that suggests a colourful cloak (Bueno, 2010). Its motifs have been interpreted as a trace of lineage (Lillios, 2008), something that Breuil (1935) pointed out almost ninety years ago in the panel that links bitriangulares at Los Letreros, Vélez Blanco, so it is possible to consider that the figuration was part of a narrative of ostentation where the ancestors took centre stage (Bueno, 2010; Soler, 2017).

Of course, there are very good pieces that, due to their workmanship or raw material, are of considerable value, and this, in addition to the cost when it comes to recovering them abroad, is confirmed by the insurance valuations when it comes to dealing with loans for exhibitions and the difficulties that the museums that conserve them place on their movement. However, considering a generic protection of this legacy, and seeing that our legislation, without rejecting the *unicum* -because an object can always be individually registered as BIC-, we have to consider the fact that the the collections are protected more because they belong to museums than because they are linked to cultural manifestations or facts, and the story or oral tradition that they represent as a whole is one of the most important values when it comes to proposing the highest level of protection.

The valuation as portable objects of schematic art is encouraging, an expression that is a *World Heritage Site* in the Mediterranean peninsular area, and which needs to be updated by incorporating the megalithic scenarios (Bueno *et al.* 2022c). At the national level, the categorisation as BIC of rock art sites should include the pieces that form an inseparable part of this expression, and at the international level UNESCO could provide some regulations that would allow the inclusion of this legacy *per se* on the World Heritage list, as it does with the objects that support the Intangible Heritage (UNESCO, 2003, art. 2), with the "drawback" that here the intergenerational story is not preserved, the figurines being proof that the enormous territory of the Iberian Peninsula, populated by tribal societies at different levels of development, existed and united in cultural terms.

The linking of figuration with the main habitational and funerary sites, some of which are veritable archaeological zones, and the establishment of an informative network linking the figurines, could be of enormous interest in bringing the public closer to the people who lived with enormously transcendental phenomena such as the megalithic and metallurgical ones. Well-identified with some kind of logo and under the protection of transnational agreements that support collaboration, the involvement of national, regional or municipal museums that contain these expressions of portable art could help to generate circuits similar to those observed in Europe, such as the Danube Iron Age Route (*Cultural Routes*, 2021), which has one of its strong points in the portable heritage preserved in museums. It is worth recalling, in line with the *Council of Europe*'s *Cultural Routes Programme* (https://www.coe.int/ en/web/cultural-routes), that it is recommended for the development of any route seeking recognition, "the identification of tangible and intangible heritage elements related to the theme of the route and the definition of a common narrative for the sites recognised as part of the route". There is no shortage of examples that raise the international profile of the Iberian Peninsula, such as the *Legacy of Al-Andalus.* Spain and Portugal participate in the *European Route of Megalithic Culture*, an itinerary recognised by the Council of Europe in 2013 that could be used to publicize the portable heritage collected in this volume, encouraging visits to museums and archaeological sites.

Let us hope that the effort made to enhance the value of this Iberian heritage with the exhibitions Ídolos *miradas milenarias* / Ídolos*. Olhares Milenares* and the involvement of all the people who have contributed to its materialisation and to the publication of monographs, catalogues and guides in Spanish, Portuguese and English (Bueno and Soler, 2020a and b, 2021d and e; 2023 and 2024), together with this book, will help those involved in heritage management, and the government administrations with responsibility in this area in Spain and Portugal, to become aware of the importance of the figurative groups linked to megalithic and schematic art in the Iberian Peninsula. It is their obligation to take action to ensure the highest level of protection wherever they are located, as unique vestiges of the codes and oral traditions that housed the portable representations of women's bodies. They and the stories they personified sustained the culture of the prehistoric groups that made geometric anthropomorphic expression one of their best signs of identity.

Bibliography

Åberg, N. (1921): *La civilisation* éneolithique *dans la Péninsule Ibérique.* Arbetn Med Understöd af Vilhelm Ekmans Universitettsfond, Uppsala, 25, Uppsala, Lepzig, Paris.

Acosta Martínez, P. (1967): "Representaciones de ídolos en la pintura rupestre esquemática española". *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, XXIV, Madrid.

Acosta Martínez, P. (1968): *La pintura rupestre esquemática en España*. Salamanca.

Acosta Martínez, P. (1984): "El Arte Esquemático Ibérico: problemas de cronología preliminares". *Scripta Praehistorica Francisco Jordá.* Acta Salmanticensia, 156. Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca: 31-61.

Acosta Martínez, P., Cruz Auñón, R. (1981): "Los enterramientos de las facies iniciales de la Cultura de Almería". *Habis*, 12: 275-360.

Adovasio, J.M., Soffer, O. and Klima, B. (1996): "Upper Palaeolithic fibre technology: interlaced woven finds from Pavlov I, Czech Republic, c. 26,000 years ago". *Antiquity*, *70* (269): 526-534.

Ailey, D.W. (1994): "Reading Prehistoric Figurines as Individuals". *World Archaeology, 25*(3): 321-331.

Alcolea, J.J., De Bunes, F., García Valero. M.A., Gómez, J. and Jiménez, P. (1993): **"**Pinturas *esquemáticas* en La **"***Cueva"* del barranco del Reloje: Valverde de los Arroyos, Guadalajara". *Wad- al- Hayara* 20: 85-108.

Almagro Basch, M. (1952): "A propósito de un nuevo ídolo cilíndrico en mármol". *Ampurias*, XIV, 207-214.

Almagro Basch, M. (1966a): *El ídolo de Chillaron y la tipología de los ídolos del Bronce I Hispano.* Trabajos de Prehistoria del Seminario de Historia Primitiva del Hombre de la Universidad de Madrid y del Instituto Español de Prehistoria del Consejo Superior de Investigaciones, XXII, Madrid.

Almagro Basch, M. (1966b): *Las estelas decoradas el suroeste peninsular*. Bibliotheca Praehistorica Hispana, Vol. 8. Editorial CSIC-CSIC.

Almagro Basch, M. (1972): "Los ídolos y la estela de Hernán Pérez (Cáceres) y el ídolo-estela de Tabuyo del Monte (León)". *Trabajos de Prehistoria, 2*: 83-124.

Almagro, M. and Arribas, A. (1963): *El poblado necropolis de Los Millares (Santa Fe de Mondujar, Almería)*. Bibliotheca Praehistorica Hispana, III, Madrid.

Almagro Gorbea, M.J. (1966): "Algunos ídolos cilindros megalíticos desconocidos". *Ampurias*, XXVIII, 49-63.

Almagro Gorbea, M.J. (1973): *Los Ídolos del Bronce I Hispano*. Bibliotheca Praehistorica Hispana, XIII, Madrid.

Almagro Gorbea, M. (1970, 1971 and 1972): "Las fechas de C-14 para la Prehistoria y la Arqueología peninsulares". *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX.

Alonso, M. and Zapata, L. (2009): "Madera carbonizada recuperada en el dolmen de Katillotxu V dolmen (Mundaka): datos preliminares del análisis antropológico". Illunzar, 7-9, 139-142.

Álvarez Rojas, A. (1982): «Ídolo cilindro del Cerro de las Vacas. Trebujena (Cádiz)". *Zephyrus,* XXXIV-XXXV, 120-121.

Alves, L. and Comendador, B. (2021): "Reshaping (all kinds of) borders. The site of Penedo Gordo in the context on Northwestern Iberia schematic art". Sanchez, M.J., Barbosa, H. and Teixeira, J.*: Romper fronteras. Atravessar territorios*, 209-234.

Andrade, M.A. (2014): "Contextos perdidos, obscurantismos helénicos:espolio de um monumento de Alter do Chão pertençente a coleçao de Manuel Heleno". Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*,* 17, 35-60.

Andrade, M.A. (2015): "Cherchez la femme! Iconografía e imagética nas placas de xisto gravadas do megalitismo do Surooeste da Península Ibérica". *Arkeos,* 37: 1545- 1571.

Andrade, M.A. (2020): "As placas votivas dos sepulcros megalíticos de Monte Velha 1 e 2 (Vila Verde de Ficâo, Serpa): reusos o einterpretaçoes". *European Days of Archaeology*, Serpa.

Andrade, M.A., Costeira, C. and Mataloto, R. (2015): "Símbolos de morte em espaços de vida? Sobre a presença de placas de xisto gravadas em povoados do Alto Alentejo, no contexto do Sudoeste peninsular". Collado Giraldo, H. García Arranz, J.J. (Eds) *Symbols in the Landscape: Rock Art and its Context. Proccedings of the XIX International Rock Art Conference IFRAO 2015*. Tomar: CHEIPHAR (*Arkeos*, 37): 1607-1635.

Andrade, M.A., Costeira, C. and Mataloto, R. (2021): "À sua imagem e semelhança. De deuses, ídolos e representações simbólicas em espaços de matriz habitacional durante os 4.º e 3.º milénios a.n.e. no Sul de Portugal". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Coor) Ídolos. *Olhares milenares. O estado da arte em Portugal*. Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon: 213-247.

Andrade, A., Mataloto, R. and Pereira, A. (2022): "Small is beautiful. Early megalithism and the first funerary architectures in south Portugal (southwestern Iberia)". Laporte, L., Large, J.J., Nespoulos, L., Scarre,

Ch. and Steimer-Herber, T.: *Megaliths of the world,* 1313-1324.

Apollinario, M. (1896): "Necropole neolitica de S. Martinho". *O Archeologo Português,* vol. II: 210- 221.

Aranda Jiménez, G., Díaz-Zorita Bonilla, M., Hamilton, D., Milesi, L. and Sánchez Romero, M. (2020): «The radiocarbon chronology and temporality of the megalithic cemetery of Los Millares (Almería, Spain)". *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*, *12*(5): 104.

Aranda Jiménez, G., Lozano Medina, Á., Sanchez Romero, M., Diaz-Zorita Bonilla, M. and Bocherens, H. (2018): Chronology of megalithic funerary practices in southeastern Iberia: the necropolis of Panoría (Granada, Spain). Radiocarbon, 60 (1): 1-19.

Aranda Jiménez, G., Lozano Medina, Á., Camalich Massieu, M.D., Martín Socas, D., Rodríguez Santos, F.J., Trujillo Mederos, A. and Clop García, X. (2017): "La cronología radiocarbónica de las primeras manifestaciones megalíticas en el sureste de la Península Ibérica: las necrópolis de Las Churuletas, La Atalaya y Llano del Jautón (Purchena, Almería)". *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 74 (2): 257-277.

Arias Cabal, P.A. and Suárez, C. (1990): Las sepulturas de la cueva de Los Canes (Asturias) y la neolitización de la región Cantábrica. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 47: 39-62.

Armenta, R., Delgado-Raack, S., Ugalde, A.F. and Risch, R. (2024): Las paletas de uso ritual: Un nuevo objeto simbólico de la prehistoria reciente peninsular. *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 64: 12-37.

Arnal, J. (1976): *Statues-menhir, hommes et dieux*. Ed. Des Hespèrides. Paris

Arribas Palau, A. (1953): "El ajuar de las cuevas sepulcrales de los Blanquizares de Lebor". *Memoirs of the Provincial Archaeological Museums*. Vol. XIV, 78-126.

Arribas Palau, A. (1977): "El ídolo de "El Malagón" (Cullar-Baza), Granada". *Cuadernos de Prehistoria de la Universidad de Granada, 2*: 63-86.

Arribas Palau, A., Molina, F., Saez, L., De la Torre, F., Aguayo, P. and Najera, T. (1981): "Excavaciones en Los Millares (Santa Fe de Mondujar, Almería). Campaña de 1981". *Cuadernos de Prehistoria de la Universidad de Granada*, 6, 1981, 91-108.

Arzelier, A., Rivollat, M., De Belvalet, H., Pemonge, M.H., Binder, D., Convertini, F. and Pruvost, M. (2022): "Neolithic genomic data from southern France showcase intensified interactions with hunter-gatherer communities". *Iscience*, *25*(11): 105387.

Ayala Juan, M.M. (1981): "El ídolo de Caravaca de la Cruz (Murcia)". *Pyrenae*, 15-16, 361-363.

Ayala Juan, M.M. (1984-85): "Los ídolos cruciformes del poblado del Capitán (Lorca)". *Anales de la Universidad de Murcia*, v. XLIII, 3-4, 49-53.

Ayala Juan, M.M. (1985): "Aportación al estudio de los ídolos calcolíticos de Murcia". *Anales de Prehistoria y Arqueología*, I, 23-32.

Ayala Juan, M.M. (1987): "Enterramientos calcolíticos de la sierra de La Tercia, Lorca, Murcia. Preliminary study". *Anales de Prehistoria y Arqueología*, 3, Universidad de Murcia: 9-24.

Ayala Juan, M.M., Jiménez Lorente, S. and Gris Martínez, L. (1995): "Asentamientos permanentes de agricultores y ganaderos del Sureste Peninsular. El cerro de las Viñas and El Chorrillo Bajo, two Neolithic settlements in Lorca", Murcia. *Verdolay,* 7: 41-57.

Ayala Juan, M.M. and Jordán Montes, J.F. (1984): "Aportación al estudio de los ídolos naturales de roca". *Congreso de Historia de Albacete,* (1983), Albacete: 97-106.

Balbín Berhmann, R. de (2020): "Venus de Willendorf". 28. Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. *Ídolos. Miradas milenarias.* Guide Catalogue of the exhibition. Museo Arqueológico Regional, Alcalá de Henares: 28.

Ballester Tormo, I. (1946): "Ídolos Oculados Valencianos. *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina*", II: 115141.

Barba Colmenero, V. (2010): "Los ídolos de la Ciudad de la Justicia. A 4,500-year-old smile". *City of Justice of Jaén. Archaeological excavations.* Andalusian Regional Government. Department of Justice and Public Administration. Almería: 91-101.

Barciela González, V. (2020): "Ídolos del Neolítico Final / Calcolítico en las paredes rocosas de la Península Ibérica. A view from the southeast of the Iberian Peninsula". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) *Ídolos. Millenary views.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante, 2020: 54-68.

Barciela González, V. and Molina Hernández, F.J. (2015): "Nuevos métodos, nuevas lecturas". Barciela, V. (Coor) *La Penya de l'Ermita del Vicari (Altea, Alicante),* Ajuntament d'Altea, Altea: 63-74.

Barroso Bermejo, R. (2020): "Imágenes antropomorfas de la Edad del Bronce y Hierro en la Península Ibérica". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds): *Ídolos. Millenary views.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante, 2020: 368-378.

Barroso Bermejo, R., Bueno Ramírez, P. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2021): "Megaliths and weapons representations: a view of the birth of Iberian warrior images". Bettencourt, A.M.S., Santos-Estévez, M. and Sampaio, H.A. *Weapons and Tools in Rock Art a Word Perspective*. Oxford; Philadelphia: Oxbow books: 87-102.

Barroso, R., Bueno, P., González, A., Balbín-Behrmann, R. de and Rojas, J.M. (2018): 'Tumbas, materialidad and maternidad en los eterramientos de mujeres con Campaniforme: Dos casos de estudios del valle medio del Tajo'. *Complutum* 29 (2) 2018: 319-337.

Batista, Á. (2013): "Deusa ou deuses? um dolo oculado / solar de Abrantes". *Actas II e III Jornadas Internacionais do MIAA, Museu Ibérico de Arqueologia e Arte de Abrantes*. Abrantes Municipal Chamber: 147-159.

Bayley, D.W. (1996): "The Interpretation of Figurines: The Emergence of Illusion an News Ways of Seeing".

Can We Interpreted Figurines? Cambridge Archaeological Journal, 6 (2): 281-307.

Bécares Pérez, J. (1990): «Uniformidad conceptual en los ídolos del Calcolítico Peninsular». *Zephyrus,* 43: 87-94.

Becker, V. (2020): "Vasijas antropomorfas en el Neolítico europeo. Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) *Ídolos. Miradas milenarias.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante, 2020: 130 - 139.

Belda Dominguez, J. (1929): "Excavaciones en el Monte de la Barsella". Término de Torremanzanas (Alicante). *Memorias de la J.S.E.A.*, nº 100, Madrid.

Benetau, G. 2012: *Complexe megalithique du Bois de Fourgon a Avrille (Vendee)*, Etudes archéologiques et techniques d'un ensemble de menhirs et stèles anthropomorphes en Centre-Ouest Atlantique.

Benítez de Lugo Enrich, L. (2018): "Rituales funerarios neolíticos, calcolíticos y de la Edad del Bronce en la provincia de Ciudad Real: Cerro Ortega (Villanueva de la Fuente) y Castillo de Bonete (Terrinches)". *Anejos a CuPAUAM,* 3: 153-218.

Benítez de Lugo Enrich, L., Alañón Flox, L., Barrio Aldea, C., Donate Carretero, I., Francés Negro, M., Márquez Mora, B. and Salazar García, D.C. (2019). Cerro Ortega (Villanueva de la Fuente, Ciudad Real): un abrigo sepulcral con inhumación multiple durante la transición Neolítico-Calcolítico al sur de la Meseta. *Marq. Archaeology and Museums*, 10: 11-24.

Benito Iborra, M. (2017): "Taphonomic analysis of the idols occulted on long bones of ovicaprids from the "Fondo arqueológico La Marina 1995". Soler, J.A. and Casabó, J. (Coor) *Nuevos datos para el conocimiento de la prehistoria en la comarca de La Marina Alta, Alicante*. Marq. Serie Mayor, 13, Alicante: 371-378.

Bernabeu Aubán, J. (1981): "La Cova del Garrofer (Ontinyent, Valencia)". *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina*, XVI: 59-92.

Blanco Frejeiro, A. (1962): "Die ältesten plastischen Menschendarstellungen der Iberischen Halbinsel". Madrider Mitteilungen, 3: 11-20.

Boaventura, R. (2011): "Bodies in motion. Implications of Gender in Long-Distance Exchange between the Lisbon and Alentejo Regions of Portugal in the Late Neolithic". Lillios, K. (Ed): *Comparative Archeologies. The American Southwest AD 900-1600) and the Iberian Peninsula (3000-1500 BC).* Oxbow, 209-220.

Boric, D. (2020): "The stone images of Lepenski Vir". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) *Ídolos. Miradas milenarias.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante, 2020: 154 -166.

Boric, D. (2022): «Plus grand que nature: monumentalité du paysage det représentation non humaine à Lepenski Vir (Serbie)». Laporte, L., Large, J-M., Scarre, Ch. and Steimer-Herbet, T.: *Mégalithes dans le monde,* vol.II: 1173-1193.

Bosch Argilagos, J. (2010): "Movable anthropomorphic representations of the Neolithic in Catalonia: first occulted idols". Cacho, C., Maicas, R., Galán, E. and Martos, J.A. (Coor) *Ojos que nunca se cierran. Idols in early peasant societies*. Madrid, 2010. CD edition, National Archaeological Museum, Madrid: 13-37.

Bosch Gimpera, P. (1966): "Portuguese megalithic culture and Spanish cultures". *Revista de Guimarães*, 76, 3-4: 249-306.

Bosch Gimpera, P (1968): "La chronologie de l'art rupestre seminaturaliste et schématique et la culture mégalithique portugais". *Rev. da Faculdade de Letras, Lisbon,* 9. "La Préhistoire, problèmes et tendences" (Homage to R. Vaufrey), Paris, 7.

Bosch Gimpera, P. (1969): "La Cultura de Almería". *Pyrenae*, 5: 4793.

Bosinski, G., D'Errico, F. and Schiller, P. (2001): *Die gravierten Frauendarstellungen von Gönnersdorf.* Der Magdalénien-Fundplatz Gönnersdorf, 8. Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart.

Brace, S., Diekmann, Y., Booth, T.J. *et al.* (2019): Ancient genomes indicate population replacement in Early Neolithic Britain. *Nat Ecol Evol* 3, 765-771. https://doi.org/10.1038/s41559-019-0871-9

Bradley, R. (2003): 'A life less ordinary: the ritualization of the domestic sphere in later prehistoric Europe'. *Cambridge archaeological journal*, *13*(1): 5-23.

Bradley, R. (2020) : *A Comparative Study of Rock Art in Later Prehistoric Europe*. Cambridge University Press.

Brandherm, D. (1995): "Os chamados "báculos" para uma interpretação simbólico-funcional". *Congresso de Arqueologia Peninsular*, 1, Porto, 1993. Proceedings. Porto: *Sociedade Portuguesa de Antropologia e Etnologia*. vol. 1: 89-94.

Breuil, H. (1917): "La Roche Peinte de Valdejunco à la Esperança, près de Arronches (Portalegre)". *Terra Portuguesa*. Lisboa. 3 (13-14): 17-27.

Breuil, H. (1935): *Les peintures rupestres schématiques de la Penínsule Ibérique,* Vol. IV, Sud-Est et Est de l'Espagne, Foundation Singer-Polinac. Paris.

Bueno Ramírez, P. (1988): *Los dólmenes de Valencia de Alcántara.* Excavaciones Arqueológicas en España, Vol. 155. Ministerio de Cultura, Dirección General de Bellas Artes y Archivos, Subdirección General de Arqueología y Etnografía. Madrid.

Bueno Ramírez, P. (1990): "Statues-menhirs et stèles anthropomorphes de la Péninsule Ibérique". *L'Anthropologie*, 94: 85-110.

Bueno Ramírez, P. (1992): "Les plaques décorées alentejaines: approche de leur étude et analyse". *L'Anthropologie* 96 (2-3): 573-604.

Bueno Ramírez, P. (1995): "Acerca de las manifestaciones religiosas en el arte calcolítico". V. Hurtado (Dir.): El Calcolítico a debate. Meeting of the Chalcolithic in the Iberian Peninsula. Seville, 1990. Junta de Andalucía, Seville: 125-127.

Bueno Ramírez, P. (2006): "Katina *Lillios*, *Esprit* - the. Engraved Stone Plaque Registry and Inquiry Tool". *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 63 (1): 191-195.

Bueno Ramírez, P. (2010): "Ancestros e imágenes antropomorfas muebles en el ámbito del megalitismo occidental: las placas decoradas": 39-77.

Bueno Ramírez, P. (2018): "El Neolítico en la Península Ibérica", *La revolución neolítica: La Draga, el poblado de los prodigios.* Madrid: Museo Arqueológico Regional: 21-34.

Bueno Ramírez, P. (2020a): "Cuerpos e identidades desde el Paleolítico al Neolítico en Europa. Iberian figurines". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds): *Ídolos. Millenary views.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante, 2020: 28-39.

Bueno Ramírez, P. (2020b): "Decorated plaques in the Iberian Peninsula. Human images between life and death". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds): *Ídolos. Millenary views.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante, 2020: 203-216.

Bueno Ramírez, P. (2020c): "Dolmen de Trincones, Alcántara, Cáceres". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. *Idols. Miradas milenarias.* Guide Catalogue of the exhibition. Regional Archaeological Museum, Alcalá de Henares: 126-127.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Bahn, P.G. (2015): "Prehistoric art as prehistoric culture". Bueno Ramírez, P. and Bahn, P. (Eds): *Prehistoric Art as Prehistoric Culture. Studies in Honour of Professor Rodrigo de Balbín-Behrmann,* Archaeopress Archaeology, Oxford.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (1992): "Art mégalithique dans la Péninsule Ibérique. Une vue d'ensemble". *L'Anthropologie*, 96, 2-3: 499-572.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (1997): "Arte megalítico en sepulcros de falsa cúpula. A propósito de del monumento de Granja de Toriñuelo", *Brigantium*, 10: 91-121.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2002): "L'Art mégalithique péninsulaire et l'Art mégalithique de la façade atlantique: un modèle de capillarité appliqué à l'Art post-paléolithique européen". *L'Anthropologie,* 106: 603-646.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2006a): "Arte megalítico en la península ibérica: contextos materiales y simbólicos para el arte esquemático". Martínez, J. and Hernández, M.S. (Eds): *Arte Esquemático en la Península Ibérica. Comarca de los Vélez, May 2004,* Almería: 57-84.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2006b): "Cervidés et serpents dans la mythologie funéraire du mégalithisme ibérique". *Anthropozoologica*, *41*(2): 85-102.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2006c): "Arte parietal megalítico en la Península Ibérica". Carrera, F. and Fabregas, R. (Eds): *Arte parietal megalítico en el Noroeste peninsular*. Tórculo Edicións, Santiago de Compostela: 153-212.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Balbín Behrmann, R. (2006d). "Between power and mythology: evidence of social inequality and hierarchisation in Iberian megalithic art". *BAR International Series*, *1525*: 37-52.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2009): "Marcadores gráficos y territorios tradicionales en la Prehistoria de la Península Ibérica". *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad de Granada*, 19: 5-100.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2016): "From hunters to producers. Transitions and traditions". *Del neolític a l'edat de bronze en el Meditarrani*, Estudis en homenatge a Bernat Martí Oliver. SIP 119, Valencia: 465-480.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2021): "The end of the Ice age in southern Europe: Iberian images in the Palaeolithic to Post-Palaeolithic transition". *Comptes Rendus Palevol*, *20*(44): 897-929.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrmann, R. de and Barroso Bermejo, R. (2004): "Application d'une méthode d'analyse du territoire à partir de la situation des marqueurs graphiques à l'intérieur de la Péninsule Ibérique: le Tage International". *L'Anthropologie,* 108: 653-710.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrmann, R de. and Barroso Bermejo, R.B. (2005). "Hiérarchisation et métallurgie: statues armées dans la Péninsule Ibérique". *L'Anthropologie*, 109 (4): 577-640.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrmann, R. de and Barroso Bermejo, R. (2007): "Chronologie de l'art Mégalithique ibérique: C14 et contextes archéologiques". *L'Anthropologie*, 111 (4): 590-654.

Bueno Ramírez, P. Balbín Behrmann, R. de and Barroso Bermejo, R. (2008b): "Dioses y antepasados que salen de las piedras". García Sanjuan, L. (Ed): *Patrimonio megalítico: más allá de los límites de la Prehistoria*, Monográfico. Bulletin of the Andalusian Historical Heritage Institute, 67: 62-67.

Bueno Ramírez, P. Balbín Behrmann, R. de and Barroso Bermejo, R. (2009): "Análisis de las grafías megalíticas de los dólmenes de Antequera y su entorno". *Dólmenes de Antequera: tutela valorización hoy*. Andalusian Institute of Historical Heritage (PH notebooks, 23). Seville: 186-197.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrmann, R. de and Barroso Bermejo, R. (2012): "La frontera ideológica: grafías postglaciares ibéricas". 1ª Mesa Redonda Artes Rupestres da Préhistória e da Proto-história. Sanches, M.J. (Ed): Paradigmas e Metodologias de Registo. *Trabalhos de Arqueologia,* 54: 139-160.

Bueno-Ramírez, P., Balbín-Behrmann, R. de and Barroso, R. (2015a): "Graphic programs as ideological construction of the megaliths: the south of the Iberian Peninsula as case study". *Death as Archaeology of transition: thoughts and materials. British Archaeological Reports. International Series*, *2078*, 52-69.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrmann, R. de and Barroso Bermejo, R. (2015b): "Human images, images of ancestors, identitary images. The South of the Iberian Peninsula». *Statues-menhirs et pierres levées du Néolithique à aujourd'hui*, Direction régional des

affaires culturelles Languedoc-Rousillon, Groupe Archéologique du Saint-Ponais, Saint Pons de Thomières: 443- 463.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrmann, R. de and Barroso, R. (2017): "Steles,Time and Ancestors in the Megaliths of Antequera, Málaga (Spain)", *Menga* 08: 193-219.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behmann, Barroso Bermejo, R., Aldecoa Quintana, A. and Cruz Mateos, A.B. (1998): "Dólmenes en la cuenca del Tajo: restauración y consolidación de megalitos en Alcántara (Cáceres)" *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 55(1): 171-183.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrmann, R. de, Barroso, R., Laporte, L., Gouezin, PH., Cousseau, F., Mens, E., Salanova, L., Benetau, G., Card, N., Thomas, A., Sheridan, A., Carrera, F., Hernanz, A., Iriarte, M. and Steelman, K. (2019a): 'From pigment to symbol: The role of paintings in the ideological construction of European megaliths'. *Megaliths - Societies - Landscapes Early Monumentality and Social Differentiation in Neolithic Europe*. Edited by Johannes Müller, Martin Hinz, Maria Wunderlich. Kiel: Verlag Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn: 845-864.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrmann, R. de and González Cordero, A. (2001): "El Arte megalítico como evidencia de culto a los antepasados. A propósito del dolmen de La Coraja (Cáceres)". *Quaderns de Prehistòria i Arqueologia de Castelló,* 22: 47-72.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrmann, R. de Laporte, L., Gouézin, P., Cousseau, F., Barroso Bermejo, R. Hernanz, A., Iriarte, M. and Quesnel, L. (2015): "Natural and artificial colours: the megalithic monuments of Brittany". *Antiquity*, 89 (343): 55-71.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrmann, R. de, Rocha, L. and Oliveira, J. (2015): "Anthropomorphic images as origins of ancestor's "caves". The stele-menhir of Anta do Telhal, Arraiolos, Évora, Portugal". Rocha, L., Bueno Ramírez, P. and Branco, G. (Eds): *Death as Archaeology of transition: thoughts and materials*. BAR International Series 2708: 83-94.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2004). "Advanced megalithic constructions in the interior basin of the Tagus: the core of Cáceres". *SPAL*, 13: 83-112.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2007): "El dolmen de Lagunita III: rituales y símbolos de la tradición en el Megalitismo del Tajo Internacional". Cerrillo, E. and Valadés, J. (Eds): *Los primeros campesinos de La Raya. Recent contributions to the knowledge of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic in Extremadura and Alentejo*. Memorias 6: 65-93.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso, R. and Balbín Behrmann R. de (2008): "The necropolis of Era de la Laguna, Santiago de Alcántara, Cáceres, in the context of the megalithism of the central region of the International Tagus". Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (Eds): *Graphical Markers and Megalith Builders in the International Tagus Iberian Peninsula*, BAR International Series 1765, Oxford: 41-59.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2010): "Metal and the symbols of ancestors in Northern Iberia" Bettencourt, A.M.S., Sanches, M.J., Alves, L. and Fábregas Valcarce, R. (Eds) *Conceptualising Space and Place*. BAR International Series 2058, Oxford: 71-87.

Bueno-Ramírez, P., Barroso, R. and Balbín-Behrmann, R. (2011): "Identidades y estelas en el calcolítico peninsular. Funerary memories in the Tagus basin". Vilaça, R. (Ed): *Estelas e Estátuas-menires da Pré à Protohistória*: 37-62.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2012): "Meseta Sur". Rojo, M., Garrido, R. and García, I. (Coor) *El Neolítico en la Península Ibérica y su contexto europeo, Madrid. Cátedra:* 509-542.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2015): "Between east and west: megaliths in the centre of the Iberian Peninsula". *The megalithic architectures of Europe*, 157-166.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2017): "Redefining Ciempozuelos. Bell-beaker culture in Toledo?". *Sinos e taças: junto ao oceano e mais longe: aspectos da presença campaniforme na Peninsula Ibérica= Bells and bowls: near the ocean and far away: about beakers in the Iberian Peninsula*. Universidade de Lisboa: 324-341.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de, (2017b): "Ancestor's images as marks of the past. The dolmen of Azután, Toledo. Spain". Bartelheim, M., Bueno Ramírez, P. and Kunst, M. (Eds): *Key Resources and Socio-cultural Developments in the Iberian Chalcolithic*, University of Tübingen, Tübingen (Ressourcen Kulturen Band 6): 23-36.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2019): "Funerary red (cinnabar versus ochre) and megalithic rituals in the central Iberian Peninsula ". The hypogean necropolis of Valle de las Higueras, Huecas, Toledo, Spain". *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*, 116, 1: 73-93.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2020): "Rojo de cinnabar en contextos funerarios del Sur de Europa. Megalithic tradition and social meaning of colour in the hypogea of the peninsular interior". *El "oro rojo" en la Antigüedad: perspectivas de investigación sobre los usos y aplicaciones del cinnabar entre la Prehistoria y el fin del mundo antiguo*. UNED: 225-250.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2021): "El arte prehistórico en las declaraciones de Patrimonio de la Humanidad. El arte postglaciar ibérico como ejemplo de protección de un patrimonio territorialmente discontinuo ".

Encontro de Arqueologia do Megalitismo de Viseu Dâo Lafões. Investigaçao, Conservaçao, Valorizaçao. *Beira Alta. Revista de estudos da regiâo*,vol. LXXX, 2021, nº1-2 : 231-275.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso-Bermejo, R. and Balbín-Behrmann, R. de (2022a): Megalithic art: funeral scenarios. Laporte, L., Large, J.M., Scarre, Ch. and Steimer-Herbet, T. (Eds), Mégalithes dans le monde, Actes du colloque sur les mégalithes dans le monde (Historial de Vendée, Sept 2019), Editions Chauvinoises, Chauvigny: 1351-1365.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2022b): "Breaking the borders of the Mediterranean Neolithic. Schematic art in Iberian megaliths". Sanches, M.J., Barbosa, M.H. and Castro, J. de (Coor) *Romper fronteiras, atravessar territórios. Identidades e intercâmbios da préhistória recente no interior norte da Península Ibérica.* CITCEM - Centro de Investigacao Transdisciplinar Cultura, Espaco e Memoria, Porto: 171-207.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R. and Balbín Behrmann, R. de (2022c): "Reconstructing Megalithic Memories (REMEM) ". *Boletín del Museo Arqueológico Nacional: Actualidad de la investigación arqueológica en España (2021-2022).* Madrid: 149-164.

Bueno, P., Barroso, R., Balbín, R. de, Campo, M., Etxeberria, F., González, A., Herraste, L., Juan, J., López, P., López, J.A. and Sánchez, B. (2002): "Áreas habitacionales y funerarias en el Neolítico de la cuenca interior del Tajo: la provincia de Toledo". *Trabajos de Prehistoria,* 59: 65-79.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso, R., Balbín Behrmann, R.D. and Carrera, F. (2006). *Megaliths and graphic markers in the Tajo Internacional: Santiago de Alcántara (Cáceres).* Town Council of Santiago de Alcántara.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Barroso Bermejo, R., Balbín Behrmann, R. de., González Martín, A., Cambra-Moo, O., García Gil, O. and Odriozola Lloret, C.P. (2016): "Pasados releídos: el dolmen del Portillo de las Cortes, Guadalajara/MAN". *Bulletin of the National Archaeological Museum,* 34: 9-28.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Carrera, F., Balbín Behrmann, R. de, Barroso, R., Darriba, X. and Paz, A. (2016): "Stones before stones. Reused stelae and menhirs in Galician megaliths", In Fábregas, R. and Rodriguez Rellán, C. (Eds): *Public Images, Private Readings: Multi-Perspective Approaches to the Post-Palaeolithic Rock Art.* Oxford: Archaeopress Archaeology: 1-16.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Fernández Miranda, M. (1981): "El Peñatu de Vidiago (Llanes, Asturias)". *Altamira Symposium*, Madrid: 459-467.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Laporte, L. and Wattez, J. (2022). "Clay architecture in megalithic tombs along the Atlantic Façade: France and Iberia". *Munibe Antropologia-Arkeologia*, (73): 97-111.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Linares Catela, J.A., Balbín Berhrmann, R. de and Barroso Bermejo, R. (Eds) (2018): *Symbols of death in the recent prehistory of southern Europe. The dolmen of Soto, Huelva, Spain.* Arqueología, Monografías. Junta de Andalucía, Sevilla.

Bueno Ramírez, P., Piñón, F. and Prados, L. (1985): "Excavations in the hill of Sejos (Valle de Polaciones, Santander)". *Noticiario Arqueológico Hispano,* 22, Madrid: 459-467.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Soler Díaz, J.A. (Eds) (2020a): ***Ídolos**: Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Soler Díaz, J.A. (2021a): "Figurines as codified human bodies in Iberia n Late Prehistory: Idolos Miradas Milenarias / Idolos. Olhares Milenares, The Exhibition". *Journal Of Anthropological And Archaeological Sciences* DOI: 10.32474/JAAS.2021.04.000187.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Soler Díaz, J.A. (2021b): "Relatos de imagens solares na Pré-história recente do Ocidente ibérico. Reflexões a partir do projeto científico, expositivo e divulgativo "Ídolos. Olhares Milenares"". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Coor) Ídolos. *Olhares milenares. O estado da arte em Portugal.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon: 25-51.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Soler Díaz, J.A. (2021c): "Constructing powerful symbols: solar images on Iberian figurines between the 4 and 3rd millennia" BC. Meller, H., Reichenberger, A. and Risch, R. (Eds) *Time is power 13th Archaeological Conference of Central Germany, Halle*: 125-148.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Soler Díaz, J.A. (Coor) (2021d): ***Ídolos.** Olhares milenares. O estado da arte em Portugal.* Impresa Nacional, Lisbon.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Soler Díaz, J.A. (Eds) (2021e): *Mobiles Images of Ancestral Bodies: A Millennium-Long Perspective from Iberia to Europe*. Archaeological Zone. Museo Regional de Madrid. 2 vol. Alcalá de Henares.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Soler Díaz, J.A. (2021f): "Um legado artístico excepcional. Breve apontamento sobre peças singulares da exposição **«Ídolos.** Olhares milenares" exhibition". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds): ***Ídolos.** Olhares milenares. O estado da Arte em Portugal,* Imprensa Nacional, Lisboa, 305-345.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Soler Díaz, J.A. (2021g): ***Ídolos.** Olhares milenares. Guia da Exposição.* Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Soler Díaz, J. (2023): *Ídolos. Miradas Milenarias desde el extremo suroccidental de Europa*. Guide-Catalogue of the exhibition at the Museum of Huelva. Sevilla.

Bueno Ramírez, P. and Soler Díaz, J.A. (Eds) (2024): *Ídolos. Miradas Milenarias en el extremo suroccidental de Europa. 50 years of the Museum of Huelva*. Huelva.

Burl, A. (1980): "Science or symbolism: problems of archaeo-astronomy". *Antiquity*, 54 (212): 191-200.

Cabré Aguiló, J. (1924): "Objetos grabados e ídolos prehistóricos del Museo de Antropología de Madrid".

Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnología y Prehistoria, III, 1924: 91 ff.

Cacho, C., Maicas, R., Galán, E. and Martos, J.A. (Coor) (2010): *Eyes that never close. Idols in early peasant societies*. Madrid. CD edition, National Archaeological Museum, Madrid.

Calado, M. (2004): "Relatório sobre a intervenção em Águas Frias". Arquivo da DGPC.

Calado, M. (2005): "Standing stones and natural outcrops: the role of ritual monuments in the Neolithic transition of the Central Alentejo". *Monuments and landscape in Atlantic Europe.* Routledge: 29-47.

Calado, M. (2006): *Alentejo*. L. Oosterbeek (Dir): *Territorios da Pré-historia em Portugal* 8. Arkeos 18.

Calado, M. and Roque, C. (2013). *Nova carta arqueológica do Alandroal*. Alandroal, Câmara Municipal.

Calvo Peña, S. (2019): "Aproximación y caracterización de la tecnología de fabricación de los recipientes cerámicos en las Minas Prehistóricas de Gavá". Doctoral thesis. Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona. https://doi.org/10.13140 /RG.2.2.35308.18567.

Calvo Peña, S., Bosch Argilagós, J., Gómez Basch, A. and Molist Montaña, M. (2021): "Use of imaging and chemical techniques to observe technological features of the Venus de Gavá". *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports,* 40. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jasrep.2021.103237).

Camalich Massieu, M.D. (1981-1982): *La cerámica eneolítica no campaniforme de Andalucía Sudoriental.* Anuario de la Universidad de la Laguna*,* Volume 1, Book 1.

Cardoso, J.L. (1992): "Acerca de um soporte de lareira do povoado pré-historico de Leceia (Oeiras)". *Al-madan*, 2nd series 1: 23-26.

Cardoso, J.L. (2002): "Sobre os ídolos de calcário de Pêra (Silves) e o seu significado, no quadro do Calcolítico do sul peninsular". *O Arqueólogo Pôrtugues*, Série IV(20): 61-76.

Cardoso, J.L. (2009): "Estatuetas do Neolítico Final e do Calcolítico do povoado pré-historica de Leceia (Oeiras) e o simbolismo a ella asociado". *Etudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*, 17: 73-96.

Cardoso, J.L. (2016): "Henri Breuil e a Arqueologia Portuguesa. Primordios de uma longa actuação". *Al.madam*, IIª serie, 20: 197-203.

Cardoso, J.L. (2021): "Os "báculos" das sociedades agropastoris do Sul do território português (último quartel do 4.º milénio/inícios do 3.º milénio a. C.". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Coor) ***Ídolos.*** *Olhares milenares. O estado da Arte em Portugal.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon: 171-199.

Cardoso, J.L. (2022): "Materias-primas não-metálicas de origem geológica na Pre-Historia do Ocidente Peninsular: contributo para o conhecimento da sua exploração, circulação e utilização". *Memorias da Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa Classe de Ciencias*, XLVIII: 39-77 .

Cardoso, J.L., Caninas, J.C., Gradim, A. and Nascimento, J. (2002): "Menires do Alto Algarve oriental: Lavajo I e Lavajo II (Alcoutim)". *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*, 5(2): 99-133.

Cardoso, J.L., González, A. and Cardoso, G. (2001-02): "Um notavel ídolo de calcário do dólmen de Casaínhos (Loures)". *Estudo arqueológicos de Oeiras*, 10: 375-385.

Cardoso, J.L., Leitão, M., Norton, J., Ferreira, O. and North, C.T. (1995): "O santuário calcolítico da Gruta do Correio-Mor Loures". *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*. Câmara Municipal: 97-121.

Cardoso, J.L., Medeiros, S. and Martins, F. (2018): '150 anos depois: uma rara placa de xisto decorada encontrada na gruta da Casa da Moura (Óbidos)'. *Revista portuguesa de arqueologia*, 21(1): 57-69.

Cardoso, J.L. and Soares, J. (1995): "Sobre a cronologia absoluta das grutas artificiais da Estremadura portuguesa". *Al-madan*, (4): 10-13.

Caro Bellido, A. (1982): "Un nuevo "Ídolo cilindro oculado" del Cerro de las Vacas (Lebrija, Sevilla)". *Zephyrus*, XXXIV-XXXV: 123-132.

Caro Bellido, A. (1982-83): "Ídolos del Calcolítico de la zona de Lebrija (Sevilla)". *Mainake*, 4-5: 39-52.

Carr, E.H. (1976): *What is History?* Seix Barral, Barcelona.

Carrasco, M. and Enriquez, J. (1997): "Intervenciones en los dólmenes de Valencia de Alcántara". *Ibn Maruan*, 7: 247-264.

Carrasco Rus, J., Martínez Sevilla, F., Pachón Romero, J.A. and Gámiz Jiménez, J. (2015): "Nuevas aportaciones para el conocimiento del arte rupestre esquemático y los soportes muebles en la cuenca alta del Guadalquivir. The paintings of Cerro Jabalcón (Zújar, Granada) and their relationship with those of Tajos de Lillo (Loja, Granada)". *Antiquitas*, 27, 2015: 7-29.

Carrera Ramírez, F. (2011): "El arte parietal en monumentos megalíticos del Noroeste ibérico. Assessment, diagnosis and conservation". *British Archaeological Reports International series*, 2190, Oxford: Archaeopress.

Carrera Ramírez, F. and Fábregas Valcarce, R. (2006): *Arte parietal megalítico en el Noroeste peninsular*. Tórculo Edicións, Santiago de Compostela.

Carrilero Millán, M. and Suárez Márquez, A. (1989-1990): "Ciavieja (El Ejido, Almería), results obtained during the 1985 and 1986 campaigns". *Cuadernos de Prehistoria de la Universidad de Granada*, 14-15: 109-136.

Cartailhac, É. (1886): Les Ages prehistoriques de L'Espagne et du Portugal, Paris.

Cartailhac, E. (1905): «Plaquette de schiste des dolmens aveyronnais, analogues aux palettes egiptiens». *Congrés d'AFAS*, 34: 694-697.

Carvalho, A.F. (2014): "Bom Santo cave (Lisbonne) and the Middle Neoltihic Societies of Southern Portugal". *Promonoria Monografica,* 17. Universidade do Algarve.

Carvalho, A.F. (2021): "Olhares inesperados. A estela antropomórfica neolítica do Algar do Bom Santo (Lisboa) no seu contexto funerário e ritual Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Coor) ***Ídolos.*** *Olhares milenares. O estado da Arte em Portugal.* Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon: 67-75.

Castro Martínez, P.V. and Escoriza Mateu, T. (2011): "Women, men, figures and social networks. El sudeste ibérico c. 3700-2100 cal b.n.e". *Memorial Luis Siret. I Conference on Prehistory in Andalusia.* The protection of *prehistoric heritage (Antequera 2010)*. Consejería de Cultura de la Junta de Andalucía. Seville: 591-594.

Castrillo, C. and Jimenez, C.C. (2020): "Review of the geographical distribution of ivory and its use value in the Iberian Peninsula from the beginning of the third millennium to the Recent Bronze Age". *Archaeology and Territory*, 17: 51-62.

Cauvin, J. (1994): *Naissance des divinités, naissance de l'agriculture: La révolution des symboles au Néolithique*. Editions du CNRS, Paris.

Cerdán, C., Leisner, G. and Leisner, V. (1952): *The megalithic tombs of Huelva*. Informes y Memorias de la Comisaría de Excavaciones Arqueológicas, 26, Madrid: 87-108.

Cerrillo Cuenca, E. and Bueno Ramírez, P. (2019): "Counting with the invisible record? The role of LiDAR in the interpretation of megalithic landscapes in south-western Iberia (Extremadura, Alentejo and Beira Baixa)". *Archaeological Prospection*, 26(3): 251-264.

Cerrillo Cuenca, E., Bueno-Ramírez, P. and Balbín-Behrmann, R. de (2019). "3DMeshTracings: a protocol for the digital recording of prehistoric art. Its application at Almendres cromlech (Évora, Portugal)". *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports*, 25: 171-183.

Cerrillo Cuenca, E. and González Cordero (2011): "Burial prehistoric caves in the interior basin of river Tagus: the complex at Canaleja gorge, (Romangordo, Cáceres, Spain)". Bueno, P., Cerrillo, E. and González, A. (Eds): *From the Origins:The Prehistory of the Inner Tagus Region*. BAR International Series 2219, Archaeopress, Oxford: 23-42.

Cerrillo-Cuenca, E., Sanjosé Blasco, J.J., Bueno-Ramírez, P., Pérez-Álvarez, J.A., Balbín Behrmann, R. de and Sánchez-Fernández, M. (2021): "Emergent heritage: the digital conservation of archaeological sites in reservoirs and the case of the Dolmen de Guadalperal (Spain)". *Heritage Science*, 9(1): 1-15.

Chapman, J. (2013): *Fragmentation in archaeology: People, places and broken objects in the prehistory of South Eastern Europe*. Routledge.

Chapman, J.C. and Gaydarska, B.I. (2006): *Parts and wholes: fragmentation in prehistoric context*. Oxbow books.

Chapin, A.P. (2012): "Do clothes make the man (or woman)? Sex, gender, costume, and the Aegean colour convention". Nosch, M.L. and Laffineur, R. (Eds): *KOSMOS Jewellery, Adornment and Textiles in the Aegean Bronze Age*. Peeters: 297-304.

Clottes, J. (1977): "Informations archéeologiques: Haute-Garonne". *Gallia Prehistoire* 20, 2: 550-551.

Cohen, C. (2011): *The woman of origins. Images of women in Western Prehistory*. Ed. Cátedra. Madrid.

Comendador, B. (Coor) (2002): "O Penedo Gordo. Intervención arquueológica num abrigo con pintura rupestre esquemática da Galicia suroriental. Monographs. University of Vigo.

Correia, V. (1915): "Ídolos preistóricos tatuados, de Portugal". *Aguia*: 3-11.

Correia, V. (1917): "Os Ídolos placas". *Terra Portuguesa. Revista ilustrada de Arqueologia Artística e Etnografía*, 13-14, 29-35.

Correia, V. (1999) [1921]: *The Neolithic of Pavia (Alentejo-Portugal)*. Fac-simile of the 1921 edition. Edições Colibri, Lisbon.

Cornell, P., Borelius, U., Kresa, D. and Backlund, T. (2007-2008): "Kossinna, the *Nordische Gedanke*, and Swedish Archaeology. Discourse and politics in German and Swedish archaeology 1900-1950". *Current Swedish Archaeology*, Vol. 15-16 (2007/2008): 37-59.

Cortón Noya, N.C., López García, Á. and Carrera Ramírez, F. (2015): "Combining photogrammetry and photographic enhancement techniques for the recording of megalithic art in north-west Iberia". *Digital applications in archaeology and cultural heritage*, 2(2-3): 89-101.

Crassard, R., Abu-Azizeh, W., Barge, O., Brochier, J.É., Chahoud, J. and Régagnon, E. (2022): 'The use of desert kites as hunting mega-traps: functional evidence and potential impacts on socioeconomic and ecological spheres'. *Journal of World Prehistory*, *35*(1), 1-44.

Crossland, Z. (2016): "Materiality and Embodiment". Dan Hicks , Mary C. Beaudry (Eds): *Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*: 386-405.

Cruz, Domingos J. da (1995): "Cronologia dos monumentos com tumulus do Noroeste peninsular e da Beira Alta". *Estudos Pré-históricos*, 3: 81-119.

Cubas Morera, M. (2020): Chronicle of the exhibition Ídolos. Millenary glances. *Works of Prehistory*.

Cultural Routes (2021): Iron Age Danube Route. Cultural Routes of the Council of Europe programme. https://www.coe.int/en/web/cultural-routes/iron-age-danube-route.

D'Anna, A., Bossansky C., Bellot-Gurlet L., LE Bourdonnec F.X., Guendon J.L., Reggio A. and Renault S. (2015): "Les stèles gravés néolithiques de Beyssan à Gargas (Vaucluse)". *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*, 112, 4: 761-788.

Darvill, T. (2022): «Keeping time at Stonehenge». *Antiquity*, *96*(386): 319-335.

Déchelette, J. (1908): *Manuel d'Archéologie Prehistorique Celtique et Gallo-Romaine. I Archeologie Préhistorique.* Librairie Alphonse Picard et Fils, Paris.

Defrasne, C., Chalmin, E., Bellot-Gurlet, L., Thirault, E. and André, G. (2019): 'From archeological layers to schematic rock art? Integrated study of the Neolithic pigments and pigmented rocks at the Rocher du Château (Western Alps, Savoie, France)'. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*, *11*: 6065-6091.

De Miquel Santed, L. and Baeza Albadalejo, R. (2020): *Luchando contra el expolio*. Comunidad Autónoma de la Región de Murcia Consejería de Educación y Cultura. Dirección General de Bienes Culturales. Murcia.

Dias, M.I., Kasztovszky, Z.S., Prudêncio, M.I., Valera, A.C., Maróti, B., Harsányi, I., Kovács, I. and Szokefalvi-Nagy, Z. (2018): 'X-ray and neutron-based non-invasive analysis of prehistoric stone artefacts: a contribution to understand mobility and interaction networks'. *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*, 10: 1359-1373.

Díaz, E. (1921): "Herba, ciudad de Tartesos". *Vell i nou* 2 (XVIII): 194-199.

Díaz-Guardamino, M. (2023): "'Idols' in late prehistoric Iberia". *Antiquity*, Vol. 97 (395): 1332-1335.

Díaz-Guardamino, M., Wheatley, D., Williams, E. and Garrido, J.A. (2016): "Textiles made with perforated beads from Montelirio". Fernández, A., García, L. and Díaz-Zorita, M. (Coor) *Montelirio: a great megalithic monument of the Copper Age*. Arqueología Monografías, Consejería de Cultura, Junta de Andalucía, Sevilla: 345-364.

Díaz del Río, P. (2004): "Copper Age ditched enclosures in central Iberia". *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 2004, vol. 23, 2: 107-121.

Díaz del Río, P., Consuegra, S., Domínguez, R., Martín Bañón, A., Vírseda, L., Agua F., Villegas, M.A. and García Heras, M. (2011): "Identificación de una tradición tecnológica cerámica con desgrasante óseo en el Neolítico peninsular. Archaeometric study of ceramic materials from Madrid (5300-3400 cal BC)". *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 68, 1: 99-122.

Diniz, M. (2021): "A figura antropomórfica da Valada do Mato". Bueno, P., Soler, J.A. (2021) *Ídolos Olhares milenares. Guia da Exposição.* Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisbon: 66-67.

Dyowe Roig, A.E., Estebaranz-Sánchez, F., Martínez, L.M. and Molist Montaña, M. (2023): "Analysis of fingerprints on a PPNB figurine from the Tell Halula site, Syria". *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*, *15*(4): 40.

Duhard, J. (1993): «Réalisme de l'image féminine paléolithique». *Cahiers du Quaternaire*, nº14.

Edo, M., Antolín Tutusaus, F., Martínez, P., Barrio, M.J., Fierro, E., Castillo, T., Fornell, E., Prats, G., Bardera, R. and Castellana, C. (2016b): «The Anthropomorphic Figurine of Can Sadurní Cave, Begues, Barcelona». In *Intellectual and spiritual expression of non-literate peoples*. Anati, E. (Ed.): *Proceedings of the XVII UISPP World Congress (1-7 September, Burgos, Spain).* Archaeopress. Oxford.

Enríquez Navascués, J.J. (1983): "Two idols on long bones from the Huerta de Dios". *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 40: 293-303.

Enríquez Navascués, J.J. (1990): El *Calcolítico o Edad del Cobre de la Cuenca Extremeña: los poblados*. Museo Arqueológico Provincial and Editora Regional de Extremadura. Badajoz.

Enríquez Navascués, J.J. (2000): "Nuevos ídolos antropomorfos calcolíticos de la cuenca media del Guadiana". SPAL: Journal of prehistory and archaeology of the University of Seville, 9: 351-368.

Enríquez Navascués, J.J. and Carrasco M.J. (2000): "Sobre los dólmenes de corredor corto de Valencia de Alcántara". *Ibn Maruan,* 9-10: 271-301.

Enríquez, J.J., García, M., Martín, P. and Rodríquez, A. (2013): "Los depósitos rituales calcolíticos de Huerta Zacarías I (Almendralejo, Badajoz)". *VI Encuentro de Arqueología del Suroeste Peninsular*, Villafranca de los Barros: 877-896.

Enríquez Navascués, J.J. and Rodríguez Díaz, A. (1990): "Algunos ídolos en barro cocido y hueso de la Baja Extremadura". *Zephyrus*, 43: 249-266.

Eogan, G. and Shee Twohig, E. (2022): *"Excavations at Knowth 7: the megalithic art of the passage tombs at Knowth"*, Meath Co. The Royal Irish Academy. Dublin, 2022.

Escacena Carrasco, J.L. (2011-2012): "El firmamento en un cuenco de cerámica. Journey to the Chalcolithic ideas about the celestial vault". *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad Autónoma de Madrid,* 37-38: 153-194.

Escacena Carrasco, J.L. and Flores Delgado, M. (2019): "El cielo implorado. Chalcolithic orantes from Piedrahíta (Montellano, Seville) and their archaeological context". *Complutum* 30 (1): 107-130.

Escoriza Mateu, T. (1989): "Nuevos ídolos del yacimiento de Las Angosturas (Gor, Granada)". *XIX Congreso Nacional de Arqueología, Castellón, 1987, Zaragoza,* 377-384.

Escoriza Mateu, T. (1990): "Ídolos de la Edad del Cobre del yacimiento de Las Angosturas (Gor, Granada)". *Zephyrus,* 43, 1990: 95-100.

Escoriza Mateu, T. (1991-92): "La formación social de los Millares y las "producciones simbólicas". *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad de Granada,* 16-17: 135-165.

Escoriza Mateu, T. and Castro Martínez, P. (2011): "Just as we were? Reconstructions, fictions and designs in the interpretation of the figurative representations of the Arab societies". *Atlántica-Mediterránea Journal,* 13: 97-118.

Escribá Ruiz, M.P. (2023): "El antropomorfo en cerámica de cova Fosca (Ares del Maestrat, Castelló)". *SPAL-Revista de Prehistoria y Arqueología,* 2023, no 32. 1, 236-252.

Spain Guisolphe, T. (1985): "Análisis de laboratorio de la pigmentación de los ídolos oculados sobre huesos largos encontrados en el yacimiento de El Fontanal (Onil. Alicante)". *Lucentum* IV: 35.

Estácio Da Veiga, S.P. (1886, 1887, 1889, 1891): *Antiguidades Moumentaes do Alarve. Tempos. Prehistoricos* Imprensa Nacional, vols I-IV Lisboa.

Esteve Guerrero, M. (1961): "Marble idol found in Lebrija". *Archivo Español de Arqueología*, 34: 161-163.

Fábregas Valcarce, R. (1993): "Las representaciones de bulto redondo en el megalitismo del Noroeste". *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 50: 87-101.

Fábregas Valcarce, R., Rodríguez Rellán, C. and Paz Caamaño, A. (2020): "Ecos del sur? Figuras en piedra en los megalitos del noroeste ibérico". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 177-191.

Farbstein, R., Radic, D., Brajkovic, D. and Miracle, P.T. (2012): "First Epigravettian ceramic Figurines from Europe (Vela Spila, Croatia)". *PlosOne,* vol.7, issue 7, e41437.

Fernandez Eraso, J.M., Mujika Alustiza, J.A. and Fernandez Crespo, T. (2015). "On the chronology of the spatula-idols from the dolmen of San Martín (Laguardia-Alava)". *ARPI: Archaeology and Prehistory of the Peninsular Interior*, (3): 257-271.

Fernández Gómez, F. and Oliva Alonso, D. (1980): "Ídolos calcolíticos del Cerro de la Cabeza (Valencina de la Concepción)". *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 21: 20-44.

Fernández Ruiz, J. and Márquez Romero, J.E. (2001): *Megalithism in the middle basin of the river Grande (Málaga)*. University of Málaga. Málaga.

Ferreira, O. da Veiga (1973): "Acerca das placas-ídolos com maos encontradas en Portugal e o culto da fecundidade". *Studies dedicated to Prof. Pericot,* Barcelona*,* 233-240.

Ferreira, O. da Veiga (1973b): "Acerca dos enigmáticos "baculos" da cultura megalítica do Alto Alentejo". *Arqueologia*, 12: 86-93.

Ferreira, O. da Veiga and Trindade, L. (1954): "Objetos da Necrópole do Cabeço da Arruda (Torres Vedras)". *Zephyrus,* V: 29-35.

Figueiredo, S. and Baptista, A. (2013): "A arte esquemática pintada em Portugal". *II Congreso Arte Rupeste esquemático en la Península Ibérica.* Comarca de los Vélez: 301-315.

Figueiredo, S., Xavier, P., Silva, A., Neves, D. and Garcia, I.D. (2014): "The Holocene transition and post-palaeolithic rock art from the Sabor Valley (Trás-os-Montes, Portugal)". *On rocks and bones: pre-historic societies and their artistic manifestations*: 193-203.

Fitzpatrick, A., Mckinley, J., Barclay, A., Armit, I., Olalde, I. and Reich, D. (2022): "Family ties: deciphering the DNA of the Amesbury Archer and the Companion". *Current Archaeology*: 50-53.

Fleming, A. (1969): "The myth of the mother goddess". World Archaeology, 1 (2): 247-261.

Gallay, A. and Mathieu, G. (1988): „Grabbeigaben der Bandkeramik von Ensisheim, Dep. Haut-Rhin (ElsaB)". *Germania,* 66: 371-389.

García Atiénzar, G. (2006): "Ojos que nos miran. Ídolos oculados entre las cuencas de los ríos Júcar y Segura". Martínez, J. and Hernández, M.S. (Ed) *Arte Esquemático en la Península Ibérica.* Comarca de los Vélez, May 2004, Almería: 223-234.

García Atiénzar, G. (2010): *El yacimiento de Fuente Isso (Hellín) y el poblamiento neolítico en la provincia de Albacete.* Instituto de Estudios Albacetenses "Don Juan Manuel", Albacete.

García Borja, P., Domingo, I. and Roldán García, C. (2006): "Nuevos datos sobre el uso de materia colorante durante el Neolítico Antiguo de las comarcas centrales valencianas". *SAGVNTVM. Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia,* vol. 38: 49-60.

García del Toro, J.R. (1986): "The so-called bone rods from Eneolithic human collective burials in the Spanish Levant: morphotechnical typology and functional hypothesis". *The Eneolithic in the Valencian Country*. Alicante. Instituto de Estudios Juan Gil Albert, Alicante: 157-164.

García Pérez. S., Hurtado Pérez, V., García San Juan, L. and Cintas-Peña, M. (2020): "Las múltiples formas de lo sagrado: las imágenes portables del Neolítico Final y la Edad del Cobre en el Sur de España". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 245-264.

García Rivero D. and O'Brien M.J. (2014): "Phylogenetic Analysis Shows That Neolithic Slate Plaques from the Southwestern Iberian Peninsula Are Not Genealogical Recording Systems". *PLoS ONE* 9(2): e88296. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0088296.

García Sanjuán, L., Fernández Flores, A. and Díaz-Zorita Bonilla, M. (2016): «Montelirio. Assessment and interpretation of an exceptional tomb". Fernández, A., García, L. and Díaz-Zorita, M. (Coor) *Montelirio:* a great megalithic monument of the Copper Age. Arqueología Monografías, Consejería de Cultura, Junta de Andalucía, Sevilla: 503-553.

García San Juan, L. and Hurtado Pérez, V. (1997): "Los inicios de la jerarquización social en el Suroeste de la Península Ibérica (c.2500-1700 a.n.e.). Conceptual and empirical problems". *Saguntum*, 30: 135-152.

García Sanjuán, L., Marrero, J.A., Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrmann, R. de, Rodríguez, J.A.L., Martínez Fernández, G. and Peña, M.C. (2019): "Surprising, colourful, smooth, rare: lithic resources and cultural preferences in the architecture, sculpture and portable artefacts of the tholos-type monument of Palacio III (Seville, Spain)". *Prehistoric Works*, *76*(2): 254-271.

García Sanjuán, L., Vargas Jiménez, J.M., Cáceres Puro, L.M., Costa Caramé, M.E., Díaz-Guardamino Uribe, M., Díaz-Zorita Bonilla, M. and Whittle, A. (2018). "Assembling the dead, gathering the living:

Radiocarbon dating and Bayesian modelling for Copper Age Valencina de la Concepción (Seville, Spain)". *Journal of World Prehistory*, 31: 179-313.

Garrido, R. (2000): *The campaniform in the Central Plateau of the Iberian Peninsula (c.2500- 2000 BC).* BAR International. Series 892. Oxford.

Garrido Pena, R. (2014): "El Campaniforme en la Península Ibérica". *Protohistory of the Iberian Peninsula. From the Neolithic to Romanisation.* University of Burgos. Fundación Atapuerca: 113-124.

Garrido, J.P. and Orta, E. (1964): "Un nuevo tipo de ídolo del Bronce I, hallado en San Bartolomé de la Torre". *Ampurias* XXVI and XXVII: 221-226.

Gaudzinski-Windheuser, S. and Jöris, O., 2012: "Centextualising the Female Image - Symbols for Common Ideas and Communal Identity in Upper Palaeolithic Societies". Wenban-Smith, F., Coward, F., Hosfield, R. and Pope, M. (Eds), *Settlement, Society, and Cognition in Human Evolution*. Matt Pope. Cambridge University Press.

Gavilán, B. and Vera, J.C. (1993): "Ceramics with symbolic decoration and perforated interior cordon from several caves located in the Subbetic region of Córdoba". *SPAL* 2: 81-108.

Gaydarska, B., Rebay-Salisbury, K., Ramírez Valiente, P.R, Fries, J.E., Hofmann, D., Augereau, A., Chapman, J., Mina, M., Pape, E., Ialongo, M., Nordholck, D., Bickle, P. and Hauton, H. and response by Rob, J. and Harris, O. (2023). "To gender or not to gender? exploring gender variations through time and space". *European Journal of Archaeology*: 1-28.

Gero, J. and Conkey, M. (Eds) (1991): *Engendering Archaeology: Woman and Prehistory*. Oxford. Blackwell.

Gimbutas, M. [1974] (1996): *Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe*. 7000-3500 BC, Siruela, Madrid. Translation of *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe: Miths and cult images*. Thames and Hudson, 1974, London.

Giménez Reina, S. (1941): "La Venus de Benoaján". *Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología Etnografía y Prehistoria*, XVI: 444.

Gomes, L.F.C. and Carvalh, P. (1998): "O dólmen de Areita (S. João da Pesqueira, Viseu)". *Estudos Pré-históricos*, 6: 33-93.

Gomes, M.V. (2005): "O sagrado em Vila Nova de São Pedro. Antigas e novas perspectivas". Arnaud, J.M. and Fernandes, C.V. (Eds) *Construindo a memoria. As colecções do Museu Arqueológico do Carmo*. Lisbon: AAP.: 165178.

Gomes, M.V. (2007): "Nés à l'extrème Sud-Ouest de l'Europe. Les menhirs de l'Algarve et l'avènement de l'idéologie mégalithique". *Les expressions intellectuelles et spirituelles des peuples sans écriture.* Colloque UISSPP, 147-157.

Gonçalves, V.S. (1989): "Manifestações do sagrado na Pré-História do Ocidente Peninsular. Deusa(s)-Mãe, placas de xisto e cronologias: uma nota preambular". *Almansor*. Montemor-o-Novo. 7: 289-302.

Gonçalves, V.S. (1997): "Manifestações do sagrado na Pré-História do Ocidente peninsular, 2. A propósito dos artefactos votivos de calcário das necrópoles de Alcalar e Monte Velho". contro de Arqueologia da Costa Sudoeste, 1. Homenagem a Georges Zbyszewski. *Setúbal Arqueológica.* Setúbal. 11-12: 199-216.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2003a): "Manifestações do sagrado na Pré-História do Ocidente peninsular: 4. A "síndrome das placas loucas"". *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*. Vol. 6., nº 1: 131-157.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2003b): *STAM-3, a Anta 3 da Herdade de Santa Margarida*. Instituto português de arqueologia.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2004a): "As deusas da noite: o projecto "Placa Nostra" e as placas de xisto gravadas da região de Évora". *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*, 7, nº2: 49-72.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2004b): "Manifestações do sagrado na Pré-História do Ocidente Peninsular. 5. O explícito e o implícito: breve dissertação sobre os limites fluidos do figurativo lidos a partir de componentes de algumas placas de xisto gravadas do terceiro milénio a.n.e." *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*. Lisboa. 7:1: 165-184.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2004c): "As placas de xisto gravadas dos sepulcros colectivos de Aljezur (3.º milenio a.n.e.)". *O Arqueologo portugués,* Serie IV, 22: 163-218.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2005): "Manifestações do sagrado na Pré-História do ocidente peninsular: 6 - Duas figurações da deusa na estrutura funerária calcolítica do Monte Novo dos Albardeiros (Reguengos de Monsaraz)". O Arqueologo português, 25: 197-229.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2006a): "Manifestações do Sagrado na Pré-História do Ocidente Peninsular 7. Definição do conceito. Some few examples. De novo, os possíveis significados das placas" *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueología*, 9, nº2: 27-59.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2006b): "Manifestações do Sagrado na Pré-História do Ocidente Peninsular 8. Sete Placas de xisto gravadas (e algumas outras a propósito)". *O Arqueólogo Português*, Série IV, 24, 2006: 167-231.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2008): "Na primeira metade do 3.º milénio a.n.e., dois subsistemas mágico-religiosos no Centro e Sul de Portugal". Hernández, M., Soler, J.A. and López, J. (Eds), *Congreso del Neolítico Peninsular*, 4, Alicante, 2006. Proceedings. Alicante, MARQ. T. II: 112-120.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2011): *As placas de xisto gravadas (e os báculos) do sítio do Monte da Barca (Coruche)*. Cadernos da UNIARQ, 7, Lisbon.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2021): "A propósito das placas de xisto gravadas do Ocidente peninsular (3200-2500 a.n.e.). Um depoimento pessoal." P. Bueno, J. Soler (Coor) Ídolos. *Olhares milenares. O estado da arte em Portugal*. Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon: 149-168.

Gonçalves, V.S. (2022). Pequenos sítios, objectos perdidos, artefactos sem contexto. O "ídolo cilíndrico" de Ervidel (Herdade da Cariola). *Ophiussa.*

Revista do Centro de Arqueologia da Universidade de Lisboa, *6*.

Gonçalves, V.S., Pereira, A. and Andrade, M. (2005): "As notáveis placas votivas da Anta de Cabacinhitos (Évora)». *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*, 8, nº1: 43-109.

Gonçalves, V.S., Pereira, A. and Andrade, M. (2014): "As placas votivas (e o báculo) da Lapa da Galinha, na primeira metade do 3.º milénio a.n.e". *Estudos arqueológicos de Oeiras,* 21: 109-158.

Gonçalves, V.S., Sousa, A.C. (2017): "The Shadows of the Rivers and the Colours of Copper. Some Reflections on the Chalcolithic Farm of Cabeço do Pé da Erra (Coruche, Portugal) and its Resources". Bartelheim, M., Bueno Ramírez, P. and Kunst, M. (Eds), *Key Resources and Sociocultural Developments in the Iberian Chalcolithic* .Tübingen: Tübingen Library Publishing: 143-166.

González Navarrete, J. (1967): "Más pinturas rupestres en Jaén. The Cave of the Mother Goddess". *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Giennenses*, 52: 7-25.

Gris Martínez, L. (2018): "El poblado calcolítico del Chorrillo Bajo (Lorca, Murcia)". *Alberca* 16: 23-47.

Guerra, A.V. and Ferreira, O. da Veiga (1971): "Notícia sobre uma falange - ídolo gravada do Museu Dr. Santos Rocha na Figueira da Foz". *Revista de Guimarães*, 81 (1-2) Jan.-Jun. 1971: 43-49.

Guerra Doce, E.G., Delibes de Castro, G., Zapatero Magdaleno, P. and Villalobos García, R. (2009). "Primus inter pares": strategies of social differentiation in the megalithic tombs of the Spanish northern sub-plateau". *BSAA Archaeology*, (75): 41-65.

Guilaine, J. (2022a): Primitiva Bueno Ramírez et Jorge A. Soler Díaz (Coor): Ídolos. Miradas milenarias. MARQ - Museo Arqueológico de Alicante, Museo Arqueológico Regional de Madrid, 2020 (republished by the Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Imprensa nacional, Lisboa, 2021, with an exhibition catalogue). Version anglaise: Mobile images of ancestral bodies: a millenium long perspective from Iberia to Europe. Comunidad de Madrid, Alcalá de Henares, 2021. *Trabajos de Prehistoria*,79: 1, 178-180.

Guilaine, J. (2022b): Femmes *d'hier. Images, mythes et réalités du féminin néolithique.* Odile Jacob, Paris.

Gusi, F. and Olaria, C. (1991): *El poblado neoneolítico de Terrera-Ventura (Tabernas, Almería).* Archaeological Excavations in Spain, 160.

Gutiérrez López, J.M. (2007): "Un avance de la excavación del sepulcro megalítico de "el Juncal" (Ubrique, Cádiz)". *Revista Atlántica-Mediterránea de Prehistoria y Arqueología Social*, 9: 291-301.

Hameau, P. (1995): Les peintures schématiques du Pin de Simon (Gemenos, Bouches-du-Rhône). *Mésogée (Marseille)*, *54*: 139-153.

Hansen, S. (2017): "Phallomorphic Antler Tools." Helwing, B., Aliev, T., Lyonnet, B., Guliyev, F., Hansen, S. and Mirtkhulava, G. (Eds) *The Kura Projects. New Research on the Later Prehistory of the Southern Caucasus*. Bonn: 195-297.

Hansen, S. (2020): "Neolithic figurines in Southwest Asia and Europe". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 83-92.

Harris, S. and Hofmann, K.P. (2014): 'From stones to gendered bodies: regional differences in the production of the body and gender on the Copper Age Statue-Menhirs of Northern Italy and the Swiss Valais'. *European journal of archaeology, 17* (2): 264-285.

Harrison, R. and Heyd, V. (2007): "The Transformation of Europe in the Third Millennium BC: the example of Le Petit-Chasseur I + III (Sion, Valais, Switzerland)". *Praehistorische Zeitschrift,* 82: 129-214.

Hasler, Ch. (1998): "Les stèles de la nécropole tumulaire néolithique de Château Blanc (Ventabren, Bouches-du-Rhône)" . *Archéologie en Languedoc,* 22: 105-112.

Hernández Pacheco, E. (1916): *Pinturas prehistóricas y dólmenes de la Región de Alburquerque (Extremadura).* Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas, Note 8, Madrid.

Hernández Pacheco, E., Cabré Aguiló, J. and Conde de la Vega del Sella (1913): *The prehistoric paintings of Peña Tu (Asturias).* Trabajos de la Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas, Memoria 2, Madrid.

Hernández Pérez, M.S. (2009): "About the origin of Schematic Art". *Tabona*, 17: 63-92.

Hernando Gonzalo, A. (2002): *Arqueología de la Identidad* (Vol. 1). Ediciones Akal.

Hernando Gonzalo, A. (2007): "Sexo, Género y Poder. Brief reflection on some concepts used in the Archaeology of Gender". *Complutum,* 18: 167-174.

Hernanz, A., Iriarte, M., Bueno Ramírez, P., Balbín Behrann, R. de, Gavira, J.M., Calderon. D., Laporte, L., Barroso, R., Gouezin. Ph., Maroto, A., Salanova, L. Benetau, G. and Mens, E. (2016): "Raman microscopy of prehistoric paintings in French megalithic monuments". *Journal of Raman Spectroscopy*, 47: 571-578.

Heyd, V. (2007): "Families, prestige goods, warriors & complex societies: Beaker groups of the 3rd millennium cal BC along the upper & middle Danube". *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society*. Cambridge University Press, 327-379.

Hodder, I. (1982): *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies in Material Culture*. Cambridge University Press. Cambridge.

Hofmann, D. (2020): "From clay to stone: contrasting anthropomorphic representations in south-central Europe". Bueno, P., Soler, J.A. (Eds) Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 114-129.

Horta Pereira, A. and Bubner, T.H. (1977): 2Novos materiais de Palmela". *O Arqueologo Portugues*, Series III, VII-VII: 113-124.

Hunt Ortiz, M.A., Consuegra, S., Díaz del Río, P., Hurtado Pérez, V. and Montero Ruiz, I. (2011): "Neolithic and Chalcolithic-VI to III millennia BC-use of cinnabar (HgS) in the Iberian Peninsula: analytical identification and lead isotope data for an early mineral exploitation of the Almadén (Ciudad Real, Spain) mining district". Mazadiego, F. (Ed) *History of Research in Mineral Resources*. Cuadernos del Museo Geominero, 13. Instituto Geológico y Minero de España, Madrid: 3-13.

Hurtado Pérez, V., (1978): "Los Ídolos del Calcolítico en el SW peninsular. *Habis*, 9, 1978: 357-364.

Hurtado Pérez, V. (1980): "Los ídolos calcolíticos de "La Pijotilla" (Badajoz)". *Zephyrus,* XXX-XXXI: 165-204.

Hurtado Pérez, V. (1981): "Las figuras humanas del yacimiento de la Pijotilla (Badajoz)". Madrider Mitteilungen, 22: 78-88.

Hurtado Pérez, V. (1986): "El Calcolítico en la Cuenca Media del Guadiana y la necrópolis de La Pijotilla". *Actas de la Mesa Redonda sobre Megalitismo peninsular.* Madrid: 51-77.

Hurtado Pérez, V. (2004). "El asentamiento fortificado de San Blas (Cheles, Badajoz). III millennium BC". *Trabajos de prehistoria,* 61 (1): 141-155.

Hurtado Pérez, V. (2008): "Ídolos, estilos y territorios de los primeros campesinos en el sur peninsular". Cacho, C., Maicas, R., Marcos, J.A. and Martínez, M.I. (Eds) *Acercándonos al pasado. Prehistory in 4 acts.* Edition on cd. Ministry of Culture, Madrid.

Hurtado Pérez, V. (2010): "Representaciones simbólicas, sitios, contexto e identidades territoriales en el suroeste peninsular". Cacho, C., Maicas, R., Galán, E. and Martos, J.A. (Coor) *Ojos que nunca se cierran. Idols in early peasant societies*. Madrid, 2009. CD edition, National Archaeological Museum, Madrid: 137-198.

Hurtado Pérez, V. (2013a): "Los ídolos del asentamiento de Valencina de la Concepción: una revisión". García, L., Vargas, J.M., Hurtado, V., Ruiz, T. and Cruz-Auñon, R. (Eds): *El asentamiento prehistórico de Valencina de la Concepción (Sevilla). Research and guardianship in the 150th anniversary of the discovery of La Pastora.* University of Seville, Seville: *311-328*.

Hurtado Pérez, V. (2013b): "El ídolo del Cerro de las Vacas (Lebrija)". *La pieza del mes*. 26 October 2013. Museo Arqueológico MInicipal de Jerez, Asociación de Amigos del Museo, Jerez.

Hurtado, V., Mondéjar, P. and Pecero, J.C. (2000): "Excavations in Tomb 3 at La Pijotilla". *El Megalitismo en Extremadura. Homage to Elías Diéguez Luengo. Extremadura Arqueológica,* VIII: 249-266.

Hurtado, V. and Perdigones, L. (1983): "Ídolos inéditos del Calcolítico en el Sudoeste hispano". *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 24: 46-58.

Huysecom, E. (1986): "La question des bouteilles à collerette : identification et chronologie d'un groupe méridional répandu de l'Ukraine à la Bretagne". Chancerel, A., Jéhanne, B. and Verron, G. *Actes du Xe colloque interrégional sur le Néolithique*: 195-215.

Jalhay, E. and Paço, A. (1945): "El castro de Vilanova de San Pedro". *Actas y memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria.* Madrid. 20: 5-93.

Jones, A. (2004): 'Archaeometry and materiality: materials-based analysis in theory and practice'. *Archaeometry*, 46: 327-338. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-4754.2004.00161.x.

Jones, A.M. and Díaz-Guardamino, M. (2019): *Making a mark: image and process in Neolithic Britain and Ireland*. Oxbow Books.

Jordá, F. and Blázquez, J.M. (1978): *La Antigüedad.* Historia del Arte Hispánico, I. Ed. Alhambra, Madrid.

Jorge, S.O. (1983): "Aspectos da evolução pré-histórica do norte de Portugal durante o IIIº e o IIº milénios AC." *Portugália*, vol. 4-5: 97-110.

Joy, J. (2009): 'Reinvigorating object biography: reproducing the drama of object lives'. *World Archaeology*, 41(4): 540-556.

Kornienko, T.V. (2018): 'On the Interpretation of Stelae in the Cult Complexes of Northern Mesopotamia During the Pre-Pottery Neolithic'. *Archaeology, Ethnology & Anthropology of Eurasia* 46.4: 13-21.

Kunst, M. (2001):" Invasion? Fashion? Social rank? Consideration concerning the bell beaker phenomenon in Copper Age fortifications of the Iberian Peninsula". *Bell Beakers today (Riva di Garda 1998):* 81-90.

Lancharro Gutiérrez, M.A. and Bueno Ramírez, P. (2020): "Cartografiando el arte mueble ibérico de la prehistoria reciente". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 379-389.

Large, J. and Mens, E. (2017): «File de pierres dressées à Hoedic et dans l'Ouest de la France», *Melvan*, nº14 : 51- 68 .

Laporte, L. and Bueno Ramírez, P. (2022): "On the Atlantic shores. Origins of megaliths in Europe?». Laporte, L., Large, J.M., Scarre, Ch. and Steimer-Herbet, T. (Eds), *Mégalithes dans le monde, Actes du colloque sur les mégalithes dans le monde (Historial de Vendée, Sept 2019)*, Editions Chauvinoises, Chauvigny : 1173-1185 .

Leisner, G. and Leisner, V. (1943): *Die Megalithgräber del Iberischen Halbinsel - Der Süden*, Berlin.

Leisner, G. and Leisner, V. (1951): *Antas do Concelho de Regüengos de Monsaraz*. Lisboa.

Leisner, G. and Leisner, V. (1959): *Die Megalithgräber del Iberischen Halbinsel - Der Westen*, Berlin.

Leisner, G. and Leisner, V. (1952): "Part Two". Cerdán, C., Leisner, G. and Leisner, V.: *The megalithic tombs of Huelva. Archaeological excavations of the 1946 National Plan*. Ministry of National Education. Comisaría General de Excavaciones Arqueológicas, Madrid.

Leisner, V. (1965): *Die Megalithgräber del Iberischen Halbinsel - Der Westen*, Berlin, 1965.

Leisner, V., Zbyzewski, G. and Ferreira, O da V. (1969): *Les monuments préhistoriques de Praia das Maçâs et de*

Casainhos. Geological Services of Portugal. *Memoria* 16, Nova Série, Lisbon.

Liesau, C., Blasco, C., Ríos, P. and Flores, R. (2015): "La mujer en el registro funerario campaniforme y su reconocimiento social". *Trabajos de Prehistoria,* 72, (1), January-June 2015: 105-125.

Liesau Von Lettow, C. and Schuhmacher, T.X. (2012): "An Argaric Bronze Age ivory workshop at the site of Fuente Álamo (Cuevas del Almanzora, Almería)". Banerjee, A., López Padilla, J.A. and Schuhmacher, T.X. (Eds) *Ivory and Elephants in the Iberian Peninsula and the Mediterranean*. Proceedings of the International Colloquium in Alicante (26-27 November 2008). Mainz: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut & Museo Arqueológico de Alicante: 38-121.

Lillios, K. (2002): "Some new views of the engraved schist plaques of southwest Iberia". *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*. Lisboa. 5,2: 135-152.

Lillios, K. (2004): "Lives of stone, lives of people: re-viewing the engraved plaques of Late Neolithic and Copper Age Iberia". *European Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 7 (2): 125-158.

Lillios, K. (2008a): *Heraldry for the Dead. Memory, Identity and the Engraved Stone Plaques of Neolithic Iberia*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Lillios, K. (2008b): "La memoria, la Diosa Madre y los ídolos placa de la Iberia neolítica". García San Juan, L. (Ed) Patrimonio Megalítico: mas allá de los límites de la Prehistoria. *Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico,* 16: 62-67.

Lillios, K. (2020a): "Los ídolos placa del Suroeste ibérico: historias, contextos y prácticas". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 192-202.

Lillios, K. (2020b): *The Archaeology of the Iberian Peninsula. From the Palaeolithic to the Bronze Age*. Cambridge Word Archaeology.

Linares Catela, J.A. (2011): *Guía del megalitismo en la provincia de Huelva. Territories, landscapes and megalithic architectures*. Junta de Andalucía-Ediciones SM. Madrid.

Linares Catela, J.A. and Vera Rodríguez, J.C. (2021): "Orden Seminario". Bueno Ramírez, P., Soler Díaz, J.A. (2021) *Ídolos. Olhares milenares. Guia da Exposição.* Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa: 113-114.

Lizcano, R., Nocete, F. and Peramo, A. (Coor) (2009): "Las Eras. Project for the enhancement and social use of the archaeological heritage of Úbeda (Jaén)". Edition on cd. Publications Service of the University of Huelva.

Llobregat Conesa, E. (1962): "Nota sobre una paleta de piedra de la Cova de la Pastora (Alcoy) del Museo de Prehistoria de Valencia". *VII C.N.A.,* Barcelona, 1960, Zaragoza: 169-172.

Llobregat Conesa, E. (1966): "Estudio de los megalitos portugueseses por los Leisner y las cuevas de enterramiento múltiple del País Valenciano". *Archivo de Prehistoria Levantina*, XI: 81-90.

Lomba Maurandi, J. and Zapata Crespo, J. (2005): "El enterramiento múltiple de Cabezos Viejos (Archena, Murcia). Reflections on Chalcolithic multiple sequences". *Anales de la Universidad de Murcia,* 21: 9-38.

López-Astilleros, K.M. (1993): "El poblamiento desde el Calcolítico a la Primera Edad del Hierro en el valle medio del río Tajo". *Complutum*, 4: 321-336.

López Plaza, S. (1973): "Morillos y objetos de culto de la Edad del Bronce *XIII*". *National Archaeological Congress,* Huelva, 1973. Zaragoza, 1975: 499-506.

Lucas Salcedo, P. and Fernández Azorín, P. (2021): *El Abrigo de Justo de Yéchar: a look at prehistoric art*. Sociedad de Estudios Historiológicos y Etnográficos, Caravaca, Murcia.

Luciañez, M. and García Sanjuán, L. (2016): "Los marfiles del tholos de Montelirio". Alvarez Flores, A., García Sanjuán, L. and Diaz-Zorita, M. (Eds) *Montelirio. A great megalithic monument from the Copper Age*. Seville: 245-271.

Luciañez-Triviño, M., Sanjuán, L.G. and Schuhmacher, T. (2022): "Crafting Idiosyncrasies. Early Social Complexity, Ivory and Identity-Making in Copper Age Iberia". *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 32(1): 23-60.

Lull, V., Rihuete, C., Risch, R., Bonora, B., Celdrán, E., Fregeiro, M.I., Molero, C., Moreno, A., Oliart, C., Velasco, C., Andújar, L., Haak, W., Villalba, V. and Micó, R. (2021): "Emblems and spaces of power during the Argaric Bronze Age at La Almoloya, Murcia". *Antiquity,* Vol. 95 (380): 349-348.

Lull, V., Micó, R., Rihuete, C. and Risch, R. (1999): *Life and death rituals in the prehistory of Menorca. La Cova des Càrritx*. Barcelona.

Mateos, R.S. and Pereira, A.F. (2008): "Reflections of social complexity from the 3rd to the 2nd millennium BC in the Portuguese Upper Ribatejo: "ídolos oculados" from Povoado da Fonte Quente (Tomar, Portugal)". *Zephyrus*, vol.62: 197-205.

McClure, S. (2007): 'Gender, technology, and evolution: cultural inheritance theory and prehistoric potters in Valencia, Spain'. *American Antiquity*, 72(3): 485-508.

Magli, G. (2020): *Archaeoastronomy: introduction to the science of stars and stones*. Springer Nature.

Maicas Ramos, R. (2007): *Industria ósea y funcionalidad: Neolítico y Calcolítico en la cuenca de Vera (Almería)*. Bibliotheca Praehistorica Hispana. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Madrid.

Maicas Ramos, R. (2010): "Los ojos que todo lo ven: oculados del Sureste". In Cacho, C., Maicas, R., Galán, E. and Martos, J.A. (Coor) *Ojos que nunca se cierran. Idols in early peasant societies*. Madrid, 2010. CD edition, National Archaeological Museum, Madrid: 115-136.

Maicas Ramos, R. (2020): "Some are more equal than others. Idols in the Siret collection". Bueno, P. and

Soler, J.A. (Eds) Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 289-302.

Maille, M. (2010): *Hommes et femmes de pierre. Statues menhirs du Rouergue et Haute Languedoc*. Archives d'Ecologie préhistorique. Toulouse

Malone, C. (1998): "God or Goddess: The Temple of Malta". In *Ancient Goddesses: The Myths and Evidence*. London: British Museum Press: 148-163.

Malone, C. and Stoddart, S. (2017): "Figurines of Malta". T. Insoll: *The Oxford Handbook of Prehistoric Figurines*. Oxford University Press: 729-754.

Margarit, M. (2010): «L'art mobilier paléolithique et mésolithique de Roumanie et de la République Moldova - connexions culturelles avec l'Europe Centrale et Orientale». *Annales d'Université "Valahia" Târgoviște*". Section d'Archéologie et d'Histoire. Tome XII, n. 2: 117-137.

Marques da Costa, A.I. (1917): "Estações prehistóricas dos arredores de Setubal. Grutas sepulcraes da Quinta do Anjo". *O Arqueologo Portugués*, XII, 1907: 320-338.

Marques Gonçalves, J.L. (1994): "Ídolos de cornos e suportes de lareira do Castro de Vila Nova de Sao Pedro (Azambuja)". *Actas das V Jornadas Arqueológicas da Associação dos Arqueólogos Portugueses (Lisbon, 1993)*: 147-152. Lisbon.

Martí Oliver, B. and Hernández Pérez, M.S. (1988): *El Neolític Valencià: art rupestre i cultura material*. Musèu de Prehistòria de València, Valencia.

Martín Socas, D. and Camalich Massieu, M.D. (1982) : "La cerámica simbólica y su problemática (aproximación a través de los materiales de la colección Siret, L.) ". *Cuadernos de Prehistoria de la Universidad de Granada*, 2: 267-306.

Martínez Calvo, V. and López Jiménez, O. (2020): «El Juncal, Getafe, Madrid». Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. *Ídolos. Miradas milenarias.* Guide Catalogue of the exhibition. Museo Arqueológico Regional, Alcalá de Henares: 82-83.

Martínez Fernández, G. (2016): "Poblamiento y Sociedad durante la Prehistoria Reciente en la Cuenca del Alto Almanzora". *VI Jornadas de Historia Local. Patrimonio y Arqueología (*Tíjola 2012): 6-128. Tíjola Town Council. Tíjola.

Martínez Fernández, G. and López Reyes, V. (2020): «Representaciones simbólicas, desigualdades sociales e ideología de las sociedades del Neolítico Reciente y del Calcolítico de Andalucía Oriental». Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 265-268.

Martínez Fernández, G. and Molina González, F. (1995): "Estudio preliminar. Siret, L. (1909)" *Religiones neolítica en* Iberia. Siret Collection of Archaeology. Arráez Editores-Ayuntamiento de Cuevas de Almanzora, Almería: *9-29.*

Martínez García, J. (2002): "Pintura rupestre esquemática: el panel, espacio social". *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 59: 1: 65-87.

Martínez García, J. (2018): "Artes esquemáticos de las sociedades ágrafas en la Prehistoria reciente ibérica". Soler, J.A., Pérez, R. and Barciela, V. (Eds): *Rupestre. The first sanctuaries. Prehistoric Art in Alicante.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 152-163.

Martínez García, J. and Blanco de la Rubia, M.A. (2014): *Paisajes y abrigos con pinturas rupestres de la comarca de Los Vélez (Almería)*, Aprovélez, Almería.

Martínez Muñoz, J. (1987): "Los ídolos del Bronce (o del cobre) de la provincia de Almería". *Boletín del Instituto de Estudios Almerienses. Letters*: 129-142.

Martínez Navarrete, M.I. (1984): "The beginning of metallurgy in the province of Madrid: La Cueva y Cerro de Juan Barbero (Tielmes, Madrid)". *Trabajos de Prehistoria,* Vol. 41: 17-128.

Martínez Sánchez, R., Bueno Ramírez, P. and Linares Catela, J.A. (2020): "Figurillas de arcilla en el Neolítico y la Edad del Cobre del sur de Iberia". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) *Ídolos. Millenary views.* Fundación C.V. MARQ , Alicante, 2020: 140-153.

Martínez Sánchez, R.M. and Garcia Benavente, R. (2009): "A figural terracotta from the 4th millennium BC in the middle plains of the Guadalquivir". *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, *66*(1): 115-122.

Martínez-Sevilla, F., Arqués, M., Jordana, X., Malgosa, A., Rodríguez, J.A.L., Romero, M.S. and Rus, J.C. (2020): "Who painted that? The authorship of Schematic rock art at the Los Machos rockshelter in southern Iberia". *Antiquity*, *94*(377): 1133-1151.

Martínez-Sevilla, F., García Sanjuán, L., Lozano Rodríguez, J.A., Martínez Jordán, J.M., Scarre, C., Vargas Jiménez, J.M. and López Aldana, P. (2020): «A new perspective on Copper Age technology, economy and settlement: grinding tools at the Valencina mega-site V". *Journal of World Prehistory*, 33: 513-559.

Martins, A., Diniz, A., Neves, C. and Morais Arnaud, J. (2021): "O simbólico em Vila Nova de São Pedro: ídolos, estatuetas e simbología". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Coor) Ídolos. *Olhares milenares. O estado da arte em Portugal*. Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon: 103-121.

Martino Pérez, D. (2008): "Nuevos hallazgos arqueológicos en el término municipal de Lanzahíta (Ávila)». *Trasierra: bulletin of the Sociedad de Estudios del Valle del Tiétar*, no 7: 37-50.

Mata Carriazo, J. de (1931): "La escultura tartésica". *Archivo español de Arqueología*, VI: 97-111.

Meller, H. and Risch, R. (Eds) (2021): *Times is Power. Who makes times?* LandesMuseum für Vorgeschichte. Halle.

Melo, L., Diaz-Zorita Bonilla, M. and Silva, A.M. (2020): "A mobilidade das populacoes humanas na Pre-Historia no actual territorio portugues: contribuicao das analises isotopicas". Vilaca, R. and Aguiar, R.S., (Eds), *(I) mobilidades na Pre-Historia. Pessoas, recursos, objectos, sitios e territorios*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra: 255-274.

Mens, E. (2004): «Des crosses transformées en haches dans l'art néolithique armoricain: l'exemple du signe D de Dissignac (Saint-Nazaire, Loire-Atlantique, France)». *L'Anthropologie*, *108*(1): 121-136.

Milesi, L., Caro, J.L. and Fernández, J. (2013): "Hallazgos singulares en el contexto de la puerta 1 del complejo arqueológico de Perdigões, Portugal". *Apontamentos de Arqueologia e Património,* 9: 55-59.

Mineo, M., Mazzucco, N., Rottoli, M., Remolins, G., Caruso-Ferme, L. and Gibaja, J. (2023): Textiles, basketry and cordage from the Early Neolithic settlement of La Marmotta, Lazio. *Antiquity,* 97(392): 314-330. doi:10.15184/aqy.2023.21.

Molina Burguera, G. and Pedraz Penalba, T. (2000): "La Cueva de las Mulatillas (Villargordo del Cabriel, Valencia)". *Anales de Prehistoria y Arqueología de la Universidad de Murcia,* 16: 7-15.

Molina González, F. and Cámara Serrano, J.A. (2005): *Los Millares. Guide to the archaeological site.* Red de Espacios Culturales de Andalucía, 3, Consejería de Cultura, Junta de Andalucía.

Molina Grande, M.A. and Molina García, J. (1980): "Ídolos naturales de piedra en el Bronce del Sureste Peninsular". *Murgetana*, 59: 5-36.

Molina, F., Mederos, A., Delgado Huertas, A., Cámara, J.A., Peña, V., Martínez, R.M., Esquivel, J.A., Granados, A., Jiménez-Brobeil, A. and Esquivel, J.A. (2020): "La necrópolis calcolítica de Los Millares: dataciones radiocarbónicas y valoración de la dieta y del medio ambiente a partir del análisis de isótopos estables". *Trabajos de Prehistoria,* 77: 167-86.

Molist, M., Anfruns, J. and Cruells, W. (2004): "Study of the settlement of Tell Halula (Euphrates Valley, Syria): contributions to the study of the emergence of agricultural societies in the Near East". *Bienes Culturales*, 3: 45-62.

Monteiro-Rodrigues, S. (2016): "Resultados da primeira campanha de escavação na anta dos Currais do Galhordas (Castelo de Vide - centro leste de Portugal) - breve síntese". *Actas da II Mesa-Redonda "Artes rupestres da Pré-História e da Proto-História" (Porto, 2011)*. Viseu: Centro de Estudos Pré-Históricos da Beira Alta, p. 195-202 (Estudos Pré-Históricos 18).

Monteiro, J.A., Cortes, V. Furtado, A. and Maurício, A. (1974): "Descoberta de uma figurinha de "Terra Cota" nas escavações da Lapa do Suão (Bombarral)". *Actas do III Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia (*Porto, 1973), 1: 85-90. Junta Nacional de Educação. Porto.

Monteiro, R., Zbyszewski, G. and Ferreira, O. da Veiga (1967): "Uma notável placa de xisto encontrada na Lapa do Bugio (Azóia)". *Rev. de Guimarães*, LXXVII: 323-328.

Montón, S. (2010): "Muerte e identidad femenina en el mundo argárico", *Trabajos de Prehistoria* 67 (1): 117-139.

Morán, E. (2016): "Os produtos ideológicos "oculados" do terceiro milénio a.n.e. de Alcalar (Algarve, Portugal)". Sousa, A.C., Carvalho, A. and Viegas, C. *Terra e água. Escolher sementes, invocar a deusa. Estudos em homenagem a Victor S. Gonçalves.* Lisbon: UNIARQ: 179-187. (Estudos & Memórias; 9): 179-187.

Morán, E. (2018): *The prehistoric settlement of Alcalar (Portimão, Portugal): the organization of the territory and the process of formation of a pristine state in the Bay of Lagos in the Third millennium b.n.e.* Lisbon: UNIARQ. (Estudos & Memórias; 12).

Motos, F. de (1918): *The Neolithic Age in Vélez Blanco.* Comisión de Investigaciones Paleontológicas y Prehistóricas. Memoria 19, Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales, Madrid// Red Simurg.

Murillo Barroso, M. (2016): "El oro del *Tholos* de Montelirio en el contexto de la tecnología áurea de Valencina". Fernández, A., García, L. and Díaz-Zorita, M. (Coor) *Montelirio: a great megalithic monument of the Copper Age*. Arqueología Monografías, Consejería de Cultura, Junta de Andalucía, Sevilla: 285-309.

Murillo Barroso, M., Costa Caramé, M.E., Díaz-Guardamino Uribe, M., García Sanjuán, L. and Mora Molina, C. (2015): "A reappraisal of Iberian Copper Age goldwork: craftmanship, symbolism and art in a non-funerary gold sheet from Valencina de la Concepción", *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 25 (3): 565-596.

Mujika Alustiza, J.A. (2008): "La gestión de la materia prima ósea en la fabricación de objetos durante la Prehistoria". *Veleia*, (24-25): 531-568.

Mussi, M. (1991): "L'utilisation de la stéatite dans les grottes des Balzi Rossi (ou grottes de Grimaldi)". In: *Gallia préhistoire*, tome 33: 1-16.

Mussi, M. (2006): *Earliest Italy: an overview of the Italian Palaeolithic and Mesolithic.* Springer Science & Business Media.

Narváez Cabeza de Vaca, N. and Lazarich, M. (2019): "Los denomados cilindros decorados de hueso de la Prehistoria Reciente en la Provincia de Cádiz". Setúbal Arqueológica, 18: 61-70.

Naumov, G. (2017): "The corporeality of vessels: Neolithic anthropomorphic pottery in the Republic of Macedonia". In Schwarzberg, H. and Becker, V.: *Bodies of Clay on Prehistoric Human-ised Pottery*. Oxbow: 44-62.

Navarrete, M.S., Carrasco, J. and Gámiz, J. (1999-2000): "La Cueva sepulcral del Cortijo del Canal (Albolote, Granada)". *Revista del Centro de Estudios Históricos de Granada y su Reino*, 13-14: 25-98.

Nieto, G. (1959). "The artificial cave of "La Loma de los Peregrinos". *Empúries: revista de món clàssic i antiguitat tardana*, 189-244.

Nocete Calvo, F. (2001): *Tercer milenio antes de nuestra era. Relaciones y contradicciones centro/periferia en el Valle del Guadalquivir.* Bellaterra Arqueología, Barcelona.

Nocete Calvo, F. (Coor) (2004): *Odiel. Proyecto de Investigación Arqueológica del Origen de la Desigualdad*

Social en el Suroeste de la Península Ibérica. Junta de Andalucía. Seville.

Nocete Calvo, F., Vargas Jiménez, M.A., Schuhmacher, T.X., Banerjee, A. and Dindorf, W. (2013): "The Ivory Workshop of Valencina de la Concepción (Seville, Spain) and the Identification of Ivory from Asian Elephant on the Iberian Peninsula in the First Half of the 3rd Millennium BC". *Journal of Archaeological Science*, 40, 2013: 1579-1592.

Obermaier, H. (1917): *El yacimiento prehistórico de Las Carolinas (Madrid). Junta para Ampliación de Estudios e Investigaciones Científicas.* Memoria 16. Museo Nacional de Ciencias Naturales, Madrid.

Odriozola, C.P. (2008): "Scientific analyses of the white inlayed material of the symbolic pottery from povoado dos Perdigões". *Apontamentos de Arqueología e Patrimonio,* 3: 41-44.

Odriozola, C.P. (2011): "Anthropomorphic idol from Valada do Mato, scientific study of the paste that fills the decoration". *SAGVNTVM. Papeles del Laboratorio de Arqueología de Valencia*, 40: 24-26.

Odriozola, C.P., Hurtado, V., Días, I. and Prudêncio, M.I. (2008): "Datación por técnicas luminiscentes de la tumba 3 y el conjunto campaniforme de La Pijotilla (Badajoz, Spain)". *VII Iberian Congress of Archaeometry*, Madrid: CSIC; National Archaeological Museum: 211-225.

Odriozola, C.P., Hurtado, V., Guerra Doce, E., Cruz-Auñón, R. and Delibes de Castro, G. (2012). White paste fillings in campaniform ceramics and their use in the definition of social boundaries. *Estudos Arqueológicos de Oeiras*, *19*, 143-154.

Odriozola, C., Villalobos, R., Bueno-Ramírez, P., Barroso, R., Flores, R. and Díaz del Rio P. (2017): "Identification of key resources and the reconstruction of their role in the dynamics of socio-cultural manifestations and their diversity in the Chalcolithic on the Iberian Peninsula". *Key Resources and Socio-cultural Developmenst in the Iberian Chalcolithic,* RessourcenKulturen Band 6, University of Tübingen: 59-87.

Olalde, I., Schroeder, H., Sandoval-Velasco, M., Vinner, L., Lobón, I., Ramírez, O., Civit, S., Garcia, P., Salazar, D., Talamo, S., J.M., Oms, F.X., Pedro, M., Martínez, P., Sanz, M., Daura, J., Zilhão, J., Marquès, T., Thomas; Gilbert, P. and Lalueza-Fox, C. (2015): "A Common Genetic Origin for Early Farmers from Mediterranean Cardial and Central European LBK Cultures". *Molecular Biology and Evolution*, 32(12): 3132-3142 (2015).

Oliveira, J. (1993): "Reutilizações e reaproveitamentos de materiais em sepulturas megalíticas do Nordeste Alentejano". *Trabalhos de Antropologia e Etnologia*, *33*:(1-2).

Oliveira, J. (1995). "*O Megalitismo da bacia hidrográfica do rio Sever*. Doctoral thesis. University of Evora.

Oliveira, J. (2021): "Anta da Horta, Alter do Chão, Alto Alentejo Portugal". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. *Idols. Millenary glances.* Guide Catalogue of the exhibition. Museo Arqueológico Regional, Alcalá de Henares, 128-129; *Ídolos. Millenary Olhares. Guia da Exposição*, Lisbon: 144-145.

Ortega-Martínez, A.I., Martín-Merino, M.Á. and García-Diez, M. (2020): "Palaeolithic creation and later visits of symbolic spaces: radiocarbon AMS dating and cave art in the Sala de las Pinturas in Ojo Guareña (Burgos, Spain)". *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*, 12(10): 240.

Ortiz Alesón, M. and Blasco Rodríguez, F. (2000): "Los ídolos falange del Tholos de Huerta Montero". *Extremadura Arqueológica,* VIII: 267-289.

Palaguta, I. (2018): ""Group Portrait" of the Early Agricultural Era: A Set of Figurines of Vinča Culture from Stubline (Serbia) in the Context of the European Neolithic and Copper Age Societies". *Vestnik of Saint Petersburg University. Arts* 8, no. 4: 626-645.

Palaguta, I. (2020): "Small-format Neolithic and Bronze Age art in the Balkans and Carpathians: forms, contexts and interpretations". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) *Ídolos. Millenary views.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante, 2020: 93-113.

Paço, A. (1940): "Figurihna de barro da Pedra de Ouro". *1º Congresso do Mundo Portugués.* Porto.

Paço, A. (1971): "Sandalias de Alapraia", *Trabalhos de Arqueologia de Afonso do Paço(1929-1968).* Vol. II. Associaçado dos Arqueólogos Portugueses. Lisbon.

Paço, A. and Jalhay, E. (1942): "A póvoa eneolítica de Vila Nova de S. Pedro. Notas sobre a 3.ª, 4.ª e 5.ª campanhas 1939, 1940 e 1941". *Brotéria.* Lisboa. XXXIV:6; 231.

Paglietti, G. (2020): "Goddesses of Neolithic Sardinia (V-IV millennium BC)". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 343-352.

Papadatos, Y. and Venieris, E. (2017): "An experimental approach to the manufacture of Cycladic-type figurines with folded arms: preliminary observations". Marthari, M., Renfrew, C. and Boyd, M.J. (Eds) *Early Cycladic Sculpture in Context*, 483-490.

Pardo-Gordó, S., Carvalho, A.F. (2020). "Population dynamics during the Neolithic transition and the onset of megalithism in Portugal according to summed probability distribution of radiocarbon determinations". *Archaeological and Anthropological Sciences*, *12*(7); 129.

Paris, P. (1914): «Antiquités pré-romaines de Mérida». *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions e Belles Lettres*», 1914, 58 année, nº 2: 127-131.

Paris, C., Deneuve, É., Fagnart, J.P., Coudret, P., Antoine, P., Peschaux, C., Lacarrière, J. Coutard, S., Moine, O. and Guérin, G. (2017): «Premières observations sur le gisement gravettien à statuettes féminines d'Amiens-Renancourt 1 (Somme)». *Bulletin de la Société préhistorique française*, 423-444.

Parreira, R. and Morán, E. (2021): "Ídolos e manifestações do sagrado no 4.º e 3.º milénios a.n.e. no território de

Alcalar (Algarve, Portugal)". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Coor) Ídolos. *Olhares milenares. O estado da arte em Portugal*. Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon: 285-303.

Pascual Benito, J.Ll. (1998): *Valencian Neolithic bone tools, ornaments and idols*. Serie de Trabajos Varios del SIP, 95. Valencia).

Pascual Benito, J.Ll. (2010): "Ídolos oculados sobre huesos largos en las cuencas del Júcar y el Segura". Cacho, C., Maicas, R., Galán, E. and Martos, J.A. (Coor): *Ojos que nunca se cierran. Idols in early peasant societies:* 79-114. National Archaeological Museum. Madrid: 79-114.

Pascual Benito, J.Ll. and Bernabeu, J. (1994): "El yacimiento, la excavación y las dataciones C.14". Niuet (l'Alqueria d'Asnar). A settlement from the 3rd millennium BC. *Recerques del Museu d'Alcoi* 32: 14-27.

Peñalver, X. (1983): Study of the Menhirs in Euzkal Herria. *Munibe,* 35: 355-450.

Pellicer Catalán, M. (1957-58): "Burial in an artificial cave from the "Hispanic Bronze I" at Cerro del Greal (Iznalloz, Granada)". *Ampurias* XIX: 123-136.

Pericot García, L. (1951): "Egyptian parallel of a piece from Alcoy". *VI Congreso Alrqueológico del SE*, Alcoy". 1950, 86-88.

Pina, H.L. (1971): "Novos monumentos megaliticos do distrito de Evora. *II Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia (*Coimbra, 1970)". Proceedings: Coimbra: Junta Nacional da Educacao, 1: 151-162.

Rauret, A.M. (1965): "The slate slabs of the Catalan megalithic culture". 1: *Pyrenae*, 59-71.

Rebay-Salisbury, K. (2016): *The Human Body in Early Iron Age Central Europe. Burial Practices and Images of the Hallstatt World.* Routledge, London.

Renfrew, C. (1973) *Before Civilisation, the Radiocarbon Revolution and Prehistoric Europe*. London.

Renfrew, C. (1982): *Towards an Archaeology of Mind.* NY: Cambridge University Press.

Robb, J. (2009): "People of Stone: Stelae, Personhood, and Society in Prehistoric Europe". *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 16: 162-183.

Robb, J. and Harris, O. (2018): "Becoming gendered in European prehistory: was Neolithic gender fundamentally different?". *American Antiquity*, vol. 83, n.1, 128-147.

Rocha, L. (2005): "Anta Grande do Zambujeiro (Évora, Portugal): Contributo para o conhecimento das cerámicas". Branco, G., Rocha, L., Duarte, C. Oliveira, J. and Bueno, P. (Eds): *Arqueologia de Transição: O Mundo Funerário. Actas do II Congresso Internacional Sobre Arqueologia de Transição (29 April to 1 May 2013),* CHAIA, University of Évora: 43-51.

Rocha, L., Oliveira, J., Dias, C., Mirao, J., Dias, L. and Manhita, A. (2018): "About the presence of exotic materials in some funerary megalithic monuments in Alentejo: the cases of cinnabar and amber. Cruz, A. and Gibaja, J.F. eds: Interchange in Pre- and Protohistory Case Studies in Iberia, Romania, Turkey and Israel. BAR, Oxford, 2891: 83-90.

Rodríguez Rellán, C., Fábregas Valcarce, R. and Nelson, B.A. (2020): "A Taste for Green: A global perspective on ancient jade, turquoise and variscite exchange". *A Taste for Green*, Owbow Books: 1-208.

Rodríguez Rellán, C., Fábregas Valcarce, R. and Carrera Ramírez, F. (2019): "Intervención arqueológica en el abrigo de Cova dos Mouros (Baleira, Lugo). A first example of schematic painting in Galicia". *Munibe*, 70: 185-205.

Rodríguez Vinceiro, F.J. and Márquez-Romero, J.E. (2003): "Dataciones absolutas para la prehistoria reciente de la provincia de Málaga: una revisión crítica". *Baetica Estudios de Arte e Historia*: 313-353.

Romero de Torres, E. (1916): "Antigüedades Ibéricas de Torredelcampo (Jaén)". *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia. Reports.* Volume LXIX, September-October, Notebooks, III-IV: 13.

Routledge, B. (2013): *Archaeology and State Theory: Subjects and Objects of Power*. A&C Black.

Ruiz López, J.F. (2006): "El abrigo de los Oculados (Henarejos, Cuenca)". Martínez, J. and Hernández, M.S. (Ed) *Arte Esquemático en la Península Ibérica. Comarca de los Vélez, May 2004,* Almería: 375-388.

Ruiz, J.F., Hernanz, A., Armitage, R.A., Rowe, M.W., Viñas, R., Gavira-Vallejo, J.M. and Rubio, A. (2012): "Calcium oxalate AMS 14C dating and chronology of post-Palaeolithic rock paintings in the Iberian Peninsula. Two dates from Abrigo de los Oculados (Henarejos, Cuenca, Spain)". *Journal of archaeological Science*, *39*(8): 2655-2667.

Rutter, J.B. (2003): "Children in Aegean prehistory". Neils, J. and Oakley, J.H. (Eds), *Coming of Age in Ancient Greece: Images of Childhood from the Classical Past*. New Haven: 30-57.

Salmerón Juan, J. and Rubio Martínez, M.J. (1995): "Los ídolos eneolíticos de la Región de Murcia". *Proceedings of the XXI National Archaeology Congress. Teruel, 1991.* Diputación General de Aragón, Zaragoza: 681-698.

Salvador Mateos, R.M. and Ferreira Pereira, J.A. (2008): "Reflejos de la complejidad social del III al II milenio a.C. en el Alto Ribatejo portugués: ídolos oculados del povoado da Fonte Quente (Tomar, Portugal)". *Zephyrus*, LXII: 197-205.

Sanches, M.J. (2008-2009): "Arte dos dólmenes do noroeste da península ibérica: uma revisão analítica". *Portugalia, Nova Série,* XXIX-XXX: 5-42.

Sanches, M.J. (2016): "The paintings of "oculadas" figures in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic of Northern Portugal: the study case of Serra de Passos". Fábregas, R. and Rellán, C. (Eds), *Public images,private readings: multiperspective approaches to the postpalaeolithic rock art*. Oxford: Archeopress: 50-62.

Sanches, M.J., Castro, J., Barbosa, M.H. and Perpétuo, J.A. (2021): "Trespassando o tempo. Oculados e outras formas antropomorfas da Pré-História recente do

Norte de Portugal". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Coor) Ídolos. *Olhares milenares. O estado da arte em Portugal*. Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon: 77-100.

Sanches, M.J., Morais, P.R. and Teixeira, J. (2016): "Escarpas rochosas e pinturas na Serra de Passos, Sta Comba (Nordeste de Portugal)". Sanches, M.J. and Cruz, D. (Coor): *Actas da II Mesa-Redonda. Artes Rupestres da Pré-história e da Proto-história. Estudo, Conservação e Musealização de Maciços Rochosos e Monumentos Funerários (Porto, Faculdade de Letras, 10, 11 e 12 de Novembro de 2011).* Centro de Estudos Pré-históricos da Beira Alta. Viseu: 71-117.

Sánchez, A., Bellón, J.P. and Rueda, C. (2005): "Nuevos datos sobre la zona arqueológica de Marroquíes bajos: el quinto foso". *Trabajos de Prehistoria,* 62 (2): 151-164.

Sánchez, C., San Nicolás, M., García, L.-A. and Ponce J. (2006): "Figuraciones pintadas procedentes de una sepultura del III milenio en Lorca (Murcia)". Hernández, M.S. and García, J. (Eds) *Actas del Congreso de Arte Rupestre Esquemático en la Península Ibérica*, Almería: 513-520.

Sánchez Romero, M. (2008): "Cuerpos de mujeres: la construcción de la identidad y su manifestación durante la Edad del Bronce". *Arenal. Journal of women's history*, *15*(1): 5-29.

Sánchez Romero, M. (2009): "Childhood and the construction of gender identities through material culture". *Childhood in the Past*, 1(1): 17-37.

Sánchez Romero, M. (2022): *Prehistorias de Mujeres*. Destino. Barcelona. 284 pp.

Sanchidrián Torti, J.L. (1982). Schematic female 'idols' from the Nerja Cave. *Zephyrus* 34-35: 103-107.

San Feliu, D. and Flors, E. (2009): "Los materiales cerámicos". Flors, E. (Coor) *Torre la Sal (Ribera de Cabanes, Castellón). Evolution of the landscape from prehistoric times to the Middle Ages.* Monografies de Prehistòria i Arqueologia Castellonenques, 8: 269-352.

San Nicolás del Toro, M. (1986): "Aproximación al conocimiento de los Ídolos Tipo Pastora: Los oculados en Murcia". *The Eneolithic in the Valencian Country*. Alicante: 165-164.

Savory, H.N. (1968): *Spain and Portugal.The Prehistory of The Iberian Peninsula*. Thames and Hudson, London.

Scarre, Ch. (2009): "Stones with character: animism, agency and megalithic monuments", *Materialitas: working stone, carving identity*. Oxford: Oxbow Books: pp. 9-18.

Scarre, Ch. (2017): "Neolithic figurines of western Europe". In Insoll, T. Ed: *The Oxford Handbook of Prehistoric Figurines*. Oxford University Press: 884-891.

Scarre, Ch. (2020): "Figuritas en la Europa atlántica". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 167-176.

Schumacher, T.X. (2013): "Ivory from Sobreira de Cima (Vidigueira, Beja)." Valera, A.C.: Sobreira de Cima. Necrópole de hipogeus do Neolítico (Vidigueira, Beja), *Era Monográfica,* 1: 97-99.

Schumacher, T.X. (2017): "Ivory exchange networks in the Chalcolithic of the Western Mediterranean". Bartelheim, M., Bueno Ramírez, P. and Kunst, M. (Eds) *Key resources and cultural developments in the Iberian Chalcolithic*. RessourcenKulturen Band 6. Tübingen 2017: 291-312.

Schumacher, T.X. and Banerjee, A. (2012): "Provenance and exchange of ivory in the Chalcolithic of the Iberian Peninsula". *Congrés Internacional Xarxes al Neolític - Neolithic Networks, Rubricatum. Revista del Museu de Gavà*, 5: 289-298.

Schumacher, T.X., Cardoso, J.L. and Banerjee, A. (2009): 'Sourcing African ivory in Chalcolithic Portugal'. *Antiquity*, 83(322): 983-997.

Serrâo, E.C. and Marques, G. (1971): "Estrato pré-campaniforme da Lapa do Fumo (Sesimbra)". *Actas do II Congresso Nacional de Arqueologia*, vol. 1. Coimbra: 121-142.

Shee Twohig, E. (1981): *The megalithic art of Western Europe*. Clarendon Press. Oxford.

Sidéra, I. (2000): «Animaux domestiques,bêtes sauvages et objets de matières animales du Rubané au Michelsberg». *Gallia Préhistoire*, 40: 107-194.

Sidéra, I. and Monthel, G. (2009). "Figurines et outils anthropomorphes en os du Néolithique danubien." *Archéo-Situla*, (28-29): 13-28.

Simões, A.F. (1878): *Introdução à archeologia da Península Ibérica*, Livraria Ferreira, Lisbon.

Simón Vallejo, M. and Cortés Sánchez, M. (2007): "El "Torso" antropomorfo de la Cueva de Nerja (Málaga). Reflections on human representations on mobiliar support from the 3rd millennium BC in the south of the Iberian Peninsula". *Zephyrus*, 60: 165-172.

Simón Vallejo, M.D. and Macías Tejada, S. (2023). "Women" from the Cueva de La Pileta. Chalcolithic female ideomorphs from southern Iberia". Garrrido, J.M. (Ed) *Conexiones Culturales y Patrimonio Prehistórico,* 141-150.

Simonet, A. (2021): "La dame de Brassempouy et la grotte du Pape (Landes, France). Synthèse des données archéologoques". Archéologie des Pyrénées Occidentales et des Landes Tome 33: 3 à 28.

Siret, L. [1891] (2001): *Prehistoric Spain. Facta non verba.* Arraéz Editores, Almería.

Siret, L. (1906-07): Orientaux et Occidentaux en Espagne aux temps préhistoriques. [Extrait de la *Revue des Questions scientifiques*, 3ª série, t. X -1906-, y t. XI -1907-], Imprimerie Joseph Polleunis, Bruxelles = (1994) *Orientales y Occidentales en España en los tiempos prehistóricos.* Colección Siret de Arqueología, 1. Arráez Editores, Almería.

Siret, L. (1908): "Religions néolithiques de l'Ibérie". *Revue Préhistorique* 3: 193-238. = (1995) *Religiones*

neolíticas de Iberia. Colección Siret de Arqueología, 2. Arráez Editores, Almería.

Siret, L. (1913): *Questions de chronologie et d'ethnographie ibériques. De la fin du Quaternaire a la fin du Bronze.* Paul Geuthner, Paris.

Siret, L. (1948): "El Tell de Almizaraque y sus problemas". Cuadernos de Historia Primitiva, 2: 118-124.

Siret, E. and Siret, L. (1890): *The first ages of metal in the Southeast of Spain*. Barcelona.

Skeates, R. (2010). An archaeology of senses. Prehistoric Malta. Oxford University Press.

Skeates, R. (2017): "Prehistoric figurines in Italy". In Insol. T. (Ed): *The Oxford handbook of prehistoric figurines*. Oxford University Press: 777-798.

Sofaer, J. (2000): "Rings of life: the role of early metalwork in mediating the gendered life course". *World Archaeology,* 31: 389-406.

Soffer, O., Adovasio, J.M. and Hyland, D.C. (2000): ""The Venus" Figurines: Textiles, Basketry, Gender, and Status in the Upper Paleolithic", *Current Anthropology,* 41: 511-537.

Soler Díaz, J.A. (1985): "Los ídolos oculados sobre huesos largos del enterramiento de "El Fontanal" (Onil, Alicante) *Lucentum,* IV: 15-35.

Soler Díaz, J.A. (2002): *Cuevas de Inhumación Múltiple en la Comunidad Valenciana*. Bibliotheca Archeologica Hispana, 17 - MARQ, Serie Mayor 2, Real Academia de la Historia-Diputación Provincial de Alicante, Madrid - Alicante.

Soler Díaz, J.A. (2017): "De nuevo sobre los ídolos oculados "Tipo Pastora": A propósito de la presentación del conjunto de elementos ideomorfos identificado en el "Fondo Arqueológico La Marina 1995"" Soler, J.A. and Casabó, J. (Coor) *Nuevos datos para el conocimiento de la Prehistoria en la comarca de la Marina Alta,* Alicante: 283-370.

Soler Díaz, J.A (2020a): "Ídolos. A historiographical reading for a social-prehistorical narrative resource". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) *Ídolos. Millenary views.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante, 40-53.

Soler Díaz, J.A. (2020b): "En la otra orilla. Iconografías megalíticas muebles en el extremo oriental peninsular". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) *Ídolos. Millenary views.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 303 -322.

Sorensen, M.L. (2013): "Identity, Gender and dress in the European Bronze Age". Fokkens, H. and Harding, A. (Eds) *The Oxford Handbook of the European Bronze Age*: 216-233.

Sos Baynat, V. (1962): *Los Ídolos Placa de Granja de Céspedes (Badajoz).* Badajoz, Diputación Provincial.

Sotirakopoulou, P. (2020): "Figuritas cicládicas: una introducción". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) *Ídolos. Miradas milenarias.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 323-342.

Sousa, A.C., Bragança, F. and Torquato, F. (2021): "Georg e Vera Leisner: percursos na vida e obra através do Arquivo Leisner". Sousa, A.C., Bragança, F., Torquato, F. and Kunst, M. (2021): *George e Vera Leisner e o estudo do Megalitismo no Ocidente da Península Ibérica. Contributos para a história da investigação arqueológica luso-alemã através do arquivo Leisner (1909-1972).* Etudes e memórias, 14. Centro da Arqueologia da Universidade de Lisboa. Instituto Arqueologico Alemão, 43-105.

Spanedda, L. (2020): "An overview of anthropomorphic figures in the schematic rock art of the western Mediterranean islands". P. Bueno, J.A. Soler (Eds) *Ídolos. Millenary views.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 69-82.

Spindler, K. (1971): "Eine kupferzeitliche siendlung Pico Agudo, Portugal". *Madrider Mitteilungen*, 12: 51-71.

Stoddart, S. (2006): "Introduction. The landscape of the body". *Archaelogical Review from Cambridge*, 21: 2 (2006): 5-12.

Svoboda, J.A. (2007): "Upper Palaeolithic Anthropomorphic Images of Northern Eurasia". *Image and Imagination: A Global Prehistory of Figurative Representation,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 57-68.

Szécsényi-Nagy, A., Keerl, V., Jakucs, J., Brandt, G., Bánffy, E. and Alt, K.W. (2014): 'Ancient DNA evidence for a homogeneous maternal gene pool in sixth millennium cal BC Hungary and the Central European LBK'. *Early farmers: The view from archaeology and science:* 71-93.

Talalay, L. (2012): "Case Study I: The Mother Goddess in Prehistory: Debates and Perspectives". James, S.L. and Dillon, S. (Ed). *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, 7-10.

Tejerizo García, C., Alonso Toucido, F., Martínez Panizo, L., Rodriguez González, C., Fernández Pereiro, M. and Rodríguez Gutiérrez, A. (2020): "Hallazgo de un conjunto de pintura esquemática prehistórica en el sitio de Pala de Cabras, en Casaio (Orense)". *PH: Boletín del Instituto Andaluz del Patrimonio Histórico*, *28*(100): 38-56 .

Terberger, T. (2018): 'Early art in the Urals; new research in the wooden sculpture from Shigir'. *Antiquity:* 1-17.

Thomas, J., Gonçalves, V. and Andrade, M. (2022): "Experimental production of the Late Neolithic/ Early Chalcolithic engraved schist plaques of Southwestern Iberia: an approach to techniques and tools". *Revista Portuguesa de Arqueologia*, 24: 15-39.

Tringham, R. and Conkey, M. (1998): "Rethinking figurines. A critical view from archaeology of Gimbutas, the "Goddess" and popular culture". *Ancient Goddesses, The Myths and the Evidence,* British Museum Press, London: 22-45.

Trinkaus, E. and Buzhilova, A.P. (2018): 'Diversity and differential disposal of the death at Sunghir'.

Antiquity, 92, 361:7-21 https://doi.org/10.15184/aqy.2017.223

Turek, J. (2015): "Bell beaker stone wrist-guards as symbolic male ornament. The significance of ceremonial warfare in red millennium BC central Europe". Prieto Martinez, M.P. and Salanova, L. (Eds) *The Bell Beaker Transition in Europe. Mobility and local evolution during the 3rd millennium BC:* 28-40.

Ucko, P. (1962): "The Interpretation of Prehistoric Anthropomorphic Figurines". *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 92, No. 1: 38-54.

Ucko, P.J. (1996): "Mother, Are You There? Can We Interpreted Figurines?" *Cambridge Archaeological Journal*, 6 (2): 300-307.

UNESCO (1972): Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage The General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, at its 17th session held in Paris from 17 October to 21 November 1972. https://whc.unesco.org/archive/convention-es.pdf.

UNESCO (2003): The text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. https://ich.unesco.org/es/convenci%C3%B3n).

UNESCO (2005): Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention https://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-es.pdf

Valera, A.C. (2010): "Marfim no recinto calcolíticos dos Perdigôes (1)-: ""Lúnulas" fragmentaçao e ontología dos artefactos". *Apontamentos de Arqueologia e patrimonio*, 5: 31.42.

Valera, A.C. (2012): ""Ídolos almerienses" provenientes de contextos neolíticos do complex de recintos dos Perdigões". Apontamientos de Arqueologia e Património, 8, Lisbon: 19-28.

Valera, A.C (2015a): "The diversity of Ideotechnic objets at Perdigões enclosure: a first inventory of items and problems". *Homage to Rodrigo de Balbín Behrmann. Arpi.* Extra 03: 238- 256.

Valera, A.C. (2015b): ""Ídolos" falange, cervídeos e equídeos. Dados e problemas a partir dos Perdigões". *Apontamentos de Arqueologia e Património,* 10: 7-20.

Valera, A.C. (2020): "La materialización de la imagen humana en el IV y III milenio a.C. en el sur de Portugal: una mirada a los recitos de Perdigões". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) *Ídolos. Millenary views.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 229-244.

Valera, A.C. (2021): "Diversidade, circulação e desempenho social dos símbolos: as produções iconográficas neolíticas e calcolíticas nos Perdigões (Reguengos de Monsaraz)". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Coor) Ídolos. *Olhares milenares. O estado da arte em Portugal*. Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon: 201-211.

Valera, A.C. and Evangelista, L.S. (2014): "Anthropomorphic Figurines at Perdigoes Enclosure: Naturalism, Body Proportion and Canonical Postures as Forms of Ideological Language". *European Journal of Archaeology*, 17 (2): 286-300.

Valera, A.C. and Filipe, I. (2004) : "O povoado do Porto Torrão (Ferreira do Alentejo): novos dados e novas problemáticas no contexto da calcolitização do Sudoeste peninsular". *Era Arqueologia*. 6: 29-61.

Valera, A.C., Shaw, L. and Castanheira, P. (2014): "Zoomorphic Figurines and the Problem of Human-Animal Relationship in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Southwest Iberia". *Menga. Revista de Prehistoria de Andalucía,* 05: 15-42.

Valera, A.C., Schuhmacher, T.X. and Banerjee, A. (2015):" Ivory in the Chalcolithic enclosure of Perdigões (South Portugal): the social role of an exotic raw material", *World Archaeology,* 47:3: 390-413, DOI: 10.1080/00438243.2015.1014571.

Valera, A.C., Žalaitė, I., Maurer, A.F., Grimes, V. Silva, A.M., Ribeiro, S., Santos, J.F. and Barrocas Dias, C. (2020): "Addressing human mobility in Iberian Neolithic and Chalcolithic ditched enclosures: The case of Perdigões (South Portugal)", *Journal of Archaeological Science:* Reports, Volume 30: 102264.

Vander Linden, M. (2014): *Bell Beaker pottery and society.* Oxford Handbook.

Vandiver, P.B., Soffer, O. Klima, B. and Svoboda, J. (2009): "The origins of ceramic technology at Dolni Vestonice, Czechoslova- quia". *Science* 245: 1002-1008.

Vaquer, J. (2019): "Les objets en schiste". Guilaine, J. (Dir) *Le dolmen de Saint-Eugène. Autopsie d'un sépulture collective néolithique.* Toulouse, 213-242.

Vasconcelos, J. Leite de (1897): *Religiões da Lusitania na parte que principalmente se refiere a Portugal.* Vol. 1. Imprensa Nacional, Lisbon.

Vasconcelos, J. Leite de (1903): "Analecta archaeologica", *O Arqueólogo Português,* VII, 162-172.

Vasconcellos, J. Leite de (1910): "Esculturas pré-históricas do Museu Etnológico Português". *O Arqueólogo Português*, Lisbon, 15:31-39.

Vazquez Seijas, M. (1936): A curious idol plaque in granite stone. Boletin de la Real Cadamia Gallega, XXII: 281-283.

Vella, G. (2020): "Prehistoric figurines from the Maltese islands". Bueno, P., Soler, J.A. (Eds) Ídolos. *Miradas milenarias,* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 353-367.

Vera Rodríguez, J.C., Linares Catela, J.A., Armenteros Lojo, M. and González Batanero, D. (2010): "Depósitos de ídolos en el poblado de la Orden-Seminario de Huelva: espacios rituales en contexto habitacional". Cacho, C., Maicas, R., Galán, E. and Martos, J.A. (Coor) *Ojos que nunca se cierran. Idols in early peasant societies.* National Archaeological Museum. Madrid, 199-242

Viana, A., Ferreira, O. da Veiga and Andrade, R.F. de (1961): "Um túmulo de «tipo alcalarense", nos arredores e Aljustrel". *Revista de Guimarães*, 71 (3-4): 247-254.

Viana, A., Formosinho, J. and Ferreira, O. da V. (1953): "Algumas notas sobre o Bronze mediterrânico do Museu Regional de Lagos". *Zephyrus,* 4: 97-117.

Vilaseca, S. and Prunera, A. (1956): "La cueva del Bosquet en los Motllats, Sierra de Prades". *Zephyrvs*, 7: 207-215.

Vilaseca Díaz, F. (1993-94): "A contribution to the study of prehistoric iconography: the idols of Almargen and Antequera". *Mainake*, XV-XVI: 37-44.

Vilaseco Vázquez, X.I. (1997):». Datos sobre a presencia de estructuras de acceso en túmulos megalíticos da provincia de Lugo». *Boletín do Museo Provincial de Lugo*, (8), 125-158.

Villalobos García. R., Delibes de Castro, G., Zapatero Magdaleno, P. Guerra Doze, E., Fernández Eraso, J., Mujika Alustiza, J.A. and Bueno Ramírez, P. (2021): "Los ídolos espátula del interior peninsular". Bueno, P. and Soler, J.A. (Eds) *Ídolos. Miradas milenarias.* Fundación C.V. MARQ, Alicante: 217-228.

Villalobos García, R., Moreno Gallo, M., Arce, J.B. and Delibes de Castro, G.D. (2015): Prehistoric menhirs in the northeastern sector of the Spanish northern plateau: spatial analysis concerning the hypothesis of a structured and synchronous alignment. In *Archaeology and spatial information technologies: an Ibero-American perspective*: 253-264.

Yravedra de los Terreros, J., Maicas Ramos, R., Consuegra Rodríguez, S. and Diaz del Rio- Español, P. (2008): "Rings for a miner. Bone industry and fauna of the Neolithic flint mine of Casa Montero (Madrid)". Hernández, M., Soler, J.A. and López, J. (Eds), *Congreso del Neolítico Peninsular*, 4, Alicante, 2006. Proceedings. Alicante, MARQ. T. II: 240-247.

Weber, G., Lukeneder, A., Harzhauser, M., Mitteroecker, PH., Wurm, L., Hollaus, L-M., Kainz, S., Haack, F., Antl-Weiser, W. and Kern, A. (2022): "The microstructure and the origin of the Venus from Willendorf". *Scientific Reports* https://doi.org/10.1038/s41598-022-06799-z.

Zbyszewski, G. (1957): "Comparaison entre une plaque de schiste gravee de Lisbonne et une autre de la province de Huelva" *Comunicacoes dos Servicos Geologicos de Portugal.* Lisboa. 38 (2), 459-463

Zhilin, M., Savchenko, S., Hansen, S., Heussner, K.U. and Terberger, T. (2018): 'Early art in the Urals: new research on the wooden sculpture from Shigir'. *Antiquity*, *92*(362), 334.

Zilhão, J., Soares, A.M. and Gonçalves, A.P. (202): "Sperm-whale V-perforated buttoms from Galería da Cisterna, (Almonda karst system, Torres Novas, Portugal)". *Trabajos de Prehistoria*, 79,1: 131-140.